ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

OF

NEW MEXICO

BY BENJAMIN M. READ

FRANCISCAN MONASTERY,
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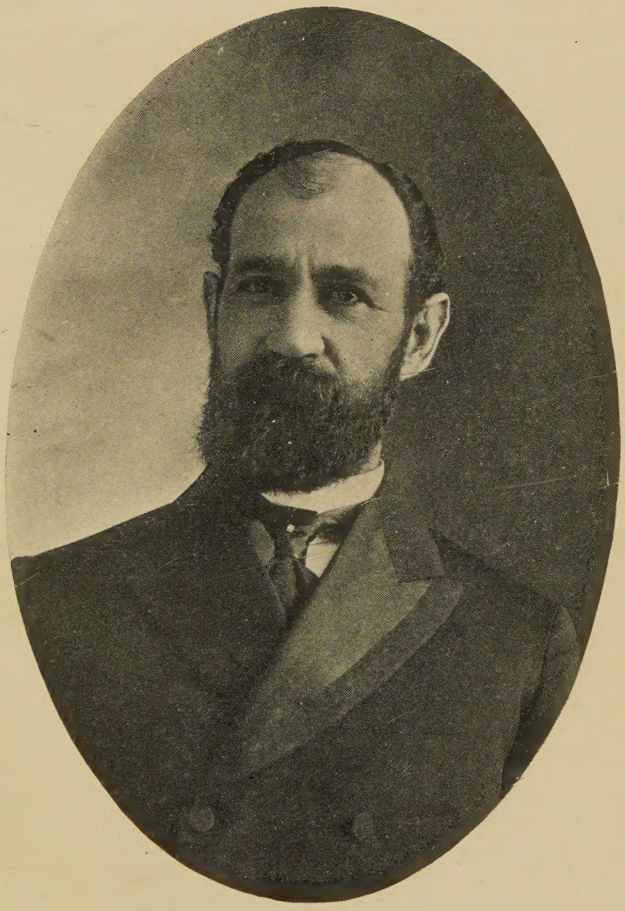

BENJAMIN M. READ,
Santa Fe, N. M.

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Dedicated

to

The Memory of My Mother

THE AUTHOR
Santa Fe, N. M., 1912

FRANCISCAN MONASTERY,

PREFACE.

The author of this work entered public life some years ago, as a school teacher, filling for the first time the honored post of preceptor of the College of the Christian Brothers, Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the year 1876 and continuing thereafter for several years in charge of the various public schools of the Capital. Thus it was that he came through personal observation, and after many and very careful examinations of the several writings on history, to notice that remarkable differences and striking contradictions exist among some of the English speaking authors, in their respective narratives of historical events whenever it is a question of the discovery of America by Columbus, the conquest, colonization and christianization of Mexico by Cortés, and of South America by Almagro and the Pizarro brothers. The author of this work attributes the discrepancies and contradictions of the authors mentioned rather to the fact that they had, *perforce*, to depend absolutely on the translations which are supposed to have been made from the original works and original documents by translators who, by reason of their never having seen the said originals and also because of their not being Spanish scholars, have not, in almost every instance, rendered into correct English the spirit of the original texts, changing quite often, the substance of the language of the first authors; whence the result has been that no two works of the same history, translated from the Spanish into English, by different translators can be found to agree with one another and much less with the original works. This statement is easily proved by simple comparisons of the works of these writers, with the original accounts given by the conquerors and first authors. Upon comparison it will be readily seen that, although they give long lists of the first authors, and even of the discoverers and conquerors of New Mexico, they have simply had former translations retranslated. The greater part having had, it seems, a retranslation made of the incomplete, incorrect and unreliable

translation made some few years past, by one De Thoma, here in Santa Fe, of a few paragraphs from Bancroft's "History of Arizona and New Mexico," and which said De Thoma published in a small pamphlet calling it "Historia de Nuevo Mejico." De Thoma, though, was honest enough to state that what he gave us was all taken from Bancroft. Some of the said writers on New Mexico history have, it appears, used De Thoma's labors clothed in boastful verbosity and giving it to the world as the genuine, true and accurate history of New Mexico, citing the notes and authorities listed by other writers without knowing enough Spanish to ascertain the truth of the translations they copy from, hence the great confusion extant among these historians. One of these students of New Mexico history published an alleged history of New Mexico, in 1907, in which he makes the absurd statement that De Vargas "died in Bernalillo while on his way from Santa Fe to New Mexico."

The author of this work does not intend to say that there has not been both sincere and competent translations, for most assuredly there have been many such. For instance Hodge's translations of the narratives of Cabeza de Vaca, De Soto, Coronado, Castañeda, Jaramillo and other discoverers and conquerors of New Mexico do not, in anything impair the sense nor the meaning of the original narratives; but some of the English speaking authors have, apparently, only copied each other to the extent that no two of them agree in their translations whence a great deal of confusion arises in their exposition of historical events and incidents. Such reasons as these led the author of this work to dedicate many years to the study of the original writings, with the end in view of writing, as correctly as possible, a true history, for which purpose he spared neither means nor expenses, and now he offers the present work as the fruit of his labors.

As our state represents four distinct epochs, viz: the prehistoric epoch; the epoch of the discovery of the American Continent, its conquest, christianization, and civilization by Spain; the very brief epoch of its permanence under the Mexican government, and, finally, the history of the American epoch or the epoch of our own day, so to speak. The

Author has deemed it more apropos to write this work in four books in a single volume, wherein shall be presented first: A summary or compendium of the theories advanced by historians regarding the hitherto unfathomed arcanum of the origin and beginning of the aborigines that inhabited this continent before its discovery by Columbus and the other discoverers who followed after him. Aside from the historical summary and compendium mentioned, the first book will contain brief accounts of all that pertains to that most splendid of human episodes recorded in the history of the world—the discovery of America and the conquest of Mexico (1492-1595) for between those two dates, besides the great discovery the following events crowded upon each other in rapid succession, viz: the celebrated pilgrimage of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, and his companions, Andrés Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo, Maldonado and Estevanico, the African; the expeditions of Fray de la Asunción, Fr. Marcos de Niza, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Ibarra, Fray Agustin Rodriguez (Ruiz), Fray Beltran, Antonio de Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Francisco Leyba y Bonilla, Juan Humaña etc., etc.

The second book will start with detailed accounts of what happened between 1595 and 1598. Since the real conquest and colonization of New Mexico was carried into effect between those dates by Don Juan de Oñate, the author has deemed it his duty to enter into more extensive details of Oñate's expedition, as he was the first conqueror and pacifier of New Mexico.

In the third book the main events will be related which resulted from material, industrial and religious development —all due as a whole, or, in the largest part to the activities of the Catholic Church and her missionaries; the uprising of the natives which gave as its sequel the defeat and flight of the Spaniards under Governor Antonio Otermin; the reconquest and permanent pacification of the Territory by Don Diego de Vargas, Zapata Lujan, Ponce de Leon or all that occurred between the years 1598 and 1703.

The fourth book will contain important illustrations, and information in detail of all that happened during the regime or dominion of the governments of Spain and Mexico up to

the year 1848 when the formal annexation of the Territory to the American Union took place. This last book also contains several appendixes and biographical sketches of prominent citizens of the State together with the photographs of many of them.

The lack of exactness in the various translations and the irreconcilable contradictions of the aforesaid historians in regard to what the original narrators did say concerning the discovery and conquest of New Mexico, as well as the very evident want of harmony between said historians and the Spanish and Mexican historians in reference to points of great historical importance were motives that induced the author of this book to make researches in Madrid and Barcelona, Spain, in order to offer his readers the history of our State as written and published by the explorers, conquerors and old writers, that is, in such manner as it is found in the manuscripts, and old books first published. I have been completely successful in my efforts, as I have found everything I longed for, being thus enabled to present to the public, with the utmost pleasure, a true, complete and accurate picture of the interesting voyages and achievements of the men who so gloriously accomplished them, that thus my readers may be able to enjoy the pleasures which they will surely feel in the reading of narratives so astounding as to border on the romantic, the sublime, the incredible.

In order to obtain these works it became necessary, in addition to the expense I had to incur, to have the co-operation of persons settled in Spain, and, luckily, personal friends of mine, became interested in helping me. In Granada, Spain, my distinguished friend, Doctor Don Luis Hernández, for some years resident of New Mexico, was the gentleman who secured for me the valuable services of Señor Antonio Aragon Montejo, a professor of Madrid, and also of Don Francisco Sicilia, a prominent attorney of the capital of Spain, for the purpose of looking in the libraries of that city, for the documents I needed. To these gentlemen, the author of this work takes herewith the grateful pleasure of tendering his most sincere and heartfelt thanks for their help and co-operation. Besides this expression of gratitude, so justly due and so well deserved, the author desires also to add, to

the names of the persons already mentioned, the names of others, whom he is also very thankfully indebted to, for having helped him with very old autographic and inedited documents whose historical value is of incalculable weight, and which, by reason of their having not been known before, will add to the originality and interest of this history, while, at the same time, will be a complete rectification of many errors found published, in many books of history, as events that really occurred. These gentlemen are: The Rev. Joseph Pugens, worthy Secretary to his Grace, Archbishop Pitaval, whose assistance in examining old autographs has been of great use to me; Don Santiago Valdez and his wife, Doña Agustina V. de Valdez, of Taos, who during their lifetime, donated me documents of the rarest importance without which a large portion of this history would have been incomplete; Don Juan Delgado, of Santa Fe, in whose hands I found a very precious collection of inedited documents of great historical value; Mr. Thomas B. Catron, who furnished me with valuable works of historiographers of repute; Mr. L. Bradford Prince, ex-Governor of New Mexico and author of the first English History of New Mexico written after the annexation; Captain Don Rafael Chacon and his son, Attorney E. Chacon, of Trinidad, Colorado, who furnished me with some very important data; Don Matias Dominguez, of Santa Fe, in whose possession is found the report of the counter movement in 1837 by Armijo and other patriotic citizens to put down the Chimayo rebellion; Don Demetrio Pérez and the Secretary of State, Hon. Antonio J. Lucero. The method pursued in the narratives of the conquerors, their historians, and those that succeeded them, by the author has been to base his statements strictly on the history itself without supplementing it with his individual opinion but leaving to his readers the opportunity of forming their own ideas.

In conclusion, I have to state that I keenly appreciate the undeserved praise, expressions of commendation and appreciation of this work of mine by such men as Archbishop Pitaval, ex-Gov. L. Bradford Prince, Hon. O. A. Larrazolo, Professor A. M. Espinosa (of Stanford University), Judge E. V. Long, Rev. P. Tommasini, S. J., Hon. R. E. Twitchell, Hon.

Antonio J. Lucero, Don Demetrio Pérez, and other men of high standing in the world of letters, and also, of the favorable comments of the public press, but more especially of La Revista de Taos, the Santa Fe New Mexican, Revista Católica, La Bandera Americana, La Voz del Pueblo and El Eco del Valle, all of New Mexico and El Progreso, Trinidad, Colorado. These unmerited compliments make me feel very sensibly my shortcomings in attaining my ideal of an accurate history. Conscious of my limited ability I have absolutely discarded all sorts of verbosity and also my own conclusions on all matters not based on undisputed original authority, realizing fully the difference which exists between what one aspires to accomplish and what is actually accomplished.

BENJAMIN M. READ,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.

ADDENDUM TO THE PROLOGUE.

Among the authorities I failed to receive from Spain in time for my first Spanish Edition of this work, but which were subsequently received and are now included in this my first English Edition, are the appointment of Fr. Marcos de Niza, his journey to the Cibola Country (Zuni), his report and claims of Hernan Cortés, all in Niza's own "RELACION;" also the depositions of Pedro de Bustamante, Hernan Gallegos and Hernando Barrado, Bancroft erroneously calls him "Barrundo," (three of the eight soldiers that accompanied Chamuscado and Brother Augustin Rodriguez (Ruiz), Fr. Francisco López and Fr. Juan de Santa Maria to New Mexico in 1581), given before Viceroy Mendoza in Mexico as follows. The testimony of Hernan Gallegos and Pedro de Bustamante was taken on the 15th day of May, 1582, and the testimony of Hernando Barrado was taken in Mexico on the 20th day of October, 1582. From the testimony of Bustamante it was learned that Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, who was accompanying them to Mexico, had died on the way, 30 leagues from Santa Barbara. From the testimony of Barrado it was first learned in Mexico of the death of the three mentioned Religious. Many other authentic official documents, received also after my first Spanish Edition had gone to press, are now included in this English Edition, among them being the last report from Coronado to the King, dated Tiguex, October 20th, 1541. Also the inaugural address of Governor Albino Pérez, delivered in Santa Fe, June 1835, by which it is conclusively shown the date of his arriving in Santa Fe from Old Mexico. These additions will make of this first English Edition as complete a history as it is possible to make it, making it, at the same time, absolutely accurate and authentic.

I want to say that my collections of authorities, as well as my correspondence with my literary agents in Spain and in America, relative to my researches, etc., are at the disposal of all persons who may wish to examine these valuable documents.

In conclusion the reader is asked, if he has the opportunity so to do, to examine carefully the many works written on New Mexico history that he may judge for himself of the "very uneven quality" (using Bancroft's words), "with not few errors, and more omissions—defects due in most cases not so much to the incompetence of the authors as to the inaccessibility of original authorities." Some of these authors claim that the most important works for New Mexican history are Torquemada, (*Monarquia Indiana*), Clavijero, Oviedo, Gomara, Ventacurt, Herrera, Mendieta, Mota Padilla and Villagrá. Of these authors only Torquemada, Mota Padilla and Villagrà, are authorities, somewhat limited, though, Torquemada's work, published in 1723, can only be considered important on New Mexico history in so far as it deals, briefly and unsatisfactorily, though, with the journeys of Coronado, Niza and Fathers López, Juan de Santa Maria and Brother Ruiz—(Rodriguez) who was not a priest as is generally and erroneously stated by many historians, (Torquemada's "Monarquia Indiana" vol. 3, p. 626) and with Oñate's journey and the troubles between the Fransiscan Fathers and Oñate (Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," vol. 1, p. 672-678 et seq) certain as it is that he never saw the reports of Coronado, Castañeda, etc., nor the testimony of Pedro de Bustamante and Hernan Gallegos, given in May, 1582 nor that of Hernando Barrado, given in October, same year, before viceroy Mendoza, in the city of Mexico, as stated above, regarding the journey of the Fathers López and De Santa Maria and Brother Ruiz. This is evident, for he, Torquemada, says in vol. 3, p. 626, supra, that these soldiers (who came with Ruiz etc., under Chamuscado) did not reach New Mexico, that they, said soldiers, had abandoned the Fathers, etc., after they had traveled 250 leagues, and that the Fathers and Brother Ruiz "continued the journey until they reached New Mexico." Says Torquemada, "Acompañáronle en este viaje, que fué año de 1581, diez ò doce soldados, que se le juntaron de su mera voluntad, aunque que con diferente espiritu del que estos Religiosos llevaban, porque haviendo andado 250 leguas dende Mexico, y viendo que se metian muy lexos del socorro, si lo hubiesen menester, y entre mucha gente, siendo ellos tan pocos, acorda-

ron de dar buelta para Tierra de Christianos, como lo hicieron. Los frailes prosiguieron su viaje viendo que los Naturales de aquellas Tierras, por todas ellas los recibian amorosamente, y pasaron otras 150 leguas mas adelante, hasta Nuevo México, que ellos fueron los que pusieron este nombre."

The report of Bustamante, Gallegos and Barrado, reference to which the reader will find at the proper place in this work, and which is in my possession, proves conclusively, that said soldiers, under Chamuscado, did accompany the Padres and Ruiz—as already shown—as far as New Mexico; that they, the soldiers, discovered mines in New Mexico and had left Ruiz and the two Fathers at Puaray (near Bernalillo). Outside of these events—the Coronado, Niza and Ruiz and Oñate events—Torquemada is of absolutely no importance to New Mexico history, and, as the reader will observe, he, Torquemada, is at variance with Coronado, Bustamante, Gallegos and Barrado—the only original authorities on that point, all of which I have received direct from Spain, and fails to mention Castaño de Sosa, Humaña, Bonilla, Lomas de Colmenares and others who figured prominently in New Mexico history.

As to Villagrá's "Historia de la Nuevo Mèxico," while it does not cover all of Oñate's government it is, so far as it goes, the best on the periods it covers. Clavijero, Jesuit historian, and Mota Padilla are very, very brief, as brief and as deficient as Torquemada, neither of them can be classed as authority for, like Torquemada, when put against the original reports of Niza, Coronado, Castañeda, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, De Vargas and the other real actors they fall to the ground. As to the other authors so mentioned, none of them wrote much on New Mexico, and it would have been impossible for them to do so. Oviedo (also a priest) the famous Spanish historian died in 1557, twenty-four years prior to Ruiz's journey, his work, "Sumario de la Historia General y Natural de las Indias Occidentales," was published in Toledo, Spain, in 1526 (before Cabeza de Vaca's famous journey across the continent), and again in 1535, he republished the same work, amplified in 21 volumes. Gomara (also a Padre) was Chaplain to Cortés in Spain, in 1540, published his

"Hispana Vitrix in 1552, de todo lo acaecido hasta 1551," erroneously mentions Coronado's journey, etc., (all that had happened until 1551)." This work was afterwards condemned by the king of Spain on account of being inaccurate and unreliable (this work I have also). Gomara died in Spain in 1556, consequently he never wrote much on New Mexico.

Ventacurt, Mendieta, etc., do not, so far as I have been able to discover, dwell on our history in such manner as to be considered authorities, and none of the lot, outside of Villagrá, can be cited as reliable authorities for the reasons stated; as to Herrera, I have not yet heard nor found any author or authors of that name outside of the Herrera who wrote an "Historia General," who ever wrote on our history. Two such names figure in our history that is to say, officially but not as authors, these are—Sebastian Herrera, who was captain in the Spanish army in New Mexico, at the time Otermin and the other Spaniards were expelled from New Mexico in 1680, and the other, Nicolas Herrera, also a captain in the Spanish army in New Mexico in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Mendieta, who wrote his work, "Historia Eclesiastica," two years prior to Oñate's entry into New Mexico could not, under any circumstances, have written on New Mexico, his work was published in 1596-1599, and Oñate's conquest of New Mexico was effected in 1598-1599. So far as my investigations have enabled me to discover the truth, Bancroft is the only one of former authors that quotes Mendieta, but not as an authority, saying that Mendieta "merely wrote notes that the viceroy is now fitting out O's (Oñate) expedition." (Bacft. Ariz. & New Mex. III note 1). It is thus seen how easy it is for the ablest of historians to fall into error when they are not thoroughly familiar with the language the original authorities are written in, having, necessarily to depend upon former authors who, for the reason stated, were just as much in error, and who it is evident, never saw the source of their information, and had to depend on translations, tradition or hearsay evidence.* At the present time, fortunately, no his-

* Many authors rely wholly on John Gilmary's Shea's works, which are as faithful as the works of any other honest, well meaning author. Mr. Shea, though, on what he says on Cabeza de Vaca, Niza, Coronado, etc., relies absolutely on translations and collections

torian depends on such writers, since the real facts exist and are accessible, specially when it is shown that none of the former old historians, barring, of course, those who were discoverers or conquerors and historians like Cabeza de Vaca, Castañeda, Coronado, Jaramillo, Villagrà, Oñate, etc., and a few others agree with the original narrations, some of which were not accessible until a few years ago.

BENJAMIN M. READ,
Santa Fe, N. M., 1912.

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made by others and not on having seen the original official reports of the explorers, conquerors, etc. For his references on Cabeza de Vaca's journey he depends on a work published in Washington for Geo. W. Riggs, Jr., in 1851 under the title of "Shipwrecks of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca," by Buckingham Smith.—For his, Shea's, authority on what he says on Niza, Coronado, etc., he relies on a collection made by Nájera, same being an appendix to his, Nájera's, work entitled "Relacion de Castañeda de Nájera." See Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi."—THE AUTHOR.

NOTICE TO THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THIS WORK IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

The publication of my "Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo México" in the English Language, under the title of "Illustrated History of New México" is made from the second Spanish edition after it had been carefully revised, corrected, amplified and improved with convenient and necessary annotations adding to it many and very important matters. That circumstance, together with the elimination of several minor things of a purely local and private nature which, through erroneous information furnished me were included in the work, gives greater importance to this edition, making it thereby more exact and much more interesting.—THE AUTHOR.

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Cabeza de Vaca did visit New Mexico.—Espejo did not give the Territory its name, Brother Ruiz did.—Coronado did not visit spot where Santa Fe is located.—After his return to Mexico (1542) no Spaniards except two Friars and a Portuguese remained.—One of the Friars and the Portuguese went to Gran Quivira and the other to Cicuyé (Pecos). —Santa Fe was not settled by the Spaniards prior to 1605.— It is the second oldest city in the United States.—First settlement in New Mexico by Oñate in 1598.—Tiguex was the name of the Pueblos near where Bernalillo now stands.— Permanent conquest by De Vargas consummated December 30, 1693, etc., etc., etc.—THE AUTHOR.

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Doña Ignacia Cano.

Doña Ignacia Cano.

Doña Ignacia Cano, was the daughter of Don Ignacio Cano, first discoverer and one of the grantees of the famous Ortiz Grant, in southern Santa Fé county and Doña Maria Quiros. She married Mr. Benjamin F. Read in 1849. Mr. Read came to New Mexico with the American Army in 1846. Doña Ignacia became a widow in 1854 and afterwards married Mateo Ortiz. From her first marriage three sons survived her: Alexander, Benjamin (author of this work) and Larkin G. Read. From her second marriage three sons and one daughter survived her. She died in Santa Fé, May 5, 1878.

Church of San Miguel Built by Oñate 1605-8—Now Used as Chapel by the Christian Brothers of Saint Michael's College.

The Palace of the Governors as it Appeared on the Day of the Inauguration of the First State Governor January 15, 1912.

This Palace was built by the Spaniards between 1606 and 1608, by Oñate, who effected the first conquest and established the first settlement in New Mexico, 1598-9. It was inhabited by all the Spanish governors—1608 to 1821 and by all the Mexican governors from 1821 to 1846, when New Mexico became part of the United States, and by every American governor from 1846 to 1910. It is now used by the Historical Society and the Archaeological Society.

ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

OF

NEW MEXICO.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Prehistoric Times—Mithological Hypotheses of Historians in Regard to the Origin and Civilization of the Indigenous Races—The Aztecs and their Empire.

The mysterious origin of the Aborigenes that peopled the portion of the American Continent occupied by the Republic of Mexico and the other Republics of Central and South America, the Territory which till the year 1848 had formed a part of the Mexican Republic, namely: What is known as the States of Texas, California, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico, and part of the State of Colorado is today, as enigmatical as it was at the time when the Europeans first set foot on the virgin shores of the Western Continent. The immense importance hidden in this secret regarding the Aztec Empire pre-eminently surpasses, in historical interest, all the legends and traditions recorded in the history of the other civilized countries of the world in reference to the origin, beginning, and civilization of the nomadic and stationery tribes of their aborigenes, respectively. Nor can the nations of South America conquered by the Pizarros and Almagro, nor the nations and tribes of North American Indians compare with the Mexican Indians. Their almost fabulous wealth, both in gold and the other known metals, as well as in precious stones; their picturesque topography; the

mildness of their admirable climate, as described by famous writers and poets; their astonishing progress in the arts of painting and architecture, and in the sciences of government, astronomy, and agriculture, as displayed before their conquerors, thereby evidencing a state of civilization so advanced as to cause Cortés himself, rapt in the wondering contemplation of it, to exclaim that not even in his beloved Spain could such beauty be found; all these things, together with the circumstance, still more marvelous, of having been found there very evident traces of some knowledge of Christianity, such as the sign of the cross, the sacrifice of holocausts to the Deity, the communion with bread—symbolic of our Christian Communion—all these things I repeat, have inspired and encouraged archaeologists, geologists, ethnologists, and historiographers to dedicate a great portion of their lives to the task of unfathoming that bottomless abyss which envelops the origin and source of that race, and the means employed by that mystical people in an industrial and economical development so intellectually astounding.

Whence came they? Are they, perhaps the descendants of the primitive Egyptian race? Are they, perchance, the offspring of the ten tribes of Israelites who came to people the Atlantis of Plato? To the solution of these questions a large number of learned men having given their studies and dedicated their lives without getting better results than mere conjectures, mere suppositions and nothing more. In our days we are as far from knowing, with moral certainty, the true answer to such questions, as were Cortés, Bernal Diaz, and the others who were the first ones to contemplate, with them, in their original beauty and singular primitive grandeur the habits, customs, government system, grand architecture and other great things which constituted the glory of the great empire of the Montezumas.

The Author, being unwilling to deviate from the method which he has adopted, as a standard in his historical works, that is, of reproducing, as far as possible, the spirit and meaning of the original authors, will now procede to narrate, in the first place, the interpretations of some Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-American authors, and also of Mexican authors, touching the mystery we have been mentioning, leaving for

the subsequent chapter all that relates to the Indians of New Mexico. In this manner will the reader be able to form his own idea of the enigmatical problem.

It is most certain that all writers of history, European as well as Anglo-American, who have written about the Conquest of Mexico, have taken a large part of their information, either from the letters of Cortés to the King of Spain, or from the works of Father Gomara (who was a prelate in Spain, after the conquest of Cortés, but was never in Mexico,) or from the works of Bishop Bartolomé de Las Casas, or from the accounts made by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and Francisco Jaramillo. Mexican Historians, besides having the works of the authors quoted above, have also the works and traditions of the old Aztec writers.

Those writers who have based their works on the works of Gomara have repeated and reproduced the thousands of errors consigned in his works, for the reader should know that Gomara at the time of the conquest of Mexico was only nineteen years of age (was born in 1510) and that, after Cortés had returned to Spain to remain there until his death, was the time when Gomara entered the service of Cortés. He wrote his work on the conquest of Mexico in the year 1540, or 19 years after the conquest and pacification of Mexico. The numberless errors and ridiculous exaggerations of his work caused the King to condemn it and to prohibit its circulation.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo was at that time Mayor of the City of Guatemala, and to him more than any one else is due the exposure of Gomara's fraud and the condemnation of his work. Similarly, to that circumstance is the world indebted for the great service Bernal Diaz rendered in its behalf in writing his "Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España," with that exactness wherewith he alone as an eye witness and as one of the conquerors could have written it, and with which he refuted Gomara and gave to the world the true history of that memorable episode. With these explanations let us now enter that labyrinth of suppose in what relates to prehistoric times etc., of the interesting aboriginal races which the Spanish Europeans found in Mexico taking up, in the first place, the theories (translations) of Anglo-Saxon and

Anglo-American authors. Prescott, speaking of the origin and civilization of the Mexican Indians, says: "When the Europeans landed for the first time on the coasts of America they almost came to believe that what they saw was another planet, as whatever they saw had not anything similar either in Europe or in any of the countries known to them." The unknown and exceedingly varied classes of plants and birds added to the very rare aspect, appearance, customs, and dress of the inhabitants, the exuberance and feracity of their fields made such an impression on the Europeans that they unhesitatingly and unanimously named the land "The New World."—"Accustomed, as the Europeans were," says Prescott, (Vol. 3 p. 355) "to what they knew as matters of faith, that all things came from one only Author, their surprise naturally increased with the mystery and origin of those human beings."

All the new attractions in what concerns vegetation and animals accommodate themselves to, and are susceptible of, interpretations that do not conflict with the laws of nature; but to meet with large groups of creatures similar, in all respects, to themselves; to find them in such an advanced stage of civilization, and with notions, more or less extensive, of the principles of morality and religion, and versed almost to the highest degree of perfection in the fine arts; such a thing was, for the Europeans, an impenetrable mystery, and, such as it was for them, it has ever been, and will continue to be for all generations. The question then: "Whence came these inhabitants to America?" remains unanswered. One of the celebrated geologists of the world, Lyell, asserts that canoes with savage Indians have been met with on the High Seas, and that it is probable that from the early periods of the world, many tribes came in canoes to America from Asia and Europe "If," says Lyell, "humanity as a whole, with the exception of but one family, should disappear from the face of the earth, and that only one family remained in either of the continents, or in Australia or any other island in the Pacific, we could well hope that its descendants, even if not as civilized as the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, would very soon scatter, in the lapse of years, over the whole earth." All over the continent of the new world, its original inhabi-

tants were found divided in two classes, the semi-civilized and the savage class. This last one had no knowledge of society or domestic life. Its absolute occupation was hunting, and its life, a wandering or nomadic one. The half-civilized tribes or nations were in a very advanced state of civilization, with well established systems of government. That condition of things is what neither the archaeologists, nor geologists, nor learned historians have been able to explain. Apparently, the only solution to those amphibiological questions, and the theory to which all learned men incline most is that the separation of human beings and their world-wide dispersion is due to the universal deluge. To that belief most of the civilized nations of the world have ever adhered, and equally so the same thing, according to ethnologists, has been affirmed by the semi-civilized nations of the new world. The Aztecs established this fact with their traditions stating that there had been, in the early days of the world, a deluge, and that, out of all the inhabitants of the earth, at the time of the deluge, only two persons had escaped, male and female, the male being known among them by the name of Coxcox. The Aztecs had the faces of these two human beings drawn upon old canvasses on which was represented an immense sea which covered the whole of the earth except an unsubmerged mountain at the foot of which was a bark. Near the bark a dove appeared carrying placards in its bill upon which were found, written in hieroglyphics, emblems of all the languages of the world, and which the dove distributed among the children of Coxcox. The Spaniards found a great deal of likeness between the religion of the Aztecs and the Christian religion. Besides what has already been said in this chapter, the Spaniards saw how the Aztecs received communion of bread made from corn and blood, which, after it had been consecrated by their priests, was distributed among the faithful who received it with much reverence and with the sincere belief that it was the identical body of their God. "They received it," Veytia and Acosta tell us, "with great reverence, humility and tears, saying they ate the flesh of their God." All historians declare that the religious practices of the Aztecs and their conjectures with regard to

their ancestral origin are, in many things, analogous to the biblical accounts of the Hebrew people. Compare, for instance, their departure from Aztlan, in pilgrimage, as far as Anáhuac, (Mexico), with the departure of the Jews from Egypt, for the promised land. Along the way from Aztlan as far as Anàhuac they had to make many and long journeys, setting up their camps very often and for a long time in several places, just as the Jews did in their journeys in the desert. In examining their hieroglyphical characters, the learned have found a great deal of similarity between their maxims and the sentences of the sacred texts. Those coincidences and analogies between the customs of the Aztecs and the biblical history of the Jews are attributed by many of the historians to diabolical mischief.

The comments we have been making and the extracts from authors of other nationalities are sufficient matter for the reader to form for himself an idea of the most logical tendencies towards the establishment of the origin and source of the Aztecs. We shall now consign the opinions of Mexican authors that he may thus be able to reach a more reasonable conclusion, in so far as his intellectual capacities may enable him to attain it. Before referring, however, to the Mexican authors, the Author desires to quote the opinion of Bernal Diaz, who, as a companion of Córdova and Grijalva in their voyages to Yucatan, and as a joint conqueror with Cortès subsequently, was able to observe better the situation and condition of the Aztecs. Bernal Diaz tells us that the idols presented by the Indians to Hernández Córdova (first discoverer in 1517 of the Peninsula of Yucatan) made him believe that they were old relics brought to this continent by the Hebrews. Regarding what Bernal Diaz observed, and what he heard from the lips of Emperor Montezuma, he tells us that, in the first interview between Cortés and Montezuma, Cortés wished to impress him with the divinity of the God of the Christians and the truth of the Catholic religion, and that Montezuma answered him in the following words:

"Malinche, (name by which the Indians called Cortés) already have my ambassadors told me that they heard from your mouth what you are telling me. We had not answered to all that because we have always adored the same gods

that we worship now, and they have been to us very kind. Yours may be so also. As to what you say of the creation of the world our beliefs are the same as yours. We also believe that you and your people are the ones who were to come from the Levante to our lands."

Let us now hear the writers from Mexico, many of them, undoubtedly, descendants of that heroic race which constituted the Mexican Empire. In his "Biographies," Bruno F. Fabian gives us the history according to Mexican traditions, in these words:

"Our country was, in very remote epochs, inhabited by divers tribes. Tradition, ever respectable, tells us that a race of giants was the first one to tread our territory. We admit those traditions by observing the enormous craneums, bones, and skeletons that were unearthed in Tlaxcala, Texcoco, Tula, and California in different epochs, as well as a multitude of fossil remains of elephants and other animals of large corpulence. But be this as it may; what is to-day the Mexican Republic was primitively invaded by different tribes—among them the Mayas on the East invaded the peninsula of Yucatan, and on the North the Toltecs led by a priest named Hueman.

"This priest was the conductor of the Toltec tribe. He lived in the City of Huehnetlapallan, or Tlopallan, situated to the North of the Gila River, in Lower California, which belonged to the kingdom of Tollan. When that people had considerably increased there were disagreements with the chief of the Toltec kingdom.

"Hueman, who loved liberty, advised his people to emigrate to other lands that might furnish them with the precious means of subsistence. As Hueman or Huermatzin (the man of the big hands, or the powerful), was a noble hearted man of character, who had always distinguished himself for his wisdom, the people obeyed him and undertook their march to better lands (544th year of the vulgar era).

"They called him Hueman, the man of the big hands, because he was a benevolent man, and also because, in a neighboring pueblo of Mexico, he left, in certain black rocks, the picture and perfect stamp of his hands, as of white gypsum, which no one was able to erase. The legend also

relates that on his way to Cholula, Hueman left the stamp of his hand in a rock, in crossing over a bridge and that, in remembrance of this, a pueblo was founded there called Tlamaco, which means rock of the hand.

"During the pilgrimage of the Toltecs, Hueman led them with wise councils, encouraged them with his example, and taught them many useful things. They cultivated the fields all along the places which they passed, obtained in return abundant harvests, and founded cities and pueblos, the traces yet existing of those primitive times, as "Casas Grandes," in Chihuahua, preserved to this date as historical monuments.

"As Hueman was also a priest it was believed that he interpreted Divine will, so it was that they continued their march whenever he commanded. After many years of pilgrimage they reached Jalisco, a land of fertility and mild climate; they remained there for eight years, then followed their way to the South till they came to Guerrero, and finally they headed eastward as far as Tollantzingo, in the year 667 where they thought of settling definitely. They built the City of Tula as a reminder of the name of their country. Tula is today one of the oldest cities in the new world.

"Hueman was an astrologer who foretold the end of things, a benevolent man, large-hearted, who consecrated the whole of his life to the good of his people; he established the Toltec monarchy and gave it wise laws.

"The Toltecs had nine kings. The second king made the 'Teamoxtli', or Divine Book, which was a precious collection of paintings commemorative of the great historical events, such as the deluge, the confusion of tongues, the pilgrimage of those tribes, their laws, their maxims, ceremonies, and other interesting things. When Hueman died he foretold the destruction of his empire.

"The Toltecs were tall, robust, and well formed, valiant and fond of liberty. They lived in well built stone-houses surrounded by gardens. They were quite civilized, and had their artists, architects, physicians, and astronomers

"Their dresses were made of cotton, and their sandals, of ixtle ornamented with emeralds, and feathers of various colors. Their weapons were arrows, clubs, slings and iron-edged sticks.

"They worshipped the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars."

LEGEND OF QUETZALCOATL OR GRACEFUL SERPENT.

"After the establishment of the Toltec empire, more than 900 years ago, there followed several remarkable events, among them, the appearance of a fantastic personage preaching the doctrine of Christ all over the Continent. According to the Toltecs he represented the evening star, and as some historians affirm, he was a Christian bishop.

"He was a tall, white, full-bearded man, with curly hairs, and had a magestic mien. He wore a long tunic reaching to the heels, adorned with many black and red crosses.

"After wondering for many years he arrived at the City of Tula in 922, preaching the Christian religion. In all the pueblos he visited he erected temples for prayer and penance, ornamenting them with showy feathers, precious stones, gold and silver. He administered baptism, confession, and offered sacrifices of birds and small animals to the gods. He never consented to the offering of human sacrifices, such as the Toltecs were wont to do.

"This fantastic personage of whom the Toltecs made a god was generally known by the name of Quetzalcoatl, which means, in Nahualt language, the graceful serpent.

"During his stay with the Toltecs, he was very good and benevolent to them. When he came to the pueblos, the Toltecs received him with open arms; he taught them many useful things, showed them how to cultivate the fields and weave the cloth with more ease, and polish gold and silver; lastly he increased the knowledge of the Toltec people and improved the arts and industries, displaying, in this manner, his love for the people to such a degree as to be acclaimed by them as their King and Supreme Priest.

"In this exalted post he labored restlessly for the suppression of human sacrifices. These savage ceremonies consisted in cutting open the breasts of prisoners, pulling out their almost palpitating heart and offering them to their gods.

"As Quetzalcoatl had ideas very opposite to the religion of the Toltecs, he naturally made for himself many enemies; and, having revolted against him, those who favored human sacrifices, cast him out of Tula and made him flee to Yucatan.

"On his departure he announced the destruction of the empire. He said that white, bearded men, like himself would come from the East and that they would be the lords of these kingdoms."

This legend of Quetzalcoatl and his prophesies, whether true or not were preserved by the Toltec pueblos, and handed down from generation to generation, and from pueblo to pueblo; and such prophesies had a strong influence on the minds of the Aztecs at the time when the Spaniards came to conquer Mexico.

Concerning the reign of queen Xochitl we take the account, written about it, by the Mexican author, Gregorio Torres Quintero, which is as follows:*

QUEEN XOCHITL.

In the seventh century of our era there came (it is not known whether from the North or the South) certain peoples of an advanced knowledge and customs. They settled in Tolan or Tulan, today Tula, in the State of Hidalgo, and founded a monarchy which lasted four centuries and a half.

History Calls Them Toltecs.

About the year 1001, a lord lived in Tolan called Papatzin, a relative to the monarch. Legendary lore (not history) attributes to him the discovery of the pulque, an extraction from the Maguey. Astonished at, and satisfied with, his discovery, he wished the king to taste the beverage, and he resolved to send him a chocolate-cupful.

Papatzin had a daughter, a damsel remarkable for her beauty, so exquisite that she was called Xochitl, that is, flower. She was the chosen one to carry the present to the king.

When she arrived at the palace she was conducted to the audience hall.

Tepancaltzin, such was the king's name, was on his throne, received the present with a pleasant smile, tasted the liquid and praised it; but his eyes could not be withdrawn from the beautiful face of the little girl, who humbly abashed would not raise her eyes fixed on the floor. A violent and fatuous love

*Fabians: "Bio'gs de los Heroes de la Independencia."

was kindled in the monarch's breast who conceived the plan of stealing the damsel; so he sent a reward to the discoverer commanding him to send him more pulque.

A few days after, when Xochitl brought him another supply, she was detained at the palace.—Go and tell Papatzin, said the king, that, interested in his daughter's fate, I have resolved to keep her at the palace where she shall be educated by wise matrons. With the message he also sent great riches.

"Sometime after Xochitl became the mother of a child who was named Meconetzin, that is to say, Son of the Maguey, which later on he changed for that of Topiltzin. Papatzin was always imagining that his daughter was receiving a zealous education at the palace, but not having seen her for three years, rumors reached his ears of what was really going on. Disguising himself as a peasant he went to the palace in which Xochitl dwelt, penetrated into the gardens, and there, after a little, discovered her with a babe in her arms. "Does the king, then," he asked her, "keep you as his wet-nurse?"

Blushingly she confessed to him that the child was hers. In a rage the offended father went to the king to demand explanation of her dishonor. Tepancaltzin succeeded in appeasing him making him many promises, among others, that of marrying Xochitl after he became a widower, and of placing her son on the throne. Everything was faithfully fulfilled, Xochitl became queen and her son king.

But the elevation to the throne of that prince, born outside the pale of matrimony, brought unpleasantness among the relatives, who believed themselves entitled, with better right to the heirship of the power.

At that time the kingdom was troubled by religious revolution on account of the presence in Tolan of a mysterious, white bearded man named Quetzalcoatl. Topiltzin in the end was a bad monarch. On account of his example good custom became relaxed and the ancient virtue disappeared.

Civil war soon showed its terrible mien. Some caciques from Jalisco who believed themselves with right to the throne, appeared with large armies and a very sanguinary struggle ensued.

Tepancaltzin and Xochitl were still living, and in spite of their advanced years, they came out to the defense of their son, but both died battle fighting in the first ranks.

TOPILTZIN FLED.

The conquerors, killed the inhabitants, famine and epidemics came, and so many calamities and disasters put an end to the Toltec Empire which never again rose from its ruins.

We shall now close this chapter with an account of the foundation of Tenochtitlan, or the real Mexican Empire by the Aztecs, reproducing the words of the erudite Mexican writer, Emilio Rodriguez. With this interesting legend the reader shall have been treated to the choicest selection of all the celebrated authors who wrote concerning those countries, and who have given to the world the only thing they have been able to find out, after long years of painful study, regarding the origin of the founders of the great empire which so astounded its conquerors. Let Rodriguez speak:

"Many years ago several tribes left Aztlán, a pueblo situated to the North of the Gulf of California. Among them came the Aztec, or Mexican race, led by a learned priest whose name was Tenoch, and whom the Aztecs loved tenderly because he taught them many useful things. He was a benevolent, large-hearted, energetic, and courageous man. All rendered him a cuasi-religious worship. He was a genuine patriarch.

"They brought along with them a stone idol, Huitzilopotchli, god of war, and, in their long pilgrimage, they always obeyed the commands of the god, as made known to them by Tenoch, chief and priest of the tribe. They undertook a pilgrimage which lasted nearly 200 years; and, although they stopped in some places, where they planted corn and erected buildings, they abandoned them in search of others, which they also left, until they reached the valley of Mexico, where other tribes had already settled,—such as the Chichimecas, in Texcoco, the Tecpanecas, in Atzacapozalco, the Colhuas, in Ameca, and the Chalcas and Xochimilcas, in their respective pueblos.

"The Aztecs arrived at the hill of Chapultepec and were enchanted at the sight of the exuberant forests of "Ahuehuetes" which surround it, of the mild climate and abundance of chase, all of which jointly invited them to settle in that delightful spot.

"They had hardly commenced the building of the temple for their god, when the Colhuas, with other allied tribes, surprised them and made them prisoners. Their Aztec chief, Tenoch, (which means cactus on rock), realizing the numerical superiority of the conquerors advised his people to submit, to bear in silence the ignominy of slavery in order to acquire sufficient strength so as to accept the struggle when the time of emancipation should come.

"The Aztecs, through their great respect for their priest, at once submitted obediently to the Colhuas, who gave them for their habitation a place thenceforth called Tizapan.

"There they dwelt for several years until the Xochimilcas, on one occasion, declared war against the Colhuas.

"The latter asked help from the Mexicans, and then it was that Tenoch thought of helping, while at the same time he determined to terrorize them into giving his people their liberty.

"The Aztecs presented themselves at the battle field, each carrying a basket and a knife, as their only weapons, wisely advised by their chief Tenoch not to kill the prisoners they might make, but to cut off their right ears and gather them in their baskets.

"After the defeat of the Xochimilcas, the Aztecs appeared before the king of the Colhuas showing him and offering him his prisoners, that is, the baskets containing the ears. The king of the Colhuas was astonished, as well as were his people, at the sight of so many ears. In addition the Aztecs carried to Tizapan four prisoners in order to sacrifice them in a feast to their god Huitzilopotchli. They also asked on that day an offering, from the Colhuan king, worthy of their god so as to make the ceremony more solemn. The later sent them a dead bird wrapped in a dirty rag; the Aztecs suffered in silence that unheard of outrage. They threw away the offering of the king, and placed on the altar in its stead, some fresh herbs and a knife made of ixtle, as symbols of the

terrible vengeance they would take in the venturesome days they were expecting to come.

King Colhua, who had been invited, attended the feast, and, in his presence, they sacrificed the captive prisoners by cutting open their breasts and drawing out their palpitating hearts in order to offer them in the shrine of their god. This display of cruelty terrorized even more the king of the Colhuas who decided to grant the Aztecs their liberty. They continued their pilgrimage, but not forgetting the offense done their god by the Colhuas they swore vengeance on them.

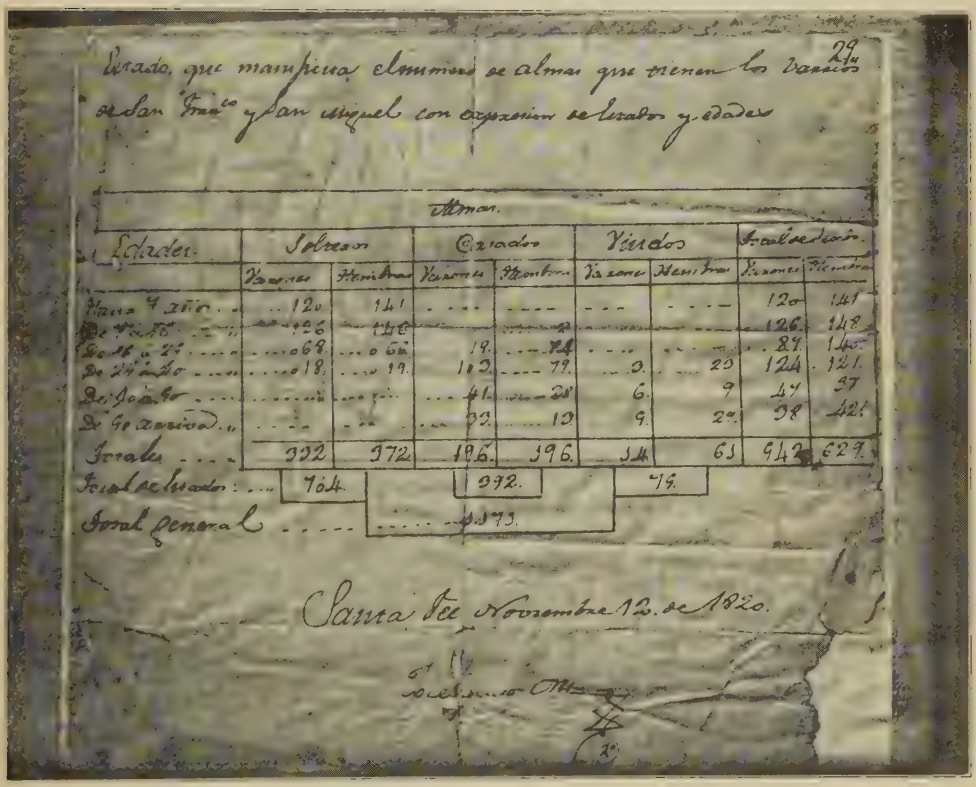
"They demanded from King Colhua a daughter in order to install her as the priestess of their temple and mistress of their gods. The king acceded to this solicitude, yielded his daughter, who was taken amid great solemnities to be deified. They invited King Colhua for the day of the celebration of the feast, who, with the nobles of his kingdom, appeared on the appointed day, carrying along valuable offerings; but on going to offer them to Huitzilopotchli, he saw at the foot of the idol, by the sinister light of the torches, a priest covered with his daughter's skin; the Mexicans had flayed her in order to comply with their oaths of revenge. The king, in a fit of rage, persecuted them, and the Aztecs took refuge among the reeds that grew in the small islands of the lake. Amid their despair, crushed down by hunger and always pursued by the Colhuas, they were on the point of surrendering, when one night the god spoke to the priest saying: 'In the middle of the lake a cactus has grown and is so large and leafy that an eagle has his nest in it; go and look for him at sunrise and you will find him eating the most beautiful and graceful birds. There shall you build the city.'"

"The Aztecs began their march the next day, and they saw that from the middle of the lake a fountain of limpid water shot forth and, upon a cactus that grew on a rock, beheld the eagle; there the priest decided to build the city which he called Tenochtitlán (City of Tenoch.)

"By building stockades, occupying the small islands, and filling up with earth the spaces between, they succeeded in making the ground firm. They first erected the temple to Huitzilopotchli, the teocalli of their god, and then constructed

their huts around it, out of reeds and "tules" from the lake, such being the only materials they could then obtain, and lastly they divided their city into four wards in the year 1325. Such was the birth of the city which is to-day the capital of the Mexican Republic—an imperishable work due to the rash boldness of that handful of valiant Aztecs, and to the constancy and energy of that intrepid prudent chief." The Spaniards after the conquest, forgot the name of the Tenochtitlán and called Mexico, "New Spain."

In the next chapter we shall speak of the Aborigenes of New Mexico, that is, of their origin and beginning.



Estado que manifiesta el numero de almas que tienen los barrios de San Fran.co y San Miguel con expresion de sexos y edades

Almas.

Edades.	Solteros		Casados		Viudos		Total de ambos sexos.	
	Varones	Hembras	Varones	Hembras	Varones	Hembras	Varones	Hembras
Desde 7 años	120	141					120	141
De 7 á 16	126	148					126	148
De 16 á 25	68	65	19	74			87	145
De 25 en adelante	18	19	102	79	2	25	124	121
De Soltero			41	28	6	9	47	37
De Casados			33	12	9	2	38	42
Totales	332	372	196	196	34	63	942	627
Total de ambos	764		392		79			
Total general	1175							

Santa Fee Noviembre 12. de 1820.

This hand tabulated census is the official census of the only two wards which made the City of Santa Fe in 1820. It was taken by Judge José Ignacio Ortiz. It shows a total population of 1175 souls, of which 704 were unmarried, 392 married and 79 widows and widowers—The original is in my possession THE AUTHOR.

Capitol of New Mexico—Santa Fe.

CHAPTER II

The Indigenes of New Mexico—What Is Gathered From Their Traditions Regarding Their Origin and Beginning—Discovery of America—Empire of the Montezumas—Conquest of Mexico—Cortés and Guahutemoc.

In the preceding chapter we spoke of the origin, beginning and civilization of the Aztecs; now we shall treat of the origin, beginning and civilization of the aborigines of New Mexico. Just as Córdova, Grijalva and Hernan Cortés met in Yucatan and Mexico with an empire of a civilized, indigenous population, in like manner, the first explorers and conquerors of New Mexico found there half-civilized indigenes and nomadic tribes of savage Indians. It is true that the half-civilized indigenes of New Mexico were not constituted in an empire or any sort of government that embraced them all, as were the Aztecs in Mexico when Cortès conquered their empire, and the Peruvians and the other Indians of South America when their incas were conquered by the Pizarros and Almagro; nevertheless, they lived in well formed communities, dwelling in adobe houses, and each community having its own unique system of government. They tilled their lands and subsisted from the products thereof, from hunting and fishing, dressed in garments made of cotton cloth and wool; in short, their history shows that on the north of Anàhuac, or the Empire of the Montezumas, they were the most civilized Indians inhabiting the prairies and valleys in these regions. One of the points which neither historians nor ethnologists have been able to unravel, not to mention the futility of their efforts to clear up the question of their origin and beginning, is as to whether or not the indigenes of New Mexico are of the same race, origin and beginning as the Aztecs, Toltecs and Mayas. Of that point we shall presently speak.

The Author does not believe that the indigenes of New Mexico, whether we regard the semi-civilized peoples, the savages or the nomadic tribes, had in the least anything in

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common with the indigenes of Mexico, except, to be sure, the common origin of mankind, Adam and Eve. No similarity whatever has been found, either in their customs, religious beliefs or their idioms. We have already seen, in the preceding chapter, that, according to their traditions and the Mexican historians, the Mayas, the Toltecs, and the Aztecs were the ones that peopled the valleys and prairies which formed afterwards the immense and wealthy empire of Queen Xochitl, that this empire was subsequently conquered by the Aztecs, and that the Aztecs were the founders of the vast empire of Montezuma. We have already seen, also, that the Mayas arrived at the Peninsula of Yucatan coming from the East; that from the North, the Toltecs and the Aztecs went. Nothing more then is necessary than a brief acquaintance with the geography of the Americas and a very simple examination of the map of the Western Hemisphere in order to realize that none of the wandering tribes that peopled Mexico could have been descended from the indigenes of New Mexico. A legend, invented some few years ago, is extant to the effect that Montezuma I, mounted on an enormous eagle, had conducted his people from New Mexico to the Valley of Mexico; but that is all a myth, and only silly persons can believe such nonsense.

The Author of this work has studied very carefully the various volumes of the erudite writer Hubert Howe Bancroft which he dedicates, in his very interesting work, entitled "Bancroft's Works," to the history of the indigenous races of the Pacific States, "Native Races of the Pacific States," and he has also consulted and examined several of the authors to whom Bancroft refers, without having ever been able to arrive at any other conclusion than the one already expressed: that is, that the more one endeavors to fathom the mystery that envelops the origin of the first inhabitants who set foot on the Americas, the greater becomes the resultant confusion. With a desire, however, that the reader may know the theories of the writers who have busied themselves more extensively with the story of the aborigenes of New Mexico he will present here a brief summary of what they have related, and in the subsequent chapters the reader shall read the accounts given by the first explorers, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and those

who followed him, and in this manner he shall be able to compare the judgment of those writers with the observations made by those who were the first eye witnesses of the primitive conditions of the indigenes of those times.

Bancroft tells us that the Pueblo Indians (for so were they first named) are, rather than any of the other Indian nations, the real American tribes, basing his belief in the fact that, even to our own day, they are to be found living in the same localities in which the Spaniards found their ancestors; that they still live and dress in the same fashion, as their forefathers lived and dressed, when New Mexico was discovered; and that their dwelling houses are of the same identical form and architecture as the ones occupied by their said ancestors. Bancroft admits however, that there are many who refuse to believe that the Mayas, the Toltecs, and the Aztecs, in spite of their superior civilization, were in the early times of their coming, more cultured than the Pueblo Indians, and that not withstanding the very radical differences in their customs, idioms and culture, insist in maintaining that the said indigenes of New Mexico were the first who set foot on this soil, and that the Mayas, the Toltecs, and the Aztecs, who afterwards emigrated to Mexico, sprang from them.

The learned writers who thus adhere to the theory that the Aztecs had their origin in New Mexico and Arizona, that they were the descendants of the Pueblo Indians, that, at the time of the emigration of the Aztecs, their ancestors remained in New Mexico and Arizona forming themselves as the years went by, into pueblos or communities, give, as proofs of their arguments, the ruins and relics which are observed and met with, at every step, in the desert valleys, and mountains of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Utah; but, in the opinion of the Author of this work, their arguments do not bear them out very well when compared with what Bancroft tells us in his "Native Races." Referring to said ruins and relics Bancroft says: "It is very difficult for me to conceive a greater and more essential difference than the one existing between the buildings constructed by the New Mexican Indians and those erected by the Indians of Mexico and Central America".....I do not wish to be understood as affirming that it may not be possible that the Aztecs were not,

thousands of years ago, of an identical race as the native born New Mexicans, as I have faith in the great changes of ages, and in how those changes affect human beings; not at all, I simply assert that it is manifestly absurd to declare that the ruins alluded to had been the work of the Aztecs at the time of their departure on their emigration without these ruins conserving any semblance to the buildings found in Anáhuac" (Mexico). We have now seen in concrete form the opinions of Bancroft and of those who differ from him; let us now hear the historians from New Mexico and from other parts, together with the authorities they quote in support of their suppositions. There have been several writers who besides Bancroft, have brought histories to light concerning New Mexico, such as the work of Josiah Gregg "Commerce of the Prairies," published in 1839, in two volumns, which on account of the venality of its language, and the countless asinities and calumnies with which it abounds in regard to the inhabitants of New Mexico, cannot be considered a serious historical work, despite the fact that, some of its chapters are not lacking in merit; the history of New Mexico, by Davis, which seems to have taken its inspiration from the obscene nonsense written by Gregg concerning the inhabitants of New Mexico; the history of Haines which, by reason of the impartiality and erudition of its authoress, is more or less worthy of attention and consideration, but the ones which deserve most our study as serious works, besides Bancroft's are those written by the Most Rev. Juan Bautista Salpointe, Archbishop of Santa Fe, entitled "The Soldiers of the Cross" and Mr. L. Bradford Prince's entitled "Historical Sketches of New Mexico." Both historians enjoy a very highly established reputation in the world of letters, imparting thus to their works the prestige which the words of such prominent personages carry along in themselves.

Prince divides the history of New Mexico into three distinct epochs; the epoch of the aborigines, the Spanish and the American epochs. In the first part of his work he gives us a very concise indeed, but most pleasing and judicious epitome concerning the aborigines of New Mexico. He tells us that, as the Indians had no records, or writings

about their origin and beginning, nothing can be learned about their history except what can be gleaned from their traditions, and what the Europeans, who first knew them, wrote concerning them. Prince declares that, on divers occasions, before the conquest and colonization of the territory by the Spaniards, several explorers had traversed its plains and mountains, and mentions Cabeza de Vaca who visited the territory (it must be kept in mind that at those times the boundaries of New Mexico extended on the southeast very far into the interior of what is today the state of Chihuahua, Mexico), by mere accident in 1535-36 in his long pilgrimage from the coast of Florida to the Pacific Ocean, and Friars Augustin Rodriguez (Ruiz) and Marcos de Niza who visited it, Niza being the first one, in 1539, Cordova, as a conqueror in 1540, and Ruiz 1581—Niza and Ruiz as missionaries. Prince does not hesitate to say—and he is not mistaken—that all that is known about those epochs is what is read in the accounts given of them by Cabeza de Vaca, Niza, Coronado, etc., etc. Those accounts, says Prince, are of the highest interest, as they picture very vividly the admirable degree of civilization of the Indians, who were found entirely isolated, in the midst of intransitable deserts, and surrounded by nomadic and barbarous tribes.

In the history of New Mexico, written by Helen Haines in 1891, we find the startling remark that "It has been said that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico were forced to live in pueblos and communities by the Spaniards," but the author does not tell us where she obtained that information, and it may well be thought that, from a vague rumor, or through a stretch of her own imagination she may have made such a fabrication, as no author of respectable standing has ever uttered such nonsense. Speaking of the origin of the indigenes of New Mexico this author says that "Their origin is wrapped up on that obscurity which always envelops or surrounds unlettered peoples," and declares the Toltecs and Aztecs to be descendants of the indigenes of New Mexico.

The last author, whose word, on account of the elevated and eminent position he filled in the world, is sufficient guaranty of what he asserts, bases the statement in his profound and serious study both of sacred as well as profane history. He

is His Grace, the Most Rev. Juan Bautista Salpointe, Archbishop of Santa Fe. Don Juan Bautista Salpointe, dedicated the greater part of his life to the history of the Indians of America, lived among them as missionary the greater part of his life, broadening, perhaps more than any one else, his theoretical knowledge acquired from books by means of his practical and personal study of the Indian himself, constituting himself, not only a missionary but also an archeologist and ethnologist, and leaving us, as a result, his beautiful work—"The Soldiers of the Cross," fruit of his learning acquired at the cost of untold sufferings, privations and sacrifices. As worthy successor of the immortal Archbishop, Don Juan B. Lamy, and of the other missionaries, Ruiz, Niza, and other "Soldiers of the Cross," he naturally dedicated his whole missionary life to the study of the indigenous inhabitants of New Mexico and Arizona, having at his disposal, in addition to his own observations, the valuable ecclesiastical archives at Santa Fe, among which are found historical accounts written from the earlier times on the history of New Mexico by the real conquerors of this soil—who came to baptize with their blood the immense plains and deserts of what is today California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. In possession of such rich treasures of most useful information, he bequeathed to us such an interesting mass of circumstances, which blended together, present to us in a convincing manner that which better agrees with natural reason respecting the enigmatical question which has so dumfounded the historians, archeologists and ethnologists of past and present epochs and the writers of all nations, namely: "What is the Origin and Beginning of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico?"

The inquiries of Archbishop Salpointe stretch back to the year 1538, the date in which the first evangelical missions were given in that part of the territory which up to 1863 belonged to New Mexico, but which is now the State of Arizona. "Without pronouncing any judgement," he tells us, "on the opinion of ethnologists and of those who make serious studies of the sacred books regarding the American Indians, we simply follow the text of the book of Genesis, adhering to the belief that, with the exception of Noah and the mem-

bers of his family, the deluge completely destroyed mankind and all the living animals, save those which by the command of God, Noah carried along with him in the Ark, the fact as to whether the deluge was partial or universal being unimportant to our aim," and in support of his proposition, he quotes the book of Genesis wherein God says: "I shall erase, he said, from the face of the earth, man who I created, from man unto the animals, from the reptile unto the birds of the heavens, for I repent of having made them." The illustrious author mentions, in addition to what has been related, the renowned writers, both Catholics, and of other religious creeds, among the latter, W. Fraser, G. Rowlinson, Karl Ritter, Baron von Humboldt, and John Kitto, as well as the Spanish and Mexican authors, Gomara, Herrera, and Juan de Solorzano who agree with him. We have already seen in another part of this work that when the Spaniards conquered the Mexican Empire, the indigenes had ideas based in their traditions, of God, and Jesus Christ, of the creation of the world, and of the deluge. The indigenes of Arizona, or rather of New Mexico, had the same belief and ideas, according to Archbishop Salpointe. Analyzing these versions, the Archbishop asks himself the question following: "If all men are descended from Noah, whence came the first inhabitants of the New World and which direction did they take to get it?" and he finds a satisfactory answer to his question in what Herrera, Torquemada and Acosta say, that the inhabitants of the New World had their origin in the Old World and that all descended from Noah. To the statements of said authors His Grace, Archbishop Salpointe subjoins the answer given him by Juan Soxloza, a Pápago Indian of Saint Xavier's mission, Arizona at the time His Grace was but an humble missionary in Arizona in the year 1866. "Soxloza," the Archbishop says, "had a good knowledge of the Castillian language and paid no attention to the fabulous narrative of those of his own tribe. I asked him if he knew whence had come the Pápago Indians and of what means had they availed themselves to come to this country; and he answered that he had many times heard the elders of his tribe say in their "night time chats" that very long ago their ancestors had come from very far off lands and that they had had to ford a river that was neither

too wide nor too deep, but because their number was large, all could not cross the river in a short time, whereupon the water of the river commenced to swell, so much that a great portion of the people remained on the other side of the river.'

The Author of this work became convinced that the theory asserting that all Indians, who first set foot on the Western Hemisphere, came from the old world after the deluge, is the most reasonable and the one which agrees better with common sense. He arrived at this conviction, from what he was able to understand after consulting the authors quoted, and other writers whose theories he did not care to quote because those writers seemed to hold on to the theories herein set forth. The reader, however, will have a better opportunity of forming his own solution of this mystery when he reads the chapters following in regard to the accounts given by the first discoverers and conquerors, enabling himself thus to see the precise condition of the indigenes in this State from the time when their history began to be formed from that condition; and look back, with the aid of the knowledge thus acquired, to pre-historic times, increasing thus the number of those who have made such studies, and have dedicated so much time in an effort to tear open the veil concealing that secret.*

Before commencing with the narratives of the first settlers and conquerors of New Mexico, the Author wishes to give here a brief account of the discovery of America, the life and grandeur of Emperor Montezuma, his ancestors and successors; of the discovery and conquest of Mexico by Hernan Cortès, and the tragical end of the last Mexican Emperor, Cuahutemoc, cruelly and cowardly murdered by Cortés, who thus stained the immortal diadem that adorned his brow as the conqueror of Mexico, and wreathed with imperishable glory the name of the most illustrious of the heroes that honor the pages of the history of the new world—that noble patriot, the Emperor Cuahutemoc. The Author deems this narrative of great importance because the discovery and conquest of New Mexico is interwoven with those great events. What the Author shall say, in said narrative concern-

*Note—See the account given by Fr. Benavides to the King of Spain in 1630 which is published herein as Appendix No. 1.—THE AUTHOR.

ing the discovery of America, of the reign of the Montezumas, the conquest of Mexico, and the execution of Cuahutemoc by Cortés has been taken from the interesting work of Don Bruno R. Fabian, a Mexican author, entitled: "Biografias de los Héroes de la Independencia."

Christopher Columbus—Discovery of America.

Christopher Columbus was a celebrated sailor, who, thanks to his courage and intelligence, succeeded in discovering, after many sufferings, and a perilous navigation in that immensity of water which we call the sea, the continent wherein we live.

He was born in Genoa, Italy, in 1441, according to the best opinion. His parents were Don Domingo Colombo, a woolcomber, and Doña Susana Fontana Rosa. He went through his primary course of instruction on his native soil, and, on the fourteenth or fifteenth year of his age, he dedicated himself to navigation. In this career he acquired a profound knowledge even to the conception of the existence of other regions, for the wise men of those days thought there were no other lands but the ones they knew.

America, as the whole large extension of land in which we live is called, was not known by the inhabitants that dwelt on the other side of the sea.

In past ages there was a general enthusiasm in those kingdoms; they were endeavoring to discover a short route to India. Portugal was the most venturesome; it caused mariners to be brought from everywhere, among whom was Columbus, who for sometime had been living in Portugal married to the daughter of a celebrated navigator. This navigator left him as a legacy many geographical charts, descriptions of voyages, and accounts of some discoveries. These enlightened the mind of Columbus to the degree of enabling him to conceive the happy thought that, by traveling westward, India could be reached sooner, because the earth was round. The idea of the roundness of the earth was the greatest honor in the glory of Columbus.

Having conceived his project he first proposed it to his own country, Italy, but, his countrymen not heeding him, he returned to Portugal; there a body of learned men considered

his projects but, as they could not understand them, they declared him a crazy visionary, whereupon he went to Spain.

This nation approved the plans of Columbus with great enthusiasm, but no immediate help was furnished him because the nation was engaged in a war with the Moors. He, therefore, had to wait for about eight years. In his despair, and already a widower, for his wife had died, he resolved to go over to France, but his friends, among them Fray Perez de Marchena, the queen's adviser, exerted in his favor their great influence with the queen who in a burst of enthusiasm exclaimed: "I take the enterprise of the discovery for my crown of Castille; if there are no funds in the treasury I shall pawn my jewels." That did not happen as Don Luis of Santángel, secretary to the queen, furnished the money necessary for the expedition.

Columbus was appointed admiral of the high seas and viceroy of the countries he should discover. Immediately he fitted up his expedition which was composed of three schooners called the "Santa Maria," "La Pinta" and "La Niña," and, each with a crew of thirty men, set sail from the port of Palos de Moguer on the 3rd day of August, 1492, amid music and the general enthusiasm and joyous acclaim of the multitudes.

A few days after the departure one of the vessels La Pinta was damaged, and they had to stop over at the Canary Islands till September 6 when they embarked upon the real enterprise over that immense waste of water to them unknown. On the 13th day the navigators observed the variation of the needle, a circumstance which struck them with great terror until Columbus explained to them the cause. After the next three days they beheld in the heavens a luminous belt which again alarmed them, but the admiral who was a man of great talents was able again to dispel their uneasiness by explaining to them the meteor, and later on they met with a flock of birds, a part of the sea full of weeds, pieces of wood and many signs of nearby land, which caused among them a great deal of wonder and enthusiasm, but as these disappeared, gloom and even rebellion again returned.

On October 10, a general dissatisfaction broke out afresh among the crew, there was an instance in which they threatened the admiral with death if he did not turn back

to Spain, but he succeeded in quieting their spirts by offering to return them to their homes if in a few days they did not discover land. Happily the next day, at about ten o'clock at night, Columbus noticed in the distance a faint light, and ordered them to be ready promising a reward to the first who should see the land. All night long they kept watch with indescribable restlessness, until at dawn, on the twelfth, Rodrigo de Triana gave the glad shout of "Land, Land," amid the boom of a cannon shot.

Admiral Christopher Columbus after sailing for seventy days, exposed to the murmurs and rebellion of his crews, had discovered on the twelfth day of October, 1492, these lands which he baptized with the name of "New World."

The first land he touched on this continent was one of the Lucayas called "Guanani" by the aborigines, and to which he gave the name of San Salvador, being also known by the name of Cat Island.

It is said that Columbus, filled with emotion and falling on his knees, kissed the land, moistened it with his tears and gave thanks to Providence for permitting him to realize what had been for so long the object of his ambition. He next discovered the island of Cuba, which he called Juana, and about which, he said, that it was the most beautiful land that eyes had ever seen. He also discovered Santo Domingo and some others. In the waters of Haiti one of his vessels was wrecked, and, on his return to Spain, he was on the point of perishing in mid sea. When he thought himself lost, on account of the fury of the storm, he wrote a brief account for the Catholic kings, placed it in a flask secured in a cask which he carefully calked and then cast it into the sea. But Providence was more favorable, and the daring mariners reached Spain landing in the very same port of Palos on March 15, 1493, from which they had before started.

The Catholic sovereigns received Columbus kindly, and, after celebrating his return with a solemn high mass, they listened with enthusiasm to his narratives, overloaded him with honors, and placed at his disposal every element needed for a second voyage.

The admiral made four trips to the new world, adding in each important discoveries the news of which caused great sensations in all the kingdoms of those times.

When he returned from his last voyage, the queen had died, and now, bereft of the aid of his generous protectress, he died in the greatest misery on the 20th of May, 1506, without receiving from King Ferdinand the least help, but carrying along with himself the glory of having discovered a new world and having demolished in fragments ancient science.

His remains reposed in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Havana, where they were carried in 1795. Spain has demanded them as national relics.

Montezuma II or Xocoyotzin.

After the reigns of the great King Izcoatl, Axayácatl, the conqueror, and the valiant and warlike Montezuma Ilhuicamina, Montezuma II or Xocoyotzin ascended the throne.

Montezuma was a brother of Ahuizotl, and son of Axayácatl the conqueror. When the assembly of the nobles named him king of the Aztec empire, he was a priest, a dignity held in high consideration and respect by all social classes

Montezuma lost, with his elevation to the throne, all humility, he became haughty and tyrannical, destroyed all equality, and surrounded himself with a despotic and ridiculous court.

The whole empire groaned under the yoke of his tyranny, and the tributes continually increased under penalty of death, to those who opposed.

His extravagance was scandalous. Three hundred subjects waited on him. On a large table more than a hundred viands were placed before him in gold and silver vases, and, seated on a fine linen cushion, he pointed with his golden sceptre to the viands he desired to take and which were served to him during the sound of music. His servants remained in his presence in the most profound silence. They changed garments three or four times a day without ever again putting them on. His despotism was incomparable. No one entered his palace without taking his shoes off, and, before addressing him a word, they had to make three profound bows, saying, "Lord,

my Lord! Great Lord!" without raising their eyes to see him, and, on retiring, it was forbidden them to turn their backs on him, for every little carelessness was punishable with death. Later on, his despotic and tyrannical character suffered a radical change; his superstition increased from day to day, and he believed that every natural phenomenon as an eclipse, hurricane, etc., was a foreboding of the destruction of his empire, foretold, as it had been, by the old priests.

For that reason, when the Spaniards arrived in Mexico he felt not with sufficient courage to counteract in himself what he called the decree of his false gods, and to battle against the enemy as his forefathers had done, but sought by means of rich gold presents, to retire them, not understanding that in such a manner he only augmented the greed of the Spanish adventurers.

In the first embassy sent by him to Cortés the latter learned that he was held as a god (by Montezuma). He dressed himself, thereupon, in his best apparel, ordered a throne to be improvised for him, and there received the Tecutli and the ambassadors from Montezuma with rich presents. He commanded the artillery to be fired and ordered the Spaniards to maneuvre on their horses. This exhibition, so extraordinary for the Indians, resulted in convincing them that the Spaniards were gods, and that Quetzalcoatl came with them. Some Indians copied on paper, made from the Maguey, all that they had seen, and promptly took the road back to Mexico to give an account to their Monarch.

Whilst this was going on in the coast of Vera Cruz, Montezuma in Mexico was gathering his nobles and several kings, his friends, to deliberate as to whether they should receive on terms of peace those whom he believed to be deities. Cowed down, as they were, they all resolved to receive them peacefully; Cuitláhuac alone, however, said: "My way of thinking is, Great Lord, that you admit not in your house those who may eject you from it!" But Montezuma, who was so sunk in the fatality of his beliefs left the way open to the Spaniards, who, otherwise might have not realized their bold plans.

When Cortés appeared before Tenochtitlán, (the City of Mexico) Montezuma went out to receive him amid a scandalous display, and, after giving him a banquet, lodged him in one of the palaces of the kings.

Later on, the Monarch always weak, went to live with Cortés, in cowardly compliance with the caprices of the invader, and the latter having learned from the Monarch himself that other Spaniards were coming to take the command away from him, left Mexico leaving Alvarado in his stead. The latter made a horrible massacre in the temple of their gods at the moment in which the Mexicans were celebrating the feast of Tozcatl, in the month of May.

This infamous massacre roused the resentment of the Indians who attacked the Spanish quarters. Alvarado received a stone blow on the head and several Spaniards were wounded. Montezuma for the first time succeeded in causing the assailants commanded by Cuitláhuac to withdraw.

The Mexicans withdrew in search of new war elements. On the arrival of Cortès the Spaniards were attacked anew, but Cortés, taking advantage of the person of Montezuma told him to go out and harangue his people. The Monarch, weak as usual clad in his best robes, and accompanied by Marina, a noble Indian damsel who served as interpreter for Cortés, approached the parapet of the palace, harangued his people telling them that the Spaniards were ready to leave the City. .....but, as it was to be expected, the Mexicans failed, for the first time, in this traditional respect to their kings, and young Cuahutemoc incited the warriors not to obey Montezuma, and he himself pushing ahead of them threw a stone at him wounding him on the head. It is said that Montezuma died from the effects of the stone blow, but historical criticism has rejected that error assuring us that it was a murder planned by Cortés to confuse the Mexicans at the funeral of their king and thus succeed in getting out of the city. Montezuma II or Xocoyotzin died on June 30th, 1520, a victim of his superstitions.

Hernan Cortés—Conquest of Mexico.

This Spanish adventurer was born at Medellin, Spain, in the year 1485. His parents were Don Martin Cortés and

Doña Catalina Pozarro de Altamirano, both of noble families, though of scant fortune. They dedicated him to study, and, from childhood he displayed a great deal of brightness and vivacity. He was sent to the University of Salamanca because his parents wished him to study law; but, as he was of a restless character, inclined to adventure, he soon abandoned college and embraced with warmth the profession of arms. His parents sent him to Santo Domingo, where he contributed powerfully to the subjection of the rebellious pueblos; thence he went over to settle in Cuba, and there he received from Governor Don Diego Velásquez the appointment of Alcalde in the villa of Santiago.

Velásquez, hearing, from two expeditions he had organized, that gold and silver in great abundance were found on the coasts of Mexico, enthusiastically organized a third expedition and placed it under the command of Hernan Cortés. The latter secretly equipped his expedition, summoned his men to embark, bought provisions, arms and ammunition, and several horses, etc., using for that purpose a large portion of his own means.

Velásquez, fearing that his authority might be disregarded by Cortés when the latter should be sailing on the high seas, and knowing him to be already a man of military reputation, gave orders depriving him of the captainship, but it was too late. Cortés set sail, heading for Yucatan, on February 10, 1519. With him were Pedro de Alvarado, who gave his name to the river of Alvarado, Diego de Ordaz, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and others, too many to enumerate.

After traversing a perilous stretch of sea, they reached the island of Cozumel, Pedro de Alvarado ransacked the temples, stealing their golden ornaments; but Cortés, disgusted at such an action, severely reprimanded him and caused the stolen valuables to be returned to the Indians. There he set free a Spaniard named Gerónimo de Aguilar, who had been made captive in a previous expedition, and who further on, was of great use to him as an interpreter. From Cozumel he took the way to Tabasco, where he was received with hostile demonstrations, but, after some bloody combats, entered the town. Here he received several embassies bringing him presents of birds, gold and twenty

female slaves, among them the celebrated Marina, who contributed powerfully to the triumph of the conquerors. From Tabasco he went to Vera Cruz where he founded that city, and organized a body or council of aldermen who gave him the title of Captain General declaring him independent of the authority of Velásquez. At Vera Cruz he again received several presents from Emperor Montezuma, among them two enormous plates as large as carriage wheels—one made of gold representing the sun, and the other of silver representing the moon.

Montezuma sent word to Cortés stating that he was very glad of his coming, but that it was not possible for him to come to the coast, nor for Cortès to reach Mexico, because of the roughness of the roads. The monarch thus wished, by means of entreaties and gold to turn the Spanish conquerors away, not realizing that he increased, by such a course, the cupidity of bold adventurers, who thereupon undertook, with greater eagerness, their march to Mexico. On their approach to Tlascala, the Tlascalans, under the brave Xicotincatl, gave him three battles, in all of which, the Spaniards were on the point of defeat; but having at last triumphed, they remained there for a month instructing the Indians in the Christian doctrine and gathering information regarding Mexico.

They next turned toward Cholula where they were received with every appearance of good will, but a conspiracy against them having been discovered by Marina, Cortés ordered the principal chiefs to gather on the plaza. When they came, he ordered his soldiers to put them to death. The massacre lasted two days, and for two days the sacred city was a mass of flames.

Cortés then continued his march to Mexico, where, on his arrival, Montezuma received him with great pomp and gave him lodgement in the palace of his father Axayácatl. A few days after, Montezuma was the prisoner of Cortés, and the later being informed by Montezuma himself that other Spaniards were coming to take the command away from him, he started from Mexico leaving Pedro de Alvarado in his stead.

Diego Velásquez had sent Pánfilo de Narváez to deprive Cortés of the command, but the later was surprised at

Cempoala and completely routed. On returning to the Capital, Cortés found things sad and sombre, because Pedro de Alvarado had caused a cowardly massacre to be committed on the Indians. The Indians rebelled and assaulted the Spanish quarters. Cortés commanded Montezuma to quiet down his people, but far from being appeased, they hurled rocks at him wounding him on the head.

The Spanish adventurers, bent on escaping, prepared their march, and, after the death of Montezuma, filed out of the city taking the greatest precautions not to be seen or felt by the Indians; but Cuitláhuac, who knew their movements, commanded his men to destroy the causeways, bridges and lanes, and, on discovering the Spaniards, attacked them with such a fury that the principal captains of Cortés perished by drowning, and himself also narrowly escaped from the massacre. But thanks to the daring of his companions, they saved him amid the whistling of arrows, the roaring of cannons that sank in the mud, the sundering of armours and the frightful yells of the combatants, above all of which were heard the overpowering voices of Cuitláhuac and Cuahutemoc.

That night, June 30, on which Cortés lost his best officers, together with the rich treasure he had gathered, is known in history by the name of "Noche Triste," and so it was for the Spaniards, but for the Mexicans it was a most glorious one. Cortès at the foot of a tree wept bitterly out of rage and grief, as he beheld his haughty army file out before him, a wretched and wrecked remnant. Cuitláhuac, the hero of this heroic struggle died a few days after, a victim of smallpox.

The Spaniards fled in search of new allies, for without that help, they would have been sacrificed without the least pity. Cortés laid siege to the city on May 31, and after 95 days of heroic resistance, Emperor Cuahutemoc fell a prisoner into the hands of his enemies. He was subjected to the torture that he might reveal the whereabouts of his treasures, and, later on, was hanged by order of Cortés without justification. With the death of Cuahutemoc on February 27, 1525, the conquest of Mexico was finally accomplished.

Cortés, now lord of the empire of Anáhuac, made himself master of all the wealth, and committed every sort of horrible crimes, and the King of Spain, on calling him to account

for his actions, punished him with contempt and denied him all protection. His friends neglected him, and he died in the greatest indigence, full of disappointment and disgust in the year 1547.

Cortés was the conqueror of Mexico, and, despite his cruelties, he loved fondly the country he conquered, brought to it European civilization, and, with it, its progress and development.

Cortés and Guahutemoc—(A Dialogue.)

(By Don Francisco Montes de Oca.)

Cortés.—This fine country, full of beauties, virgin forests, limpid streams, splendid skies is suffering to-day from the horrors of war, famine, and disease. Yours is the duty to apply the remedy, as that remedy is in your hands, and thus bring back to it its old-time peace and happiness.

Cuahutemoc.—It is true that the Aztec people is to-day the prey of all the calamities you mention; but it is not its fault. Never has the world witnessed a more formidable and, at the same time more sublime struggle, but the Aztec people never takes a backward step in the defense of its homes; the struggle it is keeping up is sacred; it is resolved to suffer any hardship, to shed its blood, to die .....! I cannot see any other remedy for this cruel situation! .....

Cortés.—The remedy is in your hand.

Cuahutemoc.—In my hand? What is it?

Cortés.—Tell your people to receive us as brothers.

Cuahutemoc.—When have you seen the children of the forest receive the Jaguars as brothers? You are an insensate in speaking in that manner! But, no, you are right. Montezuma received you with open arms and welcomed you with the most generous hospitality. This gave us a chance to learn how you are used to pay Aztec benevolence; with theft, outrage of our homes, and murder. Are you, perchance, imagining that we are going to imitate the example of that imbecile and cowardly monarch?

Cortés.—Do not call him so. He was a good king.

Cuahutemoc.—So have I said it; he was good with you and yours and you paid him badly.

Cortés.—I always treated him well.

Cuahutemoc.—You treat him well, when you have imprisoned him, loaded him with chains, despised and finally murdered him when he could no longer serve you?

Cortès.—No, I did not kill him. It was yourselves!

Cuahutemoc.—If we had killed him we should have done no more than an act of justice, and the nation should have the conscience of having performed its duty. The traitor, the man not espousing the cause of his countrymen, the man who deserts the camp of his nation, and joins stranger, such a man is killed. But he has not died by the blow of our justice, but by the blow of those who received from him the clearest evidences of friendship and consideration. I was the first one to hurl my arrow at him and jeer at him deservedly. He was an imbecile, you are an ungrateful, wicked wretch!

Cortés.—You are growing haughty and forget that I have the might, and can destroy you in an instant.

Cuahutemoc.—What matters it if you have the might, when we have the right! Within our breasts a heart palpitates which infuses strength into our veins and makes our arms powerful. If you wish to fight, come on, as you will always find us at our posts.

Cortès.—Put a stop to a war that will ruin your people.

Cuahutemoc.—If you are so desirous of its termination, begone, depart from this land, and leave us in these places which the sweat and patriotism of our ancestors has fertilized. Vanish away on those cursed waves that cast you on this soil.

Cortés.—I cannot, for on coming hither I brought along providential designs.

Cuahutemoc.—What, then, do you want?

Cortés —To make you happy.

Cuahutemoc.—We were so before; since your coming we have been unfortunate! But enough of talking!

Cortés.—Only one word: Surrender!

Cuahutemoc.—Death first!

Cortés.—I shall destroy your city by fire and blood!

Cuahutemoc.—And I shall defend it until buried beneath its wrecks.

To Cuahutemoc.

'Tis fit in honor of Cuahutemoc
Here to relate a glorious incident.
The valiant chief, when in his prison cell,
Was asked by Cortés greedy to reveal
The hiding place of his imperial wealth,
Which he refused unflinchingly to do,
A faithful vassal did likewise refuse.
Wherefore Cortès the cruel order gave
That both be placed upon a torturing fire
Until their feet were roasted by the coals.
At last the vassal looked sadly up and
Exclaimed, in deep despair, "Let me reveal;
The racking element quite overpowers
Me." But firm as a rock, the noble prince,
Reproving him with a disdainful glance,
Replied: "*Am I upon a couch of flowers?*"
These splendid words shall ring throughout all time
And last while shine the everlasting stars?

JOSÉ PARRA Y ALVAREZ.

With the very brief accounts which the reader has just read about the discovery of America, and what relates to the Mexican Empire, its conquest, and the sad fate of Cuahutemoc, its last emperor, his mind will be better prepared for the perusal of the history of the most romantic of voyages—the voyage of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in the following chapter.

The first of those explorers is Cabeza de Vaca, who pictures to us, in graphic words, the incidents of Narváez's ill-fated expedition, and his own providential escape with his comrades. What we say here, we say it simply by way of introduction to the chapter that follows:

The story of Cabeza de Vaca is the first page, so to speak, of the history of New Mexico; that is, what is today New Mexico, but which was inhabited all over, and extended far into the territory which makes today the State of Chihuahua and Sonora, at the time when Cabeza de Vaca and his three

companions wandered through these regions (1528-1536). The Author, not desiring to pass as the critic of the methods adopted by other writers in what regards their style and manner of giving their own deductions respecting what Cabeza de Vaca, Niza, Coronado, Espejo, Oñate, Otermin and De Vargas said; nor yet, with any intent of censuring any one of them, will give to the reader, as far as it is possible for him, and without adverse commentaries, the self-same words of the first explorers, missionaries and conquerors. In drawing a distinction between "explorers, missionaries and conquerors" the Author means that he places Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, Espejo and others, whom he shall hereafter mention, in the category of mere explorers; contemplates Fathers Niza, Ruiz and other Franciscans and Jesuits, who visited the country in the early times of its history, as true missionaries; while he believes Oñate, Otermin and De Vargas, as the only ones who, with the help and co-operation of the Franciscans and Jesuits, should be considered and in strict rigor called the conquerors of New Mexico. All the historians consulted by the Author of this work, excepting Professor Bandelier, who has denied the fact in articles published in the New Mexican of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and in other writings, agree with the Author's belief, that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions traversed, in effect, the State of New Mexico in the southern part or through the Valley of the Pecos River. With this brief statement this chapter closes, and we shall take up in the next the voyage of Cabeza de Vaca.

CHAPTER III.

Account given by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca of the tragic end of the Armada of Pánfilo de Narváez—A graphic Narrative of all that happened between the years 1528-1536 in the marvelous journey from coast to coast by Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions.

The mind of man almost refuses to believe that human nature could be capable of performing exploits such as the Spaniards performed in the discovery, conquest and pacification of the new world.

In glancing over the pages of history the admirable exploits of Julius Cæsar, Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, and Gonzalo de Córdova, among many others, appear most strikingly before our vision; and, in the last years of the eighteenth century, and the first ones of the nineteenth, the imposing and majestic figures of George Washington, San Martin, Miranda, O'Higgins, Simon Bolivar, Hidalgo, Morelos, Allende, Abasolo, and other great men, stand out before us in bold relief. What history tells us about these great men borders on the supernatural, the sublime. But the exploits of Cuahutemoc, Cortés and his captains; the Pizarros and Almagro eclipse the glories of their predecessors and successors in the profession of arms. Who can read the histories of the conquest of Mexico and Perú without admiring Cortés as he overcomes the powerful Montezuma and Cuahutemoc, his successor in Mexico; and Almagro and the Pizarros in Perú subduing the no less powerful Incas of South America? All this notwithstanding, there is no parallel in the annals of the world in what pertains to corporal suffering, patience, and inconceivable privations to the trials of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions.

Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was born at Jerez de la Frontera in the province of Cádiz, but the date of his birth could never be ascertained. He was a branch of an illustrious origin, for his father, Don Francisco de Vera, was the conqueror of the Canary Islands (1483). His mother, also a lady from a noble progeny, was Madame Teresa Alhaja Cabeza de Vaca,

the daughter of a favored descendant of Martin Alhaja, who received the surname of "Cabeza de Vaca" by order of the King of Navarre, because, on one celebrated occasion, Alhaja had marked out with the horn of a cow a path for the army through rugged mountains whereby he facilitated the defeat of the Moors in the year 1212, and the triumph of the Spanish arms at the battle given that year in the place called "Las Navas de Tolosa." It is believed that Alvar Núñez abandoned the paternal surname in order to perpetuate the surname "Cabeza de Vaca" given by the king to his far off maternal ancestor, Don Martin Alhaja, as has been said.

Narváez Sails.*

In the year 1527, the seventeenth day of June, Pànfilo de Narváez set sail from the port of San Lúcas de Barrameda, Spain, with six hundred men, including soldiers and colonists, and six vessels in order to conquer and colonize the river of Las Palmas and la Florida in conformity with what he was ordered to do by the Royal Schedule, or Decree. It

*All that the reader has read, and all that he will read in this chapter, on Cabeza de Vaca, is taken from Cabeza de Vaca's own works, "Naufragios y Comentarios," republished in Madrid, Spain, by Victoriano Suárez, in the year of 1906, this being the third edition published in Spain, the first edition having been published in Valladolid, Spain, by Francisco Fernández de Cordóva, in the year 1555, in one 8 tvo. vol. of 143 pages. The second edition was published by Don Andres Gonzáles Barcia, in the first volume of his work entitled "Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales." This edition was reprinted in another work (by the same author) entitled "Historiadores primitivos de Indias de la Biblioteca de Autores Españoles" (vol. XXII., pp. 517-599). From these publications several authors of nearly all the nations of the world, among them Mrs. A. F. Bandelier and her husband, Prof. A. F. Bandelier, Hodge and other writers in America and H. Ternaux, of France, and others in Europe have published writings on this valuable work. The said edition from which I have written this chapter—the aforesaid Suárez edition—is contained in two volumes, said two volumes being vol. V. of the series of works now being published in Spain by Suárez under the title "Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes á la Historia de América," which I obtained direct from Spain, through the co-operation of my literary agents in Madrid, Messrs. Antonio Aragon Montéjo and Lic. Francisco Sicilia, together with all the other official publications of the "Relaciones" of the rest of the explorers and conquerors of New Mexico.—THE AUTHOR.

seemed as though Narváez had been born only to endure and suffer adversities and reverses of fortune (considering the fatal outcome of his expedition against Cortés, in Mexico, when he was routed by the latter at Cempoala, on May 27, 1520, and the untoward end of the expedition we are now considering) bearing up in this last expedition during the voyage, against tempests and hurricanes which wrecked two of his vessels with the loss of 60 men before he reached the coasts of Florida and finally weighing anchor on April 14th, 1528, in the bay of Tampa, on the coasts of Florida with only 300 men, having lost the rest—some in the hurricane just alluded to—and the others deserting from him in the Island of Santo Domingo.

From the bay they made their way inland towards the North. Among those that made up the expedition were Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes de Carranza, a natural from Béjar del Castaños, province of Extramadura, Captain Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, of Salamanca, and a slave of Dorantes, named Estevan, or Estevanico, a negro, whom Dorantes had brought from Azamor, on the Western Coast of Morroco. For several days they always journeyed northward, among tribes of warlike Indians who frequently worried them, threatening them with hostile demonstrations. On the other hand, they were pressed by hunger, disease, and the differences and quarrels among themselves on account of the little or no discretion of Narváez. That sad plight obliged Narváez to seek the means of returning to Spain. As the vessels he had brought from Spain had already gone back, he had no recourse left but that of building small barks from the elm trees that were found in the forests near the sea. After innumerable troubles, they were able to construct five floats made of elm wood, deerskins and nails which they made from the metal of their stirrups and spurs. In such boats did they embark on the Mississippi River, and at last arrived at Pensacola Bay, only to be almost all wrecked in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico. When the five floats had reached the mouth of the river, the power of the streams aided by a violent hurricane hurled the floats far into the sea keeping them apart for four days, with serious danger to the crews. All the floats sank, excepting

the one occupied by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions and another occupied by a few more. This was cast ashore on the 6th of November, 1528, on a small island off the coast of Texas, inhabited by savage Indians. Another of the floats was also cast ashore, sometime after, in the same place as Cabeza de Vaca's; so that, in a sudden, as it were, eighty Spaniards met together with Dorantes among them.

They remained on the small island, which they named "Isla del Infortunio" (Island of Misfortune) until the winter was very far advanced, and, as they were so disprovided of victuals and dress, the inclemency of the weather engendered diseases from whose effects only fifteen survived. At the sight of their desperate situation, they resolved on separating. Dorantes and his slave were made slaves by the Indians and taken to the mainland, whither Cabeza de Vaca also followed them, being already tired of living on roots, by selling shells and other trinkets to the Indians in the role of a merchant. At last, Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Maldonado, and Estevanico were able to get together, after several years of wandering in captivity from tribe to tribe, and were also able to effect their escape through flight, and by undertaking their famous journey across the continent which lasted one year, or to the 25th of July, 1536, the day they reached the City of Mexico. The reader must consider what the Author has said heretofore as a mere introduction to the vivid description which Cabeza de Vaca himself gives us of the expedition and journey. We therefore, proceed to reproduce a summary of the interesting narrative leaving out all details of little or no importance.

Account of the Journey.

After resting for a good while in Mexico, Cabeza de Vaca set sail for Spain, presenting to the king on his arrival, the interesting narrative in 1537, which begins with a poem in which he modestly assures his Majesty that the narrative must not be considered a thing of little importance "by those who in your name may go to subdue those lands and to convert its inhabitants to the knowledge of the true faith and the true God and place them under the imperial dominion." The first chapters of the narrative are omitted because they

treat of the events that happened from June 17, 1527, on which day Narvàez set sail from the Port of San Lúcas de Barrameda, to the 14th of April, 1528, the day on which the expedition laid anchor on the coasts of Florida; of which events and incidents a more or less detailed account has already been given the reader in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter, and we shall only follow up the narrative commencing on the day on which Narváez undertook his march inland with his men on April 15, 1528.

The next day (15) the governor (Narváez) made up his mind to explore those lands in order to see what might have been therein. With him went Cabeza de Vaca, the assessor and forty more men, among them six on horseback. They traveled all the day stopping for the night near a large bay which seemed to extend into the interior or the inland. The next day they returned to the coast. Governor Narváez then sent a bark in search of the port which Miruelo, the pilot, said he knew and with orders, also, that, if it were not found, to continue the voyage towards Havana in search of the vessel which Captain Alvaro de la Cerda was bringing in with provisions, and to bring it to Florida. Narváez and many of his men again explored the land contiguous to the coast; they traveled about four miles where they met with four Indians and gave them some corn to see if they knew what was given them; but the Indians knew the corn well, and leading the Spaniards into the inland, carried them to a place where the tribe was camped and showed them many corn fields. In the same manner the Spaniards saw that the Indians had many things indicating that some civilized peoples must have previously been in those lands. Among those things there were remnants of woolen and linen goods which the Indians said they had obtained in a distant province, very far in the interior which was called Apalaches.

From that point the Spaniards continued their journey carrying along always some Indians as guides until they encountered a village composed of 15 houses and saw also fields of corn already ripe. The Spaniards stayed two days on that spot returning thence to the coast where they remained until May first, a day on which after a consultation between Narvàez, Cabeza de Vaca, Bartolome Fernández,

Jerónimo Alariez and others, Narváez resolved to abandon the ships and continue his expedition by land; all of which Cabeza de Vaca opposed, because they were all disprovided of everything necessary for such an enterprise.

On the following day Narváez gave the order to march inland giving each one of the 300 men that accompanied him two pounds of bread and one pound of bacon. Of the total number of men 40 were mounted. With so small a ration they traveled 15 days without meeting with anything, not even Indians. They continued their journey until they came to a rather large river and upon its banks beheld a town of Indians from whom they obtained corn in sufficient supply to appease the hunger that was devouring them. From here, at the suggestion of Cabeza de Vaca, Narváez sent Cabeza de Vaca, with Captain Alonzo del Castillo and 40 men, in search of a sea port which, the Indians told them, was near. They returned disheartened because of not having been able to cross the river, and Narváez sent another party of 60 men under the command of Captain Valenzuela, with instructions to follow the course of the stream to its mouth and see if he could find the seaport. Valenzuela found the port but reported that it was not of sufficient depth to allow the anchorage of vessels of ordinary size; that, yet he had seen five or six canoes with Indians who crossed from coast to coast, their heads bedecked in very showy feathers. The report of Valenzuela greatly dejected all the Spaniards with the exception of Narváez, who wishing, perhaps, to duplicate the blow given by Cortès to the malcontents of his troops when he sunk his vessels in the port of Vera Cruz, imagined he was to find another empire like the Mexican, and make its conquest with less men and with an absolute lack of food and war provisions, being thus enabled to eclipse the glory acquired by Cortès and avenge the ignominious defeat which Cortés had made him suffer in Mexico. But Divine Providence had made Cortès a real genius, and had predestined him, as an instrument, to encompass the christianization of the great empire of the most powerful of Indian rulers in the American Continent; while he, Narváez, had not been formed for the realization of great things, and only his inmoderate ambition, and unmeasured envy towards the real heroes made him believe himself

capable of greater exploits. He was a poor deluded dreamer incapable of commanding a mere squad of soldiers, much less expeditions worthy only of great generals. The wretched end of the expedition about which we are here speaking was the result of Narváez incompetence, as he himself gave proof of, when all his men with the approval of Cabeza de Vaca, after hearing the account of Valenzuela, urged him to return to the coast, but he (Narváez), his soul puffed up with vanity, disregarded the entreaties and suggestions, of his comrades and undertook, despite the report of Valenzuela his march towards the land and towns of the Apalache Indian tribe.

After traveling for several days without seeing Indians, or anything else of any importance, they met on June 17th with a party of Indians who carried their chief on their shoulders profusely adorned with most splendid feathers, and skins richly painted and trimmed. The crowd was accompanied by several Indians playing on reed flutes. The Spaniards were much pleased with the coming of the Indian chief, who, after a long consultation with Narváez, by means of signs, informed the Spaniards that he was at war with the Apaches, and that he would gladly accompany them to go and fight against them. Narváez gave presents of glass beads to the Indian chief, and the latter returned the courtesy by giving Narváez as a present the deer skin with which he covered himself. At the end of the interviews Narváez continued his march camping, at the end of the days travel, by the bank of a very large river, in order to cross which they had to build floats. One from among the troops, Juan Velásquez, attempted to cross the river on horseback, and was drowned together with the horse, an occurrence that distressed the Spaniards very much, as it was the first death in the expedition to the main land, and because too, Velásquez was one of the most intrepid soldiers in the expedition. They recovered the corpse and the horse and with the horse's flesh they supped that night as they were already very hungry.

The next day they arrived at the village of the Indian chief above mentioned, who, together with his people fled, though following the Spaniards from behind and making warlike demonstrations. Thereupon Narvàez ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. That was done without the Indians making

front to resist the onset; but they ran away fleeing and leaving four of their number, who were captured and obliged to go with the Spaniards as guides on the journey. On June 25th they reached the land of the Apaches, where they found abundance of corn and venison, but there were no male Indians, and the forty dwellings in the village were occupied by the Indian women and children.

Capture of the Village and What Was Seen In It.

Cabeza de Vaca with fifty mounted men, and accompanied by the Inspector, Alonzo de Solís, in obedience to superior orders, assaulted the village, but the natives made no strong opposition, contenting themselves with shooting a few arrows at the Spaniards without inflicting any greater damage than the killing of a horse, the horse of Solìs, and then abandoned the village with their wives and little ones. They returned next day requesting permission to carry away their families. The request was granted by Governor Narváez, who in imitation of Cortés, caused the Indian chief to remain as his prisoner, a thing not at all pleasing to the Indians, for the next day they appeared, in great numbers, and attacked the Spaniards, loosing, in the encounter, an Indian killed by the Spaniards. The battle did not last long, as the Indians soon fled but only to return, a few hours after, to renew the assault with the loss of another Indian killed also by the Spaniards. After this defeat the Indians did not again molest the Spaniards who remained camping in the village for 25 days. At the end of this time they resumed their inland march, taking along with them the Indian chief and a few of his people who served as guides, and from whom they received the information that there was very far in the interior a village called Aute in which there was a great abundance of corn, beans and other vegetables. All along the way the Indians did not fail to harass the Spaniards. Before getting to the village of Aute the Spaniards saw two very large lakes and a very large river, and had several combats with the Indians with the loss of one Spaniard and several wounded, among them, Cabeza de Vaca. At Aute they met with no resistance, the Indians having abandoned the place before hand; but they did find much corn, beans and other eatables. From Aute

Narváez sent Cabeza de Vaca with some soldiers in search of the coast so as to be able to get out of the lands of the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca could not find the way to the coast as a very large and deep river, which they could not ford, did not allow that; and on his return to Aute, he found Narváez and his comrades sick and discouraged at the many things they had suffered, and without any hopes of ever realizing the dreamed of ideals of Narváez.

The Spaniards Leave Aute.

On August 3rd, 1528, the Spaniards abandoned the village of Aute starting on their march to the sea coast, amid thousands of sacrifices and uncountable sufferings. The number of the sick increased more and more from day to day, and the troubles and worries were becoming unbearable, by reason of hunger, the dangers they often saw themselves exposed to on account of the attacks of the Indians, and above all, through the lack of sufficient horses for the transportation of the sick. Despite their distressing situation, the Spaniards never gave away to despair, neither did they weaken in the least in the firmness, of their faith in God. Animated by that faith they traveled fearlessly struggling at the same time with hunger, the savages, the decease. In the midst of all this, traitors were not wanting, among the cavalry troop, who secretly planned their flight with the horses leaving the sick and other comrades to perish from hunger and at the hands of the savages. Owing to the vigilance of Cabeza de Vaca the conspiracy was discovered, and the consummation of a most horrible crime was avoided. The rebellious were again pacified, and Governor Narváez, realizing that the conspiracy might again take root in the hearts of the malcontents, condescended to give them a proof of his sincerity and of the great confidence he reposed in them. He summoned them together with the other Spaniards to discuss the best step that could be taken to get out of the strained and very painful situation they were in. All at last agreed that the only recourse left them was to construct floats and then try to reach the Gulf by rowing. But as they had neither tools, nor any of the other materials necessary for the construction of the floats, nor the provisions needed to feed those who would he employ-

ed in constructing them, the realization of the project seemed impossible. But the genius of man can make incredible things in cases of extreme necessity. They determined to construct the five floats or barks mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

In order to subsist while the work lasted, a horse was ordered to be killed every third day, and also that a squad of horsemen should go every day to the village of Aute after corn, a thing which the Indians, sometimes willingly, and most times reluctantly, furnished them with, in order thus to accelerate their departure. Finally, on the 22 of September, after having lost 40 men, some killed by disease, and others by wounds received in engagements with the Indians, and when they had only their last horse left, they were able to embark in their fragile barks, having first killed the horse that remained in order to feed themselves with its meat; and from the skin they made gourds in order to carry drinkable water. To the place from which they embarked they gave the name of "Bahia de los Caballos." Before they reached the Gulf the water gave out and they were compelled to drink salt water, three Spaniards dying therefrom. They also landed again after sailing six days, but the Indians attacked them killing two and wounding the Governor, Narváez. The 5th of November (1528) was the day they reached the Gulf and were separated by the angry sea and violent hurricane of which we have spoken, with the mentioned result. Now, omitting what the reader already knows about the captivity of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions among the savage Indians, for six years, we shall give, what remains for us to say about the end of that memorable expedition, in the very same words of Cabeza de Vaca. It must be observed that the four adventurers, Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo, and the negro Estevanico, remained at that time in captivity, separated from each other, and unable to see one another, and that they were reunited only, through mere chance, about a year before their flight, which was when they concerted their plan of escape.

The Spaniards Driven to the Extreme of Eating Their Own Flesh.

Before proceeding to narrate the journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions it is proper to inform the reader of the tragical end of seven Spaniards of those who had survived the ill fated expedition after the rest had perished (in this number Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions are not included) and the extremes hunger drove them to. In the Island of Malhado, camping on the coast, were five, Sierra, Diego López, Corrál, Palacios and Gonzalo Ruzy. These five were of the last of those who remained in that place because of lack of food, the rest finally succumbing to death by starvation, and they became crazy with hunger and turned into cannibals by eating their dead companions until there was only one left, "because there was no one to eat him," as Cabeza de Vaca says.* The other two were Sotomayor and Esquivel. Cabeza de Vaca states that these two were the only survivors of another remnant of the expedition who had remained in another part of that same coast, and who also had been driven to the extreme of eating one another; that of the flesh of the dead companion they would make jerked meat, and fourteen of them died and were so eaten from November to March, and that finally there were only two left, Sotomayor and Esquivel; that when Sotomayor died, Esquivel made jerked meat of his flesh, and was able to live on his companion's flesh until the month of March when an Indian found him and took him to his tribe.†

Having given the reader the details of the shocking situation these truly wonderful men had to face, the parallel of which is not to be found in any part of the world, we shall proceed to contemplate the most daring of all known overland journeys, a journey which surpasses in daring and romance even the travels of Marco Polo.

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* "Y cinco Christianos que estavan en rancho en la costa llegaron á tal extremo que se comieron los unos á los otros hasta que quedó uno solo, que por ser solo no huvo quien se lo comiese. Los nombres del los son estos: Sierra, Diego López, Corrál, Palacios, Gonzalo Ruyz."—Naufragios, 52.

† "Y los que morian, los otros los hazian tasajos, y el último que murio fue Sotomayor, y Esquivel lo hizo tasajos, y comiendo del se mantuvo hasta primero de Marzo, que un Indio de los que á alli avian huyido vino á ver si eran muertos y llevó á Esquivel consigo."—Naufragios, 67.

Life of Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions Among the Savages.

After getting used to the life of the Indians, Cabeza de Vaca embraced the occupation of merchant, and, so, was able to go from tribe to tribe, as he says it, in his narrative published with the title of "Los Naufragios." "And now with my deals and merchandise I used to enter into the inland all I wanted to, and all along the coast I wandered about for over 40 to 50 leagues."

In that way he could penetrate very far into the interior of the country, seeing, as he tells us, in one of his visits for the first time, buffalo cows about which he says: "They catch cows here, and I have seen them, and eaten thrice of them, and they appear to me to be of the same size as those of Spain; they have short horns, as the Moorish ones, their hair quite large, merino kind, like a cloak; some are grayish and others black, and in my opinion, they have better and thicker meat than the ones here. From those that are not large the Indians make sacks to cover themselves, and from the best ones they make shoes and shields; these come by way of the North through the interior, down to the coast of Florida, and are scattered over all the land for more than 400 leagues; and, all along this road through the valley by which they come, people who live there come down and get their maintenance from them, and import into the land large quantities of hides."

The merchandise sold by Cabeza de Vaca to the Indians were things which cost him only the work of gathering them.

"My chief deal was in periwinkles, their center pieces, and shells with which they cut a sort of fruit which is like french beans and with which they cure themselves and make their dances and feast, and this is the thing that commands higher price among them, and sea beads and others things. So then, this was what I carried into the land of the interior; and in exchange and barter for them received skins and red ochre with which they rub and color their hair and faces; flint rock to make arrow points, paste and hard reeds to make them, and certain tassels made of deer-hair which they color and change into red."

To his good luck as a merchant, fortune vouchsafed to add that of his acquaintance with hygienic laws. Availing him-

self of every possible opportunity to capture the kindness of the savages he employed all the advantages of his education and experience in order to do many things which to the Indians were nothing less than miracles. The superstition which had taken hold of the Indians respecting the supernatural power which Cabeza de Vaca possessed, according to them, reached its climax when they told him that he and his companions could cure all the diseases (here the Spaniards were already together), for now and then, the different tribes, with which they dwelt, were wont to meet, and it was on this occasion that they were able to begin to concert plans for their escape. Cabeza de Vaca relates to us how he and his companions came to exercise the science of medicine in the following terms:

"In the island about which I have spoken they wanted to make us physicians without examining us or asking for our credentials, because they cure disease by breathing on the sick person, with that breath and the hands they expel the disease from the patient; and they commanded us to do the same and to be of some service; we laughed at it, and told them that was a joke, for we could not cure, and for this reason they would take our meals from us, till we did what they told us. And seeing our resistance, an Indian told me that I did not know what I said in saying that, what he knew would avail nothing, because the rocks and other things that grow on the fields have virtue; and that he with a hot stone carrying it on the stomach, healed and took the pain away, and that we who were men, it was certain, possessed higher virtue and power. And as at the time we were here so many of their people died, there was a very great famine in the houses on account also of their observance of their customs and ceremonies; and those who looked for it, no matter how much they worked, could obtain but very little owing to the hardness of the time; and for this reason the Indians who held me went out of the Island, and in some canoes crossed over to the mainland, to certain bays where there were many oysters, and during three months of the year they eat nothing else and drink very bad water..... And so we staid until the end of April, when we went to the sea coast where we ate strawberries the whole month." The circumstance of making

cures to the Indians looked like a providential design for on account of the cures which Cabeza de Vaca performed daily, the Indians of all the tribes showered on him so many attentions that they allowed him to pass freely from tribe to tribe, a privilege of which Cabeza de Vaca readily availed himself to join with the other Spaniards and the negro Estevanico, especially so on the occasions when the different tribes used to assemble at the places where prickly pears abounded in order to have their dances and eat pears and continue thus to secretly mature their plan of escape, all of which he did with admirable discretion and skill, and of which he gives us an account in these words:

"And for this reason I determined to go over to the others, and with them I had better luck; for, as I had become a merchant I tried to make the best I could of the occupation, and for this reason they fed me and treated me well, and entreated me to go from place to place for things they wanted; for, by reason of their continued warfare, one cannot travel nor trade.....And this occupation suited me well, because by practising it I had liberty to go wherever I pleased, and was not obliged to do anything, and was no slave, and where ever I went they gave me good treatment and fed me on account of my merchandise, and most chiefly because by going around in it, and looking ahead as to how I should leave; and among them I was very well known; they were very glad when they saw me, and brought them what they needed, and those who knew me not sought me and wished to see me on account of my fame."

As the Spaniards were already agreed as to availing themselves of every opportunity for getting together and attempting their flight, all of them were always on the alert; and as each and all knew well the whereabouts of the others, Cabeza de Vaca, was able, without much difficulty, when he thought the opportune moment had arrived to take the dangerous step, to consult with Dorantes and Estevanico during the month of August, so that finding himself, at that season, quite near the nation where Dorantes and Estevanico were staying, the later came to him and communicated to him their plans to commence the flight, as Cabeza de Vaca tells us in his narrative:

"And on the 13th day of the month, Dorantes and Estevanico arrived at where I was, and told me how they had left Castillo with other Indians that were called Anazados, and that they were near there, and that they had much trouble, and that they had been lost, and that in another day ahead our Indians moved to where Castillo was, and were going to unite with those who held him, and become friends the ones with the others, because so far they had had war, and in this manner we recovered Castillo."

Cabeza de Vaca accompanied Dorantes and Estevanico to the place in which Castillo was with the Indians. The description of those Indians is given us by Cabeza de Vaca, thus:

"These have another tongue and are called Avavares, and are those who used to carry the bows to ours, and went to trade with them; and although they are of another nation and tongue, they understand the language of those with whom we were before, and they had arrived there on that same day with their tents."

It was in this place that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions formally made up their minds to carry into effect their daring project.

Escape of Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions.

It was now the middle of August, 1535, when Cabeza de Vaca and his companions escaped, and commenced the most celebrated pilgrimage recorded in history, a pilgrimage which served to immortalize the names of those four human beings, who, by their daring and intrepidity left, on the pages of the history of the New World, written and imperishable proofs of a peerless courage, which heightened by their unconquerable faith in Divine Providence, enabled them to emerge safely from so many dangers and sufferings. Commending themselves to the protection of God, they undertook their wonderful march in the month of August, 1535, running at full speed, but with great fears of being observed and captured by the Indians.

At sundown they arrived at an Indian camp, led by four Indians, who had been sent beforehand to meet them, as the Indians of that camp, who belonged to the nation of the "Chavavares," had already heard that Cabeza de Vaca and his compan-

ions were coming in that direction, and that they made cures of great merit, and were therefore received with manifestations of joy. "At once," says Cabeza de Vaca, "the people offered us plenty of prickly pears, for they already knew about us and how we cured, and of the wonders which Our Lord worked through us, which, even if there had been no others, sufficiently great were the ones of opening roads for us through an unpeopled land, and allowing us to meet people where for a long time none had been, and freeing us from so many dangers, not allowing them to kill us, and feeding us in our extreme hunger, and so disposing the hearts of those people as to treat us well, as we shall say further on."

The next day some Indians came and asked Castillo to cure them, as they were suffering very hard from headaches. Castillo offered a mental prayer with eyes upraised to heaven and his hands folded across his breast, and made next the sign of the cross over the Indians which was enough for them to feel cured, and to communicate the miraculous incident to their people; wherefore they made great feasts bestowing lavishly on Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades real homages. The Indians that had been cured were willing to give proofs of their gratitude and brought the Spaniards a large quantity of prickly pears, and with them others came who said they were sick, and brought along with them a great deal of venison and other food stuffs. All were cured by merely the sign of the cross made over them by Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo, wherefore they continued their festivities, and the prestige of the Spaniards, as superior beings, was thereby assured; such was the pleasure felt by the Indians with the cures made by Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo that from that day on heralds were sent from nation to nation announcing the arrival of the Spaniards. Cabeza de Vaca knew well how to recognize and turn to advantage what their cures procured for them, and thenceforward he assumed in truth and in deed, the superiority and supernatural power which the Indians attributed to him. So it is that, at the close of the feast, things changed. Let us hear Cabeza de Vaca:

"And the feast lasted three days on account of our coming, and at the end of them we asked them concerning the land ahead, and for the people there were in it. We told them

that we wanted to leave at that sundown, and they answered that in that direction the people were very far off, and we commanded that they send word to let them know that we were going thitherward, and they excused themselves as much as they could for doing this.

.....But they dared not do anything else, so they sent two women, one of theirs, and the other, of the ones they held captives; and they sent these because woman can trade, though there be war; and we followed them and stopped at a place where it was agreed we should wait for them; but they delayed for five days, and the Indians said that they must have not found any people. We told them to take us northward, they answered in the same manner, saying that there were no people there, but very far off, and that there was nothing to eat, and no water; and with all this, we insisted and said that we wanted to go there, and they still excused themselves the best way they could, and on this account we got angry, and I went out of the camp one night to sleep in the camp apart from them; but they went immediately to where I was and were all night without sleeping and with great fear, and speaking to and telling me how struck with fear they were, pleading with us not to be angry any more and that though they should die on the road, they would take us where ever we wanted to go; and, as we yet feigned angriness so that their fear might not leave them, a strange case occurred, and it was that, on this same day, many of them got sick and on the next day eight men died. All through the land they were so much afraid of us that it looked as if they would all die at the sight of us."

The death of those eight Indians was attributed by all the tribe as being the consequence of the displeasure of Cabeza de Vaca, the result of their fear being, that the other tribes through which the Spaniards passed were very careful of pleasing them by obeying them and complying willingly with their orders. From this place, always preceded by guides, as has been said, Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades followed up their journey for many leagues northwards till they came to lands where mountains and piñon woods abounded. About that, Cabeza de Vaca says:

"There are in that land short pine trees, and their pine apples are as small eggs, but the piñones are better than those of Castille, because their shells are thinner; and when they are green, they grind them and make them into balls and in that manner they eat them; and if they are dry they grind them with the shells, and eat them as powders."

Hunger Drives the Spaniards to Eating Dog Flesh.

Before following Cabeza de Vaca and his companions it is well to again call the reader's attention to the awful plight hunger placed Cabeza de Vaca and his companions in before reaching the land where piñon trees were found. On their way they came across some Indians who were just as bad off, so far as food was concerned, as the Spaniards. The Spaniards were completely worn out from fatigue and hunger when these Indians were found, and seeing that the said Indians had nothing to give to them, Cabeza de Vaca made up his mind to buy from the Indians two dogs in order to appease their hunger, and the Indians gladly sold the dogs to the Spaniards. The dogs were killed, accordingly, and all partook of a hearty dinner after which the Spaniards continued their journey. *

Taking all the necessary supplies of those foods they continued their journey for months until at last they met a large river (which all historiographers say was the Rio de Pecos), which Cabeza de Vaca called "El Rio de las Vacas," on account of his having seen there many blankets and buffalo robes, and they also found at this point much corn which the Indians said had been brought from certain lands to the West.

"We also wanted to know whence had they brought that corn and they told us that from where the sun sets, and that there were lots of it all through that land, but that the nearest way thither was through that road. We asked them which way we should go well, and to inform us about the road, because they did not want to go there; they told us that the road was a long

* "Despues que comimos los perros, pareciéndonos que teniamos algun esfuerzo para poder yir adelante, encomendámonos á Dios nuestro Señor para que nos guiase, nos despedimos de aquellos Indios y ellos nos encaminaron á otros de su lengua que estavan cerca de alli"—Naufragios, Chap. 23.

that river northward, and that in 17 (jornadas) journeys (days) we would find nothing else to eat, but a fruit which they call chacan.....After staying there two days, we decided to go in search of the corn, and did not wish to take the road of Las Vacas because it is northward, and that was for us a big circuit, because we always held it for certain that going towards the sunset we would find what we desired."

They traveled for several days following the river bank westward until they reached, after traveling for forty-seven days, certain lands surrounded by sierras (mountain chains) in which there were certain pueblos inhabited by semi-civilized Indians who lived in well made dwelling houses.

"At the end of these journeys we found houses with seats (or houses solidly laid) where much corn was gathered, and they gave us a great quantity both of the corn and its meal, also pumpkins and beans, and cotton blankets.....Among these houses there were some made of ground (adobes) and all the others were made out of reeds and rushes."

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions now were very far in the interior of the territory which forms today the State of Sonora, in the Mexican Republic. The pueblo in which days before, corn, meal, pumpkins, beans, and cotton blankets had been given to the Spaniards, was, doubtless, the Pueblo of Zuñi, as the reader will see before the end of this chapter, from what the Indian governor of that pueblo said in Santa Fe, the Capital of New Mexico, in 1883.

The Indians that inhabited these places told the Spaniards that somewhere there (thereabouts) were other men like themselves, and Cabeza de Vaca anxious to see the faces of other Christians desired to send on that night one of his companions in search of those Christians; but as they refused to do it, Cabeza de Vaca decided to go himself with Estevanico in search of them undertaking his journey the next day.

His Lordship, Don José Antonio Laureano Zubiriá, Bishop of Durango, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction was New Mexico while a province of the Republic of Mexico. Bishop Zubiriá's first visit to New Mexico was made in 1833, and his last in 1843 4. He was, therefore, New Mexico's last Bishop under Mexican rule.

Most Rev. Don Juan Bautista Lamy, Archbishop of Santa Fe. Was New Mexico's first Bishop, 1851, under the American government. His life and works published in another part of this work.

After traveling thirty leagues, and gone past three Indian towns, where the Christians referred to had slept the night before, they overtook four of them mounted on horses. Their mutual surprise can only be imagined. At this sudden meeting in the interior of unknown lands, surrounded by thousands of barbarous Indians, the mounted Spaniards were dumfounded and stupefied at their beholding in their presence of two human beings, one, a white man, the other a negro, who were not Indians, nor yet looked like European on account of the ragged apparel they were dressed in. Cabeza de Vaca and the negro were equally surprised so much so that neither the ones nor the others dared speak a word, but by means of signs, were at last able to understand that they were Europeans, the recognition being followed by their conversation in the Castillian language and relating to themselves mutually the story of their adventures. The mounted Spaniards informed Cabeza de Vaca that their chief, Diego de Alcaráz was, with other soldiers, very near them, and then carried Cabeza de Vaca and the negro to the place where Alcaráz was. Great was the pleasure of Alcaràz on meeting with Cabeza de Vaca for he also and his men had begun to suffer through the lack of food. Alcaráz thence sent three men on horseback, accompanied by fifty Indians, to go and bring Castillo and Dorantes, Estevanico the negro going with them in order to guide them. When Estevanico, with the soldiers and Indians mentioned, had left, Cabeza de Vaca requested Alcaráz to give him a written document stating how it happened that he, Cabeza de Vaca, had come to meet with Alcaráz, and to tell the month, day and year, a thing Alcaráz did with great pleasure. The place in which Cabeza de Vaca met with Alcaráz was very near a large river, at a distance of about 30 miles from the Villa of San Miguel at Culiacán (Spanish Villa) in the province called New Galicia.

During Estevanico's absence, Alcaráz manifested to Cabeza de Vaca his sadness of heart at not having been able to capture any Indians in order to make them slaves and also informed him of the extremity of his situation on account of the scarcity of victuals. About it Cabeza de Vaca says:

"And after having spoken to him, he told me that everything was quite lost there, because many days had elapsed since

he had not been able to take any Indians, and that he had no way of going out, because among them need and hunger had begun to appear."

Cabeza de Vaca at once foresaw that Alcaráz had no good designs towards the Indians, and that, perhaps, also, on himself and his companions he might play a treacherous part or an injustice, by asking from them their co-operation in order to cause the apprehension of the Indians, a thing in which Cabeza de Vaca did not feel disposed to help, on account of humanitarian motives, and also because the indigenes had been to him during his long journey, very magnanimous. Cabeza de Vaca's fears were not unfounded. Five days after Estevanico, the three mounted soldiers, and the fifty Indians went out to get Dorantes and Castillo to the encampment of Alcaráz. Estevanico and the others returned accompanied by Dorantes and Castillo and by 600 Indians, friends to Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, but the enemies of Alcaráz and his troops who had obliged them to flee to the woods. Immediately on the arrival of Castillo, Dorantes and the others, Alcaràz gave orders to Cabeza de Vaca to compel the Indians to bring him food and provisions, a thing which Cabeza de Vaca deemed unnecessary, because the Indians had brought with them plenty of supplies, out of which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions took but a very small part, and gave the rest to Alcaráz and his soldiers. Alcaráz was not satisfied with the food he received, but attempted to compel Cabeza de Vaca into consenting to the apprehension of the Indians and to make them slaves. Cabeza de Vaca rejected Alcaráz's proposition with great indignation, from which a very serious quarrel resulted between himself and Alcaráz, causing, besides the rupture of their friendly relations, the separation between Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, from Alcaráz and his soldiers. The sadness which the conduct of Alcaráz caused Cabeza de Vaca is seen in his own words:

"Alcaráz requested me to summon the people of the pueblos who were along the bank of the river and were hiding in the woods of the lands; and that we should command them to bring what to eat, though this was not necessary, because they were always careful of bringing us whatever they could.

We sent forthwith our messengers to call them, and six hundred persons came who brought us all the corn that they could and they brough in kettles with clay covers, in which they had buried and hidden it, and they brought us most all they had, but we did not wish to take from them any more than our dinner, and gave all the rest to the Christians that they might divide it among themselves; and after this, we had many and great disputes with them, because they wanted to make slaves out of the Indians we brought along, and for this reason, when we parted, we left many bows and turquoises that we had with us, and many bags and arrows, and among them, the five emeralds, nobody remembering them; and so we lost them."

The Indians were no less surprised with the cruel conduct of Alcaráz, and they so informed Cabeza de Vaca telling him that Alcaráz and his men were not good hearted men, that they lied and caused damages and injuries to the Indians and that consequently they were not of the same nation as Cabeza de Vaca, for Alcaráz came from the West, and he, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, came from the East; that Alcaráz wanted to enslave them, and he and his companions did good to them, curing them and treating them with good words.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had not gone far when they were arrested by a squad of soldiers sent by Alcaráz to carry them as prisoners to the Alcalde Cebreros in the Villa of San Miguel, the intention of Alcaráz being, to thus get rid of Cabeza de Vaca, and, in that way, imprison the Indians; but, as Cabeza de Vaca suspected the intentions of Alcaráz, he advised the Indians to flee and not to return to their lands until Alcaráz had gone out of them, an advice which they followed without delay. When the soldiers arrived in the presence of Alcalde Cebreros, with Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades, the Alcalde attempted to coerce Cabeza de Vaca into yielding to the propositions of Alcaráz; but, as Cabeza de Vaca stood firm in not acceding, he was sent to a desert with his men to see if that could compel them to obey; but Cabeza de Vaca and his companions again stood firm in their friendship to the Indians, wherefore the Alcalde became indignant at them and sent them to Culiacán so that the Alcalde of that place should take cognizance of the "rebellious conduct" of

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. Speaking of his arrest and of the treatment he received from the two Alcaldes, Cabeza de Vaca thus expresses himself:

"They sent us (under arrest) to a certain Cebreros, Alcalde, and with him two others, who carried us through the woods and depopulated places in order to keep us apart from the conversation of the Indians, and that we might not see nor know what they in fact did; wherein it appears how the thoughts of those men were deceived, in that we were looking for liberty for them (the Indians), and, when we thought we had it, the contrary happened, for they had agreed to go and fall upon the Indians whom we had sent well secured, and in peace; and just as they had thought, they did it; they carried us through those woods for three days, without water, lost and without road, and we all thought of dying of thirst, and from it seven men died, and many friends which the Christians had along with them could not arrive until the next day at noon to where we found the water on that night, and we traveled with them 25 leagues a little more or less, and at the end of them we arrived at a pueblo of Indians at peace, and the Alcalde who carried us left us there and he passed ahead three leagues more to a pueblo which was called Culiacán, where Melchor Diaz was Alcalde, Mayor and Captain of that province."

Concerning the treatment that Melchor Diaz gave him Cabeza de Vaca says:

"And he spoke to us and treated us very well, and, in behalf of Governor Nuño de Guzman and his own, he offered us all he had and could do, and he was much grieved at the bad reception and treatment we had found in Alcaráz and the others, and he assured us that, if he had been there, all that was done with us and the Indians would have been avoided."

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions remained at Culiacán from the beginning of May until the 15th of the same month, expecting to continue their journey as far as the City of Compostela, capital of the province and place of residence of Governor Nuño de Guzman, where the necessary protection should be given them, as the City of Compostela was at a distance of 900 miles from Culiacán and the country between

the two points was not only shorn of vegetation, but even infested by hostile Indians. On the 15th of May, Cabeza de Vaca started towards Mexico accompanied by his companions and forty mounted men who went with them until they had travelled 120 miles (48 leagues), returning thence the mounted men, and continuing the march, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions in the company of six Spaniards, who carried with them 500 Indian slaves, reaching Compostela in the first days of July. Governor Guzman gave Cabeza de Vaca and his companious a very cordial reception providing them with food and clothing. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions could not get used, for some time, to the clothing and bedding, for being already so accustomed to the life and habits of the Indian savages, they preferred to sleep on the bare ground. A few days after, they set out on their journey arriving at the City of Mexico on July 25, 1536, where they were very politely received by the Viceroy Mendoza, and Hernan Cortés, who was now Marquis of the Valley. In Mexico, Cabeza de Vaca gave a detailed account of the failure of Narváez's expedition, his voyage and sufferings, all of which caused general astonishment to the Viceroy, Cortès, and the inhabitants of the city. From Mexico they started on April of the next year through Vera Cruz for Spain, Estevanico, the negro, remaining in Mexico. From Vera Cruz they left in the middle of the same month and reached Spain, August, 1537, not without having suffered many hardships both in the high seas and on the islands where they stopped and remained for a long time, closing, with their arrival in Spain, the longest and most romantic journey known in the annals of history.

After their return to Spain in 1537, Cabeza de Vaca was appointed by the king, Governor and Adelantado of the province of "La Plata" (which today comprises three republics, i. e., Argentine, Paraguay and Uruguay), in South America.

Governor Cabeza de Vaca Sails for La Plata—His Return and Death.

On the 2nd day of December, 1540, Governor Cabeza de Vaca sailed from Cádiz to assume charge of his province taking with him four sailing ships, 400 men, 26 horses and all the

necessary provisions,* arrived at the Island of Santa Catalina, on the coast of Brazil on the 9th day of March, 1541,† and after many hardships, arrived at the City of Asuncion, capital of the province, March 11, 1542, where he found the Spaniards under Domingo Yrala in great distress. From that date until he returned to Spain, in December, 1545, as a prisoner, and the victim of intrigues on the part of Yrala and his cohorts, and for eight years thereafter, during which time he remained a prisoner, this wonderful and unfortunate man suffered even more than what he had suffered in his adventurous journey from Florida to Mexico. On the charges preferred against him he was found guilty by the "Consejo de Indias," and was sentenced to forfeiture of his office and title and to exile, but upon appeal to the king, and after eight years, as already stated, he was vindicated, and the sum of 2,000 "ducados" annually was allowed to him during his life. As to how he ended his life nothing absolutely certain is known; some of the ancient writers affirm that at the time of his death he was President of the Consulate (Consulado) in the City of Sevilla, others affirm that he spent the last days of his life as a monk and Rector or Superior of a religious order.‡

As we said before that Cabeza de Vaca had in fact passed through New Mexico, the opinions of Bandelier, Bancroft and Twitchell to the contrary, notwithstanding, we wish, before closing this chapter, to furnish reasons on which we lean in

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* "A dos dias del mes de Diciembre de año pasado de mil é quinientos é cuarenta años parti é me hice á la bela en la bayya de Cádiz, con cuatro nabios, quatrocientos hombres y quarenta é seys cavallos y yeguas, para yr á la dicha provincia del rio de la Plata." —*Cabeza de Vaca*, "*Nauf. y Comentarios*," *Suárez Edition*, *Vol. 2*, *p. 3*.

† "A beynte nueve dias del mez de Marzo del año pasado de mil é quinientos é quarenta é un años llegué con mi armada á la Ysla de Santa Catalina, questá en beynte é ocho grados en la costa del Brasil."—*Cabeza de Vaca*. "*Nauf. y Com.*" *supra*, *Vol. 2*, *p. 3*.

‡ "Las mismas sombras ocultan los últimos años de Alvar Núñez, en los *Comentarios* se lee que no le dieron "recompensa de lo que gastó," pero Ruy Diaz de Guzmán afirma que le asignaron 2,000 ducados anuales de sueldo. Este mismo dice que murió en Sevilla siendo Presidente del Consulado, y los anotadores de las *Cartas de Indias* creen que se hizo religioso y falleció de prior en un convento de aquella ciudad."—*Suárez*, "*Nauf. y Comentarios*," *Vol. 2*, *page II of Advertencia*."

differing from those authors. According to a diagram published by Bandelier, Cabeza de Vaca must have started from quite near the place where the Sabine River empties into the Gulf of Mexico, traveling almost all the time westward across the States of Texas, Chihuahua and Sonora, crossing twice the Yaqui River near the coast of the Gulf of California, and going after his second crossing of the Yaqui River a little to the southeast at a little distance from the Gulf of California till he reached Culiacán. This diagram of Bandelier's does not agree with the account of Cabeza de Vaca, because, according to the diagram, Cabeza de Vaca must have crossed the Pecos River at the place of the junction of that river with the Rio Grande del Norte, very far in the interior of what is today the State of Texas; whereas Cabeza de Vaca tells in his narrative that he travelled many miles to the north and along the Pecos River (El Rio de Las Vacas as he called it). So that by following the Pecos River northward from the place where Cabeza de Vaca followed its course up stream, the conclusion that he arrived at the Pueblo of Zuñi, is inevitable.

Three circumstances establish the logic of this Author in that particular, namely: First, that after Cabeza de Vaca had gone back to Spain, Mendoza sent Father Marcos de Niza to examine the lands and pueblos, concerning which so many things had been related to him by Cabeza de Vaca, sending Estevanico as guide of Niza's expedition, and Zuñi being the largest pueblo to which Estevanico led the expedition, and the place, too, where he was assassinated: Second, Antonio de Espejo (the reader will see when he reads Espejo's account) tells us that when he was already very far in the interior of the country, and on the banks of the Rio Grande, he found Indian pueblos who told him that many years before, three white men and a negro, who came from the East, had passed through there, and that they made cures; finally this Author recalls the fact, that in the year 1883, when, in the City of Santa Fe, Capital of New Mexico, the festivities of the Tertio Millennium were being celebrated, the Indian governor of the Pueblo of Zuñi, who attended them, delivered a speech in which he said that the first strangers that tread the Pueblo of Zuñi, according to the traditions of his pueblo, had been three white men and a negro who passed through there in a

westward direction, and that they performed miraculous cures by only placing their hands over the sick. From what Cabeza de Vaca, Espejo and the Indian governor have said, it is but very reasonable to believe that Cabeza de Vaca was in fact in what is today New Mexico, refuting thereby the theoretical opinions of Bancroft and Bandelier. Among the authors who assert that Cabeza de Vaca did visit New Mexico we cite Donaldson, Prince, Haynes and Salpointe. We shall now take up, in the next chapter, the expedition of Fray Marcos de Niza and Fray Juan de la Asuncion into New Mexico.

CHAPTER IV.

The voyages of Fray Juan de la Asuncion and of Fray Marcos de Niza —Niza is accompanied by Estevanico, a Friar called Onorato, and some Indians from New Galicia—Description of the voyage to Cíbola (Zuni) and death of Estevanico—Niza takes possession and gives a name to the province—Niza's return to Mexico—Cortés disputes with Niza the discovery of New Mexico.

1538-1539.

Much has been said and written regarding the origin of Fray Marcos de Niza, many historians saying that Niza was originally from the City of Nizza, in the kingdom of Italy, and alleging that he had taken the surname from his native city; that is, however, a mere conjecture, as unfounded as it is unjustified, (since other authors assert that he was a Spaniard) for the name of the city is written "Nizza" while that of the priest is written "Niza" which makes it a proper Spanish name. Some others affirm that he was a Frenchman. Notwithstanding the difference in the name, the majority of authors say he was in reality an Italian. Whatever the case may be, Father Marcos de Niza was certainly a man of extraordinary intelligence, who, because of his intellectual attainments, was sent to America in 1531, as superior, together with other Franciscan priests of the same religious order to which Niza belonged. The year following, 1532, he accompanied Pizarro to Perú, returning subsequently to other points in South America and settling for a time in Nicaragua where he stayed till 1535 or 1536.

The account given by Cabeza de Vaca in Mexico in 1536, had so enthused the Viceroy Mendoza that he began to meditate upon the fitting up of a strong expedition for discovering and peopling of the wonderful places which Cabeza de Vaca had painted with such mastery. Mendoza hesitated for a while as to the person worthy of his confidence, and who might be capable of carrying the enterprise to a happy termination.

Nuño de Guzman was no longer governor of the province of New Galicia, having been replaced by Don Francisco Vásquez de Coronado who, on account of his relationship with families of noble lineage, and his being a knight of Salamanca, had been married in Mexico to the daughter of the governor of Mexico, Alonzo de Estrada, while he (Coronado) acted, in New Spain, as the official overseer of his majesty the king of Spain, wherewith he won for himself the friendship and regard of the grandees in the City of Mexico. It was at the time when Coronado tarried in Mexico as overseer, that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions arrived in that city, and thus it was, also, that Coronado heard from Cabeza de Vaca's own lips the narrative which the latter made (of his adventures). These considerations induced Mendoza to send Coronado to inspect all the lands to the north of New Galicia, with the object of ascertaining whether or not what Cabeza de Vaca said was certain, and, in case it was so, to return to New Galicia and organize a military expedition. In virtue of the decision of the viceroy several reconnoitering trips were made to the extreme north of the territory which makes up today the State of Sinaloa, in the Mexican Republic, but none of those trips was of sufficient importance as to deserve a detailed mention. Coronado, however, thought it opportune to send an expedition composed of friars and some natives to push into the interior towards the North until they encountered the large pueblos which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions said they had seen, recommending for the task Father Fray Marcos de Niza, about whom he heard many favorable things. Mendoza accepted willingly the suggestion of Coronado, and designated Father Niza to carry into effect what Coronado recommended, while he at once forwarded to Coronado positive and specific instructions to be delivered to Niza.

The Voyage of Fray Marcos de Niza

In the City of Compostela, Tonalá, Coronado delivered to Fray Marcos de Niza the instructions of the viceroy. Before Niza set out on his voyage of discovery, another priest, called Juan de la Asuncion, previously sent by Coronado, had already made a voyage and discovered the Gila River, returning to Mexico in October, 1538, and giving the viceroy an account of

what he had seen, wherefore Niza was directed by the instructions of the viceroy to follow the footsteps of Fray Juan de Asuncion.

Fray Juan de Asuncion's narrative has not been published in historical works, and the information necessary to enable us to affirm whether or not he visited the Gila River near its confluence with the Colorado River or further up, is lost to us through the lack of that narrative. At any rate, we may be sure that he visited New Mexico, for, before the formation of Arizona into a territory, the boundaries of New Mexico on the West reached as far as Sonora, beyond the confluence of the Gila and Colorado Rivers.

Mendoza's instructions to Niza are given verbatim in the second Spanish and this first English edition of this work, that is to say, such as they were written by Mendoza, and not as they were given in the first Spanish edition. In said first edition they were translated back by this Author from the English into the Spanish from the work entitled: "Papers of the Archæological Institute of America," because this Author could not get in time the valuable document in Spanish. After said first edition had gone to press, that document, together with others of the greatest historical importance, reached him from Spain, and he can today with the highest pleasure give the original of the important document (although the difference between the translation and the original is not very noticeable) taking it from the third volume of "Colección de Documentos Inèditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceania," from page 325. The instructions follow:

"Instruction of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Nueva España"

"In the first place: As soon as you arrive at the province of Culiacán, you shall exhort, and encourage the Spaniards that reside in the Villa of San Miguel to treat well the Indians that are at peace, and not to help themselves of them in excessive things, certifying to them and doing it so, that concessions shall be made to them and they will be remunerated by H. M. for the hardships that they have there undergone, and in me they shall have a good helper for that purpose; and if they do the contrary, they shall be punished and disfavored.

"You shall make the Indians understand that I send you, in the name of H. M., in order to say that they be treated well and that they may know that he has been sorry for the grievances and evils that they have received; and that henceforth they shall be well treated, and those who shall do them harm shall be punished.

"In like manner you shall certify to them that they shall be made slaves no longer, nor will they be taken out of their lands; but that they will be left free in them, without doing them any harm or damage; let them loose fear and know God our Lord, who is in heaven, and the Emperor who is placed by his hand on earth in order to rule it and govern it.

"And as Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, whom H. M. has provided for Governor of that province, shall go with you as far as the villa of San Miguel de Culiacán, you have to advise me how he provides for the things of that villa, in what concerns the service of God Our Lord and the conversion and good treatment of the natives of that province.

"And if with the help of God Our Lord and grace of the Holy Ghost you shall find a way to pass ahead through the land in the interior, you shall carry along with you Estevan de Dorantes as guide, whom I command to obey you in all and for all that you command him, as myselfsame person; and not doing it so, let him incur in evil plight and in the penalties that befall those who obey not the persons who have powers from H. M. to be able to command them.

"In like manner the said governor Francisco Vasquez carries along the Indians that came with Dorantes and others that it has been possible to gather together in those parts, so that if it appears to him and to you that you take some of them in your company, you may do it and use them as you see it is fitting for the service of Our Lord.

"You shall always endeavor to go the most securely that may be possible, and informing yourself in the first place if the indians are at peace or at war with each others, in order that you may not furnish them any occasion to do any disorder against your person, the which shall be cause for proceeding against them and effect punishment; because in this manner, instead of going to do them good and give them light, it would be the contrary.

"You shall take much notice of seeing the people that there is there, if they are many or few, and if they are scattered or live together.

"The quality and fertility of it, the temperature of the land, the trees and plants, the domestic and wild animals that it has, the kind of land, if it is uneven, or plain, the rivers, if they are large or small, and the stones and metals that there are in it; and of the things of which samples may be sent or brought, bring them or send them, so that H. M. may be advised of all.

"Learn always if there is news about the seacoast, both from the northern and the southern part, because it might be that the land grows narrow and that a branch of the sea projects into the inland. And if you should arrive at the coast of the south sea, in the points that enter (it), at the foot of a tree of distinguished largeness leave letters buried (in the ground) of what may appear to you to be fitting to advise, and on such tree as where the letter remains, carve a cross so it may be known; in the same manner at the mouths of the rivers and in the disposition of ports carve the same sign of the cross on the most conspicuous trees, near the water, and leave there the letters, so that if I send vessels, they will go advised of that sign.

"You shall always try to send advice, with Indians, of how you are faring and how you are received, and of what you may find, very particularly.

"And if God our Lord should vouchsafe that you find some large town where it may appear to you that there is a good show to build a monastery and send religious persons who may attend to their conversion, you shall advise by Indians or return yourself to Culiacán. With all secrecy you shall give advice, so that, what may be fitting, may be provided for without alteration, so that thus, in the pacification of what may be found, the service of our Lord and the good of the people of the land may always be kept in view.

"And, although all the land belongs to the Emperor, Our Lord, you shall in my name take possession of it for H. M. and you shall make the signs and autos that may seem to you to be requisite for the case; and you shall make the natives of the land understand that there is a God in heaven, and

the Emperor on earth, who is to command it and govern it, and to whom all must be subject and serve."

"D. ANTONIO DE MENDOZA."

"Certifications.

"I, Fra. Márcos de Niza, of the "Observantes de San Francisco", do say, that I received a copy of this instruction signed by the Most Illustrious Lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, which was delivered to me, by command of his lordship, and in his name, by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Governor of this New Galicia; which copy is taken from this instruction, "*verbo ad verbum*", and with it was corrected and compared, with which said instruction I promise to comply faithfully, and not to go nor act against it nor against any thing therein contained, now nor at any time. And because I will so observe it and comply with it, I signed my name here in Tonalá, on the 20th day of the month of November, of one thousand five hundred and thirty and eight years, where he gave and delivered to me in said name the said instruction, which is in the province of this New Galicia."

"FRA. MÁRCOS DE NIZA."

From what is seen in the instructions received by Niza, Mendoza knew well that the Indians had suffered many hardships through the bad treatment given them by many Spaniards who, in their explorations, sought neither the glory of God, nor the good of their king, but rather the ruin of the Indians depriving them of what little they had, making slaves of them, and carrying them off their lands. It is also true that the higher authorities had more elevated sentiments, and that they always felt disposed not only to civilize and christianize the Indians, but to make use of everything in their power and of all their means and faculties to protect the natives from the rapacity of the said conquerors and adventurers. This is the reason why the Catholic Church figures so prominently, from the discovery of America to the discovery and conquest of New Mexico, in all and each of the grand episodes consummated in the New World,—a period reaching from the year 1492, when Columbus first discovered

America, to the year 1694, when Diego de Vargas re-established peace among the indigenes of New Mexico, by reconquering permanently that province. In this manner, also, is the fact explained that, in the expeditions and conquests into and of the New World by Spain, between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the monks played so conspicuous a part. Perhaps, Columbus would have never discovered America, after being despised by the court of Portugal 1471, and even by that of Spain in 1485, if Fray Marchena, Bishop Diego de Deza, Cardinal Mendoza and the Dominican priests, and above all, Fray Juan Perez, confessor to the queen had not interested themselves in softening the hearts of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, and even furnished 17,000 ducats from the ecclesiastical funds in order to provide Columbus with ships and other necessaries for his first voyage. Hernan Cortés would not have achieved the conquest and pacification of the great Empire of the Moctezumas, from 1519 to 1521, nor discovered California in 1539, had he not had Father Lares on his side, in Cuba, who, knowing the designs of Velasquez, governor of Cuba, of arresting Cortés in the island of Trinidad before he set sail on the conquest of Mexico, secretly appraised Cortés of what Velasquez was planning against him, whereby Cortés was enabled to hasten his preparations and set sail before Velasquez could imprison them; and even the final triumph might not have been secured without the prudent co-operation of Father Olmedo during the conquest. Thus it was that the civil authorities exercised a most excellent judgment by sending always at the vanguard of these expeditions learned and prominent ecclesiastics.

Fray Niza Leaves Culiacán.

Everything being in readiness Fray Márcos de Niza left Culiacán on the 7th day of March, 1539, accompanied, as we have said, by another Franciscan, Fray Onorato, Estevanico and some Indians. After traveling 70 leagues to the north of San Miguel, Niza and his men arrived at the Pueblo of Petatlán, where the natives were already expecting him, because they had received beforehand advices of his coming from Coronado. It was at Petatlán that Niza had his first experience of the troubles that awaited him. Father Onorato

having contracted sickness, Niza was obliged to leave him at Petatlán, and continued his journey to the North from that point with Estevanico and the other Indians Mendoza had sent from México "and, in accordance with said instruction," Niza tells us, "I continued my journey wherever the Holy Ghost guided me without my deserving it." Of the receptions given him and his companions on his way to Petatlán, Niza tells us, "and with this companionship which I say I took my road to Petatlán getting on the road many receptions and presents of food, roses and other things of this kind, and houses which they made for me out of palm mats and branches of trees in all parts where there was no settlement."

Niza and his men continued their journey northward in a parallel line along the coast of the Gulf of California until they arrived at a great desert between which and Petatlán he had been treated with great consideration and respect by the indigenes, who, aside from serving him food, told him that they came from an island which had been visited by a stranger (California, and the stranger was Hernan Cortés, El Marqués del Valle,) and they also told him that there were thirty other smaller islands to the North, but that only in two of them could corn be found to eat. "These Indians," Niza tells us, "carried strings of shells hanging from their necks, among which, there were some pearls, and I showed them a pearl that I carried as sample, and they told me there were some like that in the islands, but I saw none in them."

According to recent explorations, it is believed that the islands, about which the indians gave Niza information, are the ones that are found along the coast of Lower California between the mouths of the rivers Mayo and Yaqui, the two principal ones being known by the name of "Tiburon" Island, and "Angel de la Guarda" Island, from which it is seen that Fray Márcos de Niza arrived to very near the mouth of the Rio Mayo. After travelling for four days into the interior of the desert they found a tribe of Indians that had never seen a white man who were greatly scared at seing Niza, calling him "Sayota," which signifies, according to Niza, "a man descended from heaven." This tribe could not have been other than the tribe of the Pimas, or that of the Yaquis, as Father Juan Ortiz Zapata, S. J., affirms in his "Narrative of the

missions which the Society of Jesus has in the Kingdom and Provinces of New Viscay, in New Spain," 1678 (documents for the History of México t. 3, p. 78.) Concurring with this theory and conclusion, the Historian Ribas tells us what follows, speaking of Niza's voyage and in reference to the time when Niza saw those Indians:

"In the last two journeys from the sea the famous nation of the Hiaquis is settled... ....When the Hiaquis with their people inhabited this river it was in the form of encampments stretched along its banks. And their tilled lands together with the number of these encampments must have been eighty in which were thirty thousand souls."

These same Indians told Niza that, if he travelled further north, he would not delay much in coming to an extensive plain where he would find many and very large villages in which Indians lived who cultivated the lands, spun and wove cotton which they gathered from plants, and the wool that they clipped from the back of certain small animals which they had in abundance, and that from the textures they made coverings, and clothing to dress themselves with; that it did not look like the cloth in which Niza was clad; that they also had metallic jewelry which they put on their ears and noses. Niza referring to the information thus given by the Indians, says: "And I have no more news than that they told me that the land in the interior, four or five journeys, where the chains of mountains end, becomes an open plain and of much land, in which they told me there were many and very large towns and in them are people dressed in cotton. And, showing them some metals that I carried myself in order to get information about the metals of the land, they took the gold metal and told me that of that the people of the plain have vases and that they carry hanging from their noses and ears certain round things made of that gold, and that they have certain small shovels of it with which they scrape themselves and take away their sweat." Niza does not tell whether or not he visited the said settlements, but, from what Ribas says speaking of that part of Niza's voyage, there is no doubt that they were the Nebone Indians, or the ones from the tribe of the Pimas; and that their settlements were found in what forms today the state of Sonora, for they were along a large river

which could be no other than the Yaqui. Those Indians, according to Ribas, had a good knowledge of the science of agriculture for they planted and cultivated their lands using the water of said river for irrigation, and they dressed in robes of cotton and woollen cloth and of wool and well tanned skins of animals, and they lived in houses built of adobes in the form of watchtowers, in which small forts were seen well constructed in order to defend themselves in case of attack from the outside.

The next point about which Niza speaks to us is a pueblo to which he came towards the end of April, after having traveled about 35 journeys, which is called according to Niza, by the Indians, "Vacapa." In that pueblo also the Indians cultivated the lands raising crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins and other herbs, whose name Niza could not learn. Niza and his men remained in this pueblo a very short time and then continued his journey inland, being already at the extreme east of New Mexico and very far in of what forms today the Territory of Arizona; until he met an Indian encampment well provided with clothing and food provisions, as those which Niza had seen before. These Indians gave Niza and his men as cordial a reception as had been given him by those of the first encampments and pueblos through which he had passed.

Before proceeding further with the journey, it must be observed that Niza had sent from the pueblo of Vacapa the negro Estevanico, accompanied by some Indians of the ones brought by Niza, to go after the manner of a vanguard in search of other towns, to explore the land to the north, ordering him to send him an account of what he should see, and do, by means of the Indians, and telling him that he, Niza, would follow him very closely. "And so the said negro Estevan left me on Passion Sunday after dinner, staying in this town that I say is called "Vacapa." According to Niza's account, the Indians treated Estevanico with as marked a deference as they did Fray Marcos, himself, considering them as supernatural beings,—another circumstance which agrees with the opinion of the author of this work to the effect that Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, and Estevanico had, in fact, passed through these regions, as in no other

way can the conduct of the Indians be explained except by attributing it to the cures which Cabeza de Vaca performed among them when they passed through there a little less than three years before this date. The good disposition with which the Indians were receiving the religious instructions which Fray Niza was continually giving them must be attributed to the good treatment which was given them by Cabeza de Vaca.

That the reader may form an idea of the lack of exactness of many of the English-speaking historians, which must be attributed to bad translations rather than to their intention of deceiving the candid reader, I am going to cite one, among the many cases wherein said translators have distorted history. We have already seen, in the foregoing paragraphs in this chapter, how Father Onerato, after contracting sickness at the pueblo of Petatlán, turned back from that place, Fray Niza, accompanied by Estevanico, the negro, and the Indians mentioned continuing the journey. Now let the reader take notice of what George Parker Winship says, in his work entitled "The Journey of Coronado," quoting Castañeda. Referring to the orders which Niza gave to Estevan, the negro, when he sent him from Vacapa to explore regions says (translation) "after the negro had separated from the friars he thought of taking to himself all the credit and honor." It is clear, then, that that could not have been as Winship relates it, and as do many other Anglo-Saxon writers who copy the same error from his work, and who, taking his account as viridical, have reproduced it just as Winship gives it, among others the author of the "History of New Mexico, Illustrated," published by the "Pacific States Publishing Company," in 1907; while, with what we have reproduced from Niza's own work, "Relación," we have proved that when Niza sent Estevanico from the pueblo of Vacapa there were no more friars than himself, Niza.

After having traveled a few days Estevanico began to find large Indian settlements, and to look at many things that astonished him; wherefore he deemed it prudent to send Niza an account in which he was told that he had come to the province with Seven Cities and many other new things. He, therefore, sent two Indians to Vacapa with the account for

Niza, together with a very large wooden cross, and telling Niza that he must follow him immediately, for the inhabitants of those cities told him wonderful things of what could be discovered in the interior, and, in order to prove his words, sent him an Indian from those of the "Seven Cities" telling him that he, Estevanico, was at more than 25 journeys from Vacapa and giving him detailed information of the things which he saw in said "cities," how the inhabitants in said "Seven Cities" were dressed and governed. Niza would not, perhaps, have believed the story of Estevanico had it not been corroborated by three Indians of another nation who arrived where he was on the same day in which the emissaries of Estevanico came. These three Indians also gave Niza information in regard to the said "Seven Cities." Niza propounded many questions to the Indian Estevanico had sent from the "Seven Cities:" "And in order to know from him how he knew it, we had many questions and many answers, and I found him very consistent."

Before reaching a decision to continue the voyage, Niza thought first of giving thanks to God, because he was now beholding the realization of his dreams, Providence opening to him the way for the christianization of thousands of souls. It was on this occasion that the word "Cíbola" was first pronounced which was the name the Indians of those districts gave to the province of the so-called "Seven Cities," which were nothing else than seven Indian Pueblos in the vicinity of the Pueblo of Zuñi of which Zuñi was the chief one as the reader will see it in Coronado's narrative in another chapter of this work, although some writers of recent date, among them the Archaeologists Cushing and Bandelier, assert that the word "Cíbola" must not be applied to the said seven pueblos collectively or singly, deriving the word from other sources. Ethnologists, however, are not wanting who affirm that the word "Cíbola" signifies the seven pueblos of Zuñi. But whatever the contention among ethnologists and archaeologists may be, it is not of such importance that much time and many words should be wasted in debating the term "Cíbola." For the purposes of history it is sufficient to know that "Cíbola" and the "Seven Cities" were for Niza and Estevanico one and the same thing, and that the cities referred

to were neither more nor less than the seven Pueblos of Zuñi. Such being Niza's understanding of it, and Easter being now past, he continued on his way, accompanied by his Indians, and other Indians who had joined him, towards the lands of Cíbola, reaching at the end of three journeys an Indian encampment where he was also told that Cíbola was a province, with many pueblos, and that it was not very far from there adding that still beyond Cíbola there were other large and numerous pueblos which were called "Marata," "Acusa" and "Totonteac," where they were accustomed to go often to trade with the inhabitants of those pueblos from whence they brought turquoises and many other things that were to be found in those pueblos. These Indians believing that Niza possessed the faculty of healing the sick, as Cabeza de Vaca had done, brought to him many sick persons to be cured. "And they brought me the sick to cure, and tried to touch the vestments with which I read the gospel. They gave me some cowhides so well tanned and adorned that they seemed made by men of much culture, and all said they came from Cíbola."

Niza continued his journey following the advice of the Indians whom he daily met with, traveling for several days between mountains and plains though there are historians who state that he travelled along the bank of the Sonora River, but such authors do not explain how it was that, if Niza was travelling beside that river, he makes no mention of it nor of the lands watered by said river. On the eighth day Niza reached a large town which seemed to him of sufficient importance to take possession of and he did so, as he tells us: "Here I set up two crosses and took possession in accordance with the instruction, because that land appeared to me better than the one remaining behind, and that it was fitting thence to make the act (auto) of possession." Thence he continued travelling northward without meeting with any Indian pueblos, but with many encampments where the Indians lived scattered in houses, the last one of which lay beside a rivulet where Niza halted as guest, because there were there more inhabitants, four days after he had been at the first encampment. "The next day I entered the wilderness, and where food was to be had, I found ranches and plenty to

eat; close to a creek at nightfall I found houses and also food and so I had it four days I was in the wilderness." In this pueblo Niza noticed that the indigenes observed his gray cloth habit very closely touching it with their hands wherefore the following conversation which Niza relates to us took place between himself and the indigenes:

"And I wore a dress of gray cloth called Saragosa, which Francisco de Coronado, governor of New Galicia, ordered for me; and the lord of this pueblo and other Indians touched the habit with their hands and said to me that there was of that (stuff) in Totonteac and that the natives there dressed in it, at which I laughed and said if it was not of those cotton robes which they wore and they told me: "Do you think that we do not know that what you wear and what we wear is different? Know, then, that in Cíbola all the houses are full of this clothing that we wear; but in Totonteac there are some small animals from which they clip that from which this (stuff) that you wear is made. I was astonished, because I had not heard any such thing until I arrived here, and desired to be informed very particularly about it, and they told me that the animals are of the size of the greyhounds of Castile that Estevan carried along. They say that there are many of them in Totonteac. I could not ascertain what species of animals they were."

From this it may be inferred that those Indians kept domesticated sheep or there was an abundance of wild ones in those mountains. At least, no other conclusion can be drawn. So far as the conduct of Estevanico was concerned, Niza was beginning to feel somewhat anxious, for, although Estevanico daily sent him emissaries informing him of all he was doing and seeing, and, although he, further, left, in all the points through which Niza had to pass, everything prepared beforehand for the reception of Niza, he, Estevanico, had extended his voyage beyond what he was permitted to do by Niza's instructions. Yet Niza cherished the hope of again seeing Estevanico, and with that object in view he hastened his steps until he reached another Indian village in which he found out that its inhabitants had very good knowledge of the riches of Cíbola, of the customs of its inhabitants, the architecture of

their dwellings; they gave him similar information about the pueblo of Totonteac. Describing his conversation with those Indians Niza tell us:

"There was as much talk here about Cíbola as in New Spain about México, and in Perú about Cuzco, and they related as particularly the style of its houses, and streets and squares as persons that had been there many times, and that they brought from there the fine things that they had gained by their labor, as those behind. I told them that it was not possible that the houses should be of the style they said; to make me understand it, they took earth and ashes and poured water on them, and showed me in what manner they placed the stones and how they raised the building up by putting together that (earth and ashes) and the stones till they raised it high; I asked if the men had wings to go up to those lofts; they laughed, and pointed to the ladder as well as I could point to it, and they would take a stick and place it over their heads and said that such was the height from loft to loft. I had here also information of the wool cloth of Totonteac and they say that the houses are like those of Cíbola and better and many more, and that it is a very large city and has no end."

Niza Leaves His Road and Marches in Search of the South Sea.

From this point, Niza tells us, on account of the Indians having informed him that the coast of the sea turned around those nearby places, he made his voyage, without loss of time, to ascertain the veracity of the Indians, with the result he indicates:

"Here I learned that the coast turns sharply to the west, for, as far as this first wild country that I crossed, the coast was always pushing into the north; and as it is a thing that matters a good deal (to know) if the coast turns, I wanted to know it, and so I went in search of it, and I saw clearly that at 35 degrees it turns to the west of which I had no less joy than of the good news of the land."

After returning from the coast to the villa from which he had started, he stayed there for a short time, undertaking again the voyage with firm determination not to stop until

he got to Cíbola, which was distant from there about 15 or 20 journeys, which he commenced to travel, as he says himself:

"The three days having passed, a great many people got together in order to go with me from whom I took as many as thirty of the chiefs, very well dressed with the turquoise collars which some of them wore turned six times around (their necks); and together with these I took the necessary people for carrying the food for them and me, and I took the road."

This must have been on the first days of the month of May, for on the last day of that month, Niza, being almost at the gates of the land of Cíbola, received very bad news brought to him by some Indians of the ones who had gone with Estevanico, who told him that Estevanico and his men had arrived in Cíbola, but that because he had misbehaved with the Indians of those lands, the inhabitants of Cíbola had assassinated him together with many of his companions. About the tragic end of Estevanico the same Indians said that when Estevanico and his men had arrived in Cíbola he had sent to the chief of the town a pumpkin as symbol of peace, and requesting to be received in the town, but that the chief had refused to receive him ordering him not to arrive at the town under penalty of his own destruction, but that Estevanico, in spite of the answer of the chief, kept on ahead, till he came to the edge of the town, to which they did not allow him to enter, taking away from him whatever he had with him; that the next day they had attacked Estevanico and his men killing many of them, among whom was Estevanico.

This unexpected news greatly saddened Niza, but, wishing to become satisfied of what had happened, continued the journey, and, when he had traveled for one day, he met other messengers who came fleeing, and who confirmed the first news, whereof he shed tears of grief as he himself relates it in these words:

"And going along our road, a day's journey from Cíbola, we met two other Indians of the ones who had gone with Estevan who were coming all smeared with blood and with many wounds, and as they arrived, both they and those who were with me commenced to weep so much, that out of pity and fear they made me cry also; and the voices were so

many that they did not allow me to inquire for Esteban, nor what had happened to them, and I pleaded with them to be still that one might know what had passed and they said how could they be still, since they knew that out of their parents, children and brothers more than three hundred men were dead of those who went with Estevan. And that they would not dare to go to Cíbola as they used to."

All that, notwithstanding, and the danger to which he was exposing his life Niza continued his voyage accompanied by a few Indians who came with him, with the object of seeing with his own eyes the so much lauded magnificence of the land of Cíbola, a thing he did by arriving at a high hill from which he could see the mentioned city. Let us hear him relate himself the impression which Cíbola made on him:

"With which and with my Indians and tongues I continued on my way so far as to get a sight of Cíbola which is situated on a plain by the side of a round mound. It has a very fine pueblo appearance, the best I have seen in these parts; the houses are after the style the Indian told me, all of stone with lofts and roofs, so it appeared to me from the hill top on which I stopped to see it. The population is larger than that of the City of Mexico; sometimes I was tempted to go and see it, because I knew that I risked only my life, and this I offered to God the day I commenced the journey. At last I feared, considering my peril, that if I died, no information could be had of this land, which, in my opinion, is the largest and best of all the ones discovered."

Niza Takes Possession; and Gives the Province its First Name.

After admiring the grandeurs of Cíbola, Niza took formal possession of the province of Cíbola, and, together with it, of Totontiac and other pueblos which he had till then discovered making a mound of rocks among which he placed a wooden cross in the name of the King of Spain giving to the lands thus discovered the name of "New Kingdom of San Francisco," and returning thence by hurried journeys to Culiacán without stopping at any other place till he reached the City of Mexico, where he arrived accompanied by Coronado on the first days of the month of September 1539, giving Viceroy Mendoza the narrative to which we have all along been refer-

ring. That Cíbola was the pueblo of Zuñi there is no doubt as it is so proved by Coronado who tells us in his narrative that it was there that Estevanico was killed.

There is nothing noteworthy or extraordinary in Niza's voyage to Cíbola, nor is it seen that any advantage from such a voyage resulted either to religion or to the King. On the contrary the woeful end of Estevanico and the great mortality which the indigenes of Cíbola caused on the Indians that accompanied Estevanico is the only incident which gave to Niza's voyage the historical value it enjoys; as for the rest, it was as void of fruit, as the one made a year before, a little more or less, by Fray Juan de la Asuncion to Gila, and of which Niza makes no mention either directly or indirectly, doing thus a grave injustice to Father Asuncion by his omission to say anything about him.

Cortés Claims the Honor.

In spite of there being not much glory, as we have said, in the voyage of Niza, even he, Niza, had to undergo the effects of envy, on knowing that the Marquis of El Valle, the conqueror of México, Hernan Cortés, accused him of lying, claiming that to him, Cortés, belonged the honor of having discovered the lands of Cíbola, and charging Niza of being an imposter. The rabid, cruel, and unfounded accusation of Cortés is as follows:

"And at the time I came from the land the said Fray Marcos spoke with me while I was at New Spain and I gave him information of this said land and the discovery of the same, because I had in mind sending him in my vessels in search and conquest of said coast and land, because it seemed as though he understood something of the things pertaining to navigation; the said friar communicated this to the viceroy, and with his leave, it is said, he went by land in pursuit of the same coast and land which I had discovered and which was and is of my conquest; and after the said friar returned he published, it is said, that he came in sight of said land; which I deny he has seen and discovered; the said friar has rather said and says that what he relates to have seen was through the narrative I made him of the information that I had from the Indians I brought from said land of Santa

Cruz; for, all that said friar is said to relate, is the same thing the Indians told me: and in having put himself forward in this matter, the said Fr. Marcos feigning and relating what he does not know nor saw, he did no new thing, for he has done it many other times, and it is his habit, as is well known, notorious in the provinces of Perú and Guatemala, and this court will be sufficiently informed of it, if it be necessary."

The weight of Cortés' word had for a long while the effect which he desired (although Cortés knew in his conscience that the accusation which he brought against Niza was nothing but a malicious calumny) as there were many who believed it and reproduced it everywhere, exposing thus the good name of Fray Niza to the censure and curses of many, until, unable to remain longer in silence, Father Niza appealed to his superior in order to be able to prove the truth of his narrative, and vindicate his honor both of which Cortés was assailing. At this period the superior or provincial of the Seraphic order in Mexico was Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, who emphatically and deservedly gave Cortés the lie by publishing a document in which he says:

"I say that it is true that I sent Fra Marcos de Niza, priest, friar, presbyter, and religious and such in all virtue and religion that he was, by me and my brothers, the selected deputies, to consult on arduous and difficult matters, approved and held fit and sufficient to make this journey and discovery, as much on account of the above said sufficiency of his person, as well as on account of his learning not only in theology but also in cosmography and in the maritime art."

The author requests the reader to fix his mind on the historical dates which he has already read in this work. The voyage of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions (1535-36); the voyage of Fray Juan de Asuncion (1538); the voyage of Fray Marcos de Niza (1539); of which we treated in this chapter, and the dates of the voyages of Coronado (1540); Fray Ruiz, (1582); Antonio de Espejo, (1583); Humana, (1585); Oñate, (1597); Expulsion of Otermin (1680); and entry of De Vargas, (1692), which he will read in the subsequent chapters, so he may be able better to analyze with the author the discrepancies to all appearances irreconcilable between the works we

have already cited and those of Juan Bautista Pino, (an illustrious son of New Mexico during the governments of Spain and Mexico), "Noticias Historicas," that of Don Antonio Barreiro, "Ojeada sobre Nuevo Méjico," and that of Don José Agustin Escudero, "Estadística de Varios Estados," all of them authors of renown, with respect to what they affirm attributing to Ruiz the discovery of New Mexico: saying that the Indian insurrection in New Mexico was in 1644, that De Vargas reconquered New Mexico in 1624, or twenty years before the expulsion or retreat of Otermin according to Pino.

CHAPTER V.

Futile Efforts of Nuño Beltrán de Guzman to Discover Cíbola—Foundation of Culiacán and the Province of New Galicia by Guzman—Tradition Concerning the "Seven Cities"—Diego de la Torre Successor to Guzman—Coronado Successor to Diego de la Torre—Mendoza Undertakes the Discovery of Cíbola—Coronado and His Expedition—The Result and Return of the Expedition—All of it a Failure—Fathers Juan de Padilla and Juan de La Cruz, the First Martyrs of New Mexico.

In Chapter IV the name of Nuño de Guzman is frequently mentioned as the official who was in charge of the province of New Galicia. He was, in fact, the founder and conqueror of that province, although Hernan Cortés claimed, as he had in the case of the voyage of Fray Niza, the glory of having been himself the discoverer of the territory of New Galicia, from which the result was that the enmity between Guzman and Cortés became mortal, for the reason that in 1522 Guzman was one of Cortés' accusers in the celebrated case in which Cortés was tried in the City of México for the crime of having strangulated his wife (an accusation which neither Guzman, nor the other enemies of Cortés were able to prove.) The reader must know the history of Guzman with reference to the discovery and colonization of New Galicia for the reason that New Galicia had been one of the principal starting points for the first voyages that were made for the discovery, conquest, and colonization of New Mexico.

Very few historians give us the full name of Guzman, all being satisfied with calling him only Nuño de Guzman; his full name, however, was "Nuño Beltrán de Guzman". With this explanation the reader will know of whom it is spoken in the histories when he reads this name in full or partially.

In 1526 Guzman received his appointment as governor of Pánuco taking charge of the office the next year; at the end of the same year he was promoted to the position of president of the tribunal of the "Audiencia". As president he was cruel, despotic, and tyrannous against the poor natives

whom he not only illtreated, but, after making them slaves, sold them as animals. His conduct in that particular caused general indignation, a powerful protest being raised against him in which Bishop Zumárraga was a prominent figure. The protest was sent directly to the king, and Guzman, in the interim, arrogated to himself the authority of an *authorized* discoverer, raising an army of 20,000 men composed of Aztec and Tlascalan Indians and 400 Spaniards with which, by his own accord, he left Mexico in the fall of 1529 to explore the regions of the extreme north of New Spain, or the land of the "Seven Cities" which Cortés claimed to have previously discovered.

Throughout all his march to the North he desolated the settlements and plantations of the Indians and punished them severely and inhumanly. In this manner he conquered a great portion of the territory till he reached the site where the City of Guadalajara now stands. There he built a villa giving the place the name of Tonalá. Next he founded the towns of Santiago de Compostela and San Miguel in Culiacàn, and the Villa of Tepic in what is today the State of Sinaloa. Satisfied with what he had thus far done, he returned in 1531 to México where he met with a new "audiencia" which called him to account for his conduct; but he refused, wherefore Hernan Cortés, who was at the time governor of the province, sent Captain Luis de Castillo to arrest him, but Guzman by a clever trick not only captured Castillo, but made him and all his force which consisted of 100 men, prisoners. In 1523 he was destituted of the title of governor of Pánuco, but it seems, notwithstanding, that he continued acting as said governor to 1536, for we have already seen in the preceding chapter that he was governing New Galicia when Cabeza de Vaca and his companions arrived at Culiacán in 1536. Eight years after that expedition, Guzman was imprisoned and punished, Don Diego de la Torre succeeding to the command. Diego de la Torre was succeeded by Francisco Vásquez Coronado as governor of New Galicia.

The narrative which Niza made of his voyage caused a great deal of animation in the viceroy and inhabitants of the city, and, according to Suarez de Peralta, "the hubbub was such that nothing else was spoken of.....The greed which the

news of the Seven Cities infused into all was so great that not only the viceroy and the Marquis raised their feet to go there, but all the land, and so much so that the soldiers sought as a favor to go there, and got the due permission; and it was such that they sold it among themselves without thinking if the one who had it but that it was already a title at least, because the friar, who had come from there, so recommended it that he said it was the best thing there was in the world. According as he painted it, it must have been the terrestrial paradise .....In all this he said the truth."

Mendoza became so enthused with Niza's narration that on the moment he determined to form a new and formidable expedition causing by means of his prestige, the promotion of Fray Marcos Niza to the position of superior provincial of the Franciscan Friars and in obtaining permission from that order, that Niza should go out again with the expedition as chaplain. It did not take long to fit up an army of 300 Spaniards and 800 Indians; among the Spaniards there were many of noble descent, little or nothing used to military life and the inclemency of the weather, wherefore they suffered untold hardships, as will be afterwards seen. Don Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was appointed captain general of the expedition, but the appointment of Coronado was not received with satisfaction neither by the army nor by the inhabitants of the capital, at least, so says Castañeda:

"He (Mendoza) paid more attention to private business than to the high responsibilities of his official position, and so it was that he decided on selecting Coronado, not on account of any merits Coronado had, but rather on account of his influence, as a relative to the family of Alonzo de Estrada, as we have seen, who, it is said, is a son of his Catholic majesty, Don Fernando. When this narrative closes it will be seen that he lacked both judgment and good tact."

Pedro de Alvarado Figures in Coronado's Entry.

Mendoza believed, indeed, that the riches of New Mexico were really fabulous, and that, in order to remove any secret ambitions of Cortés, it was necessary to employ some sagacity by selecting, besides Coronado, the dearest of Cortés' captains, or Don Pedro de Alvarado, who had also

made some efforts to discover and conquer the territory in question. Owing to his wonderful tact and his unequalled sagacity he was able to get what he desired, and he organized a company consisting of himself, Coronado and Pedro de Alvarado. The contract, made at the village of Tiripitio begins with these words: "In the name of God, Amen: let it be patent to all that the present letter of partnership might see how at the pueblo of Tiripitio, of New Spain, on Monday, the twenty-ninth day of the month of November, of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the year One Thousand Five Hundred and Forty, there being present the very illustrious lord, Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor by H. M. in this New Spain, and president of his Royal Audience who resides in the City of México, and the very magnificent lord Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, governor by H.M. of the Provinces of Guatemala and Honduras." After describing the things that were expected on Alvarado's part, in the discovery that should be made in the "Merced de Sur" (Southern Grant) the contract recites that the said lord viceroy has sent Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, governor and captain general of New Galicia, in the name of H. M., by land, with men on foot and on horseback and ammunitions and provisions, to bring to the service of God (sic) and of H. M. the lands and provinces and peoples that Father Fra Marcos de Niza and others, sent by his lordship, discovered." According to the contract, Mendoza was to receive "the third part," Coronado was satisfied "with the gratification and grant in conformity with his services," that the King "should vouchsafe" to make him, and, from that compensation, Coronado had to give to Alvarado "the fifth part of all in the profits in what is thus done to pacify and discover the said Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and captains and men."

The result of Coronado's voyage was, as will be seen, a complete failure, and that of Alvarado was even more disastrous for, besides loosing the nine ships which he had bought for the enterprise, death surprised him unexpectedly before realizing the object of his dreams—wherein the truth of the adage is seen that "man proposes and God disposes." Let us now turn back to the place where we left Mendoza and

Coronado getting the preparations in readiness to start on the famous voyage.

It was at once proceeded to the appointment of under-officers after this manner: Pedro de Tovar, general Ensign, Captains: Pedro de Guevara, nephew of Count Oñate, Garcia Lopez de Càrdenas, Rodrigo Maldonado, brother in-law to the duke of "El Infantado," Diego Lopez and Diego Gutierrez, all of them of the cavalry corps. The captain general appointed, in addition, and at his own responsibility, Juan de Saldivar, Francisco de Obando, Juan Gallegos, and Melchor Diaz. Other gentlemen who figured prominently in the expedition, though not as officers, were Sirs Don Alonso Manrique de Lara, Don Lope de Urrea, Gómez Suarez de Figueroa, Luis Ramires de Vargas, Juan de Soto Mayor, Francisco Gorballan y Castañeda, the historian of the expedition. To Don Pablo de Melgosa was entrusted the care of the infantry forces, and to Don Hernando de Alvarado, that of the mounted force, both with the rank of Captains; there were some others more whom Castañeda does not name. He says:

"It would be good if I could name them all, so it might be seen that I was right in saying that this was a company of the most brilliant persons that had ever assembled to go in search of new lands, their worst misfortune being to be under the orders of a captain general who had left in New Spain valuable property, a handsome and noble wife, circumstances that contributed greatly to the failure of the enterprise."

Soon after his army had been organized, he set out on his march to the City of Compostela, the capital of New Galicia, accompanied by the Viceroy Mendoza, in which place the army finally assembled.

As Coronado believed, from the information given him by Niza, that his voyage should be made along and close to the sea coast, he ordered Don Hernándo de Alarcon to set sail towards Jalisco with two vessels that were at the port of Navidad in the coast of the south sea, and to take up from there equipments and provisions for the army. The viceroy accompanied Coronado in his voyage to Compostela stopping at the Town of Pascuaro on the first day of the year 1540.

Thence they continued their march till they arrived at Compostela where the army already awaited him and received

him with the honors corresponding to his title and rank. A little after his arrival he assigned his captains to their respective commands. At this time, Don Cristobal de Oñate was the officer in command of the province of New Galicia. The next day the viceroy caused the troops to be drawn up and addressed the soldiers in patriotic and eloquent phrases, exhorting them to obey their general in all and everything, and reminding them of the many benefits that would redound to their country from the success of the expedition, of the conversion of the inhabitants of those unknown lands bringing thereby additional glory for H. M., and assuring them that they could rely upon his favor and patronage. At the close of the viceroy's address the army gave their oath of obedience concerning which Castañeda says:

"When he (the viceroy) had finished, the captains and soldiers gave him their oath with their hands placed upon the missal saying that they would obey their general in everything he commanded them during the expedition, a thing they faithfully complied with. The next day the march began with the standards unfurled accompanying the viceroy for two days."

A few days after they had started on their march, the nobles, who were not accustomed to that kind of life, began to suffer a great deal, and, to be relieved from the heavy weight they carried on their shoulders, they commenced to give and throw away many things necessary for the journey. Nothing worthy of mention happened for several days, except an encounter which Lope de Samaniego had with a party of Indians whom he and other soldiers followed, without any authority and without precaution, the outcome being that he was mortally wounded in the head dying instantly and leaving that portion of the army without a captain. When Coronado learned of the tragical end of Lope de Samaniego he caused all the Indians, supposed to have taken part in the encounter, to be hanged.

At this point the Captains Melchor Diaz, and Juan de Saldivar returned from a journey of exploration. They had been sent out under secrecy by Coronado to explore the regions of the north with the end of ascertaining the truth or falsity of the statements Niza had made, Diaz and Saldivar gave Coro-

nado a secret report; but that, notwithstanding, it was learned that the report they had made did not tally with what Niza had said, wherefore great dissatisfaction was felt which greatly discouraged the soldiers, who were only calmed by the promises Fray Marcos de Niza made them, that they were going to verify with their own eyes what he had said, giving them at the same time an exaggerated description of the wealth they were going to find. Quiet being restored to their spirits, the army continued its march towards Culiacán and when they were about two leagues from the place, it being Easter Eve, the inhabitants of the town came out to meet him requesting Coronado not to enter the city until the next day in the morning. All that was a plan of Coronado, for he had arranged beforehand a sham battle in which the next day the inhabitants of the town had to come out in arms to meet and give him battle compelling him thus to take the town by assault, a thing which was carried out the next day, and Coronado thereby gave his soldiers a true and realistic illustration of what they might expect to get further on. Of course, Coronado triumphed, and he took the town without any loss other than the hand of an artilleryman blown by a cannon ball through his own carelessness. In the city the army was treated with marked hospitality, and, after staying 15 days in the city, the general set out on a vanguard march accompanied by 50 mounted men, some infantry soldiers, and many of the friendly Indians, leaving the army under the command of Tristan de Arellano with orders to follow 15 days after. Before Coronado's departure a curious incident ocurred which Castañeda relates to us in these words:

"Before the departure of the general a thing occurred worth mentioning. A young soldier named Trujillo tried to make us believe that, while he was bathing in the river he had had a vision in which the devil had told him that, if he killed the general, he would be able to marry his wife, Doña Beatriz, and that he would receive, to boot, great riches and many other valuable things. This caused Father Niza to preach several sermons accusing the devil of doing that, because, jealous of the good which was going to result from that journey, he wanted, by this means, to disorganize the army. The incident did not end there, for the other priests who were

going with the army wrote inmediately to their monasteries in México about what had happened, from which a great deal of fear and strange rumors resulted."

The vision of Trujillo was nothing more than a simple trick of his in order not to continue any longer with the expedition, as Coronado found it out after the spirits of the soldiers had calmed down; wherefore he severely reprimanded Trujillo, ordering him not to keep on any longer with the expedition, a thing which left Trujillo very well satisfied on account of the good success of his buffoonery.

Coronado was accompanied in the vanguard by Niza and the other friars, and, after three days journeys, one of the priests, Fray Antonio Victoria, accidentally had his leg hurt; the general sent him to Culiacán that he might accompany the army. For several days Coronado traveled passing through Indian settlements without experiencing any difficulty with them, for the Indians had already known Fray Márcos de Niza, and afterwards Melchor Diaz and Juan Saldivar, who, as we have said, had gone secretly through those lands giving the Indians good treatment till they arrived at Chichilticalli, the last town they found, there being thence to the north nothing but arid lands and large deserts which Coronado had to traverse, amid great discouragement, on account of the unfavorable perspective before him notwithstanding what had been told him by Niza and the Indians who accompanied Estevanico. A thing that contributed largely to Coronado's discouragement was the appearance of Chichilticalli which had been so exaggerated that he had hoped to find a people advanced in civilization, whereas he found only a house without a roof built of red earth.

According to Castañeda the word "Chichilticalli" signifies "Red House," whence he infers the reason why the Indians called the place Chichilticalli. After fifteen days of travel he found the river to which he gave the name of "Colorado River" on account of its red, muddy waters. This was no other than the Zuñi River and the place where Coronado saw it was eight miles from the Pueblo of Zuñi. Here the Spaniards saw for the first time two Indians of a different aspect from the ones they had seen all along their way. These Indians started on a precipitate run to carry the news of

the arrival of the Spaniards to the Pueblo of Zuñi; that being sufficient cause for alarm for Coronado and his men. So on the next day early in the morning, when they were already near the pueblo, for they had spent the night close to it, they met with a very large number of painted and plumed Indians who appeared before him in warlike mood amid so many whoops and yells, that many of the nobles who accompanied Coronado were so scared that they placed their saddles on their horses with the back part to the front, as Castañeda declares, but the experienced soldiers, encouraged by their general, and used to fight the Indians, mounted their horses and in battle array charged the Indians who fled in complete disorder. The next day they reached without any molestation by the Indians, the first of the seven pueblos which the Indians called Hawikuh, it being no other, according to Castañeda, than the Pueblo of Zuñi itself, and one of the seven which Coronado mentioned in a letter which he wrote that very day to Viceroy Mendoza, commencing thus: "From the province of Cíbola and this City of Granada, August 3d, 1540." Concerning what the Spaniards found in Cìbola they were dissatisfied, charging Father Niza with having lied and exaggerated the real situation, Castañeda says:

"The next day we entered inhabited land all in very good shape, and when we had seen the first pueblo which was Cíbola the curses hurled against Fray Niza were so many that I had to pray to God to protect the priest."

According to the description of this pueblo given by Castañeda, it must have had about 200 warriors, its adobe houses of from three to four stories, each house with but few rooms and no yards; the two Indians we have already mentioned who had brought the news of the arrival of the Spaniards caused such an alarm that all the Indians of the other six pueblos were there congregated in a seemingly bellicose mood. Coronado ordered them to surrender. They refused that, refusing, at the same time, to accept the peace which Coronado, through the medium of interpreters, offered them. That gave Coronado an excuse to order an assault upon the village, a thing the troops did at the cry of "Santiago." They charged upon the Indians, causing them a complete rout, and taking the village without any more difficulty. In

the fray, however, which was quite obstinate, the general received a stone wound on the head which unhorsed him, and he would have been killed by the Indians had it not been for the timely service rendered him by Don Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas and Don Hernando de Alvarado, who threw themselves over his body in order to save him, receiving themselves the stone blows directed at him. With the exception of this incident, the issue of the battle was decisively in favor of the Spaniards, who took, thereupon, possession of the pueblo and of the large quantity of provisions therein found. With the taking of Zuñi, the whole province became pacified and subjugated.

Coronado remained there for a time in hopes of receiving news from the army and of the result of the voyage of Don Hernando de Alarcon, who had been ordered, as we have seen, to go to the port of Jalisco after equipments and provisions for the army. Don Trístan de Arellano left Culiacán 15 days after the departure of Coronado following, more or less, the route that had been followed by Cabeza de Vaca, and arriving at a place which Cabeza de Vaca had named "Corazones," because the Indians had offered him hearts on his arrival. This place, according to historians, was a village of Indians which was situated where the city of Ures, in the state of Sonora, is situated today. There Arellano founded a village to which he gave the name of "San Gerónimo de los Corazones," but as he could not maintain himself in the village he changed it to another place in the valley which the Spaniards named "Señora." From that place Arellano sent Don Rodrigo de Maldonado to the coast in search of Alarcon. Maldonado returned without meeting Alarcon, but bringing with him an Indian so tall in stature that the tallest soldier reached scarcely to his breast. This Indian was from the Island of Tiburon, of the tribe of the "Sires." From there Arellano went to the valley of Señora where he was staying about the middle of October, when the emissaries Melchor Diaz and Juan Gallego arrived with instructions from Coronado to hasten the march of the army—Juan Gallego having orders to proceed thence to México to deliver to Mendoza the report which Coronado sent him, and Melchor Diaz being

Most Rev. Juan B. Salpointe, second Archbishop of Santa Fe, Successor of Archbishop Lamy—See his life, post.

instructed to go as far as the coast in search of the vessels of Alarcon.

By the middle of September, Arellano started with the army from the point of Señora to Cíbola, Melchor Diaz remaining in the latter place in command of 80 men in order to garrison it and await to learn something from Alarcon. Fray Marcos de Niza accompanied Gallego and Melchor Diaz down to Señora, and thence continued his journey with Juan Gallego to México, which he was compelled to do, because Coronado and the other Spaniards felt themselves offended, charging Niza with having lied to them in the information he gave in México in reference to the fabulous riches of gold and precious stones, fine dresses and immense cities he had promised them they would find in Cíbola. After the departure of the army, Melchor Diaz undertook a trip to the coast accompanied by 25 of the best soldiers, leaving Diego de Alcaráz in command of the village. After traveling 150 leagues, Melchor Diaz arrived at a town inhabited by real giants of whom he tells us himself what follows:

"They go naked and live in subterranean caves with no other roofs than a sort of slender straw-thatched ones which their huts have in their principal opening. They go into them through one side and go out by the other. More than a hundred persons, large and small, sleep in one hut. A single one of them can carry a load on his head of over 300 lbs. On one occasion our people wanted to bring in a heavy log to build a fire with; six of us could not move it, and one of those Indians, without the help of the others, placed it on his head carrying it with ease. They eat bread baked in coals, one of their loaves being like two of Castile. When cold is severe and they have to go from one place to another they carry always with them a torch in one hand, leaving the other one free for the necessary uses; that being the reason why a very large river there is called Rio del Tison. This river is more than two leagues wide at its mouth and here about half a league." Here the Indians informed Melchor Diaz that at three miles journey down the river some ships had been seen not long ago. Thereupon Melchor Diaz travelled for three days with his men arriving at the place where the river empties into the Gulf, and there he found, written upon a

Most Rev. Placido Chapelle, Archbishop of Santa Fe, Successor of Archbishop Salpointe--Details of his life and works further on.

large tree, these words: "Alarcon arrived at this place; there are letters at the foot of this tree." Melchor Diaz took the letters out and saw by them that Alarcon had waited there a long time for instructions from Coronado, and that having received none, he had returned to New Spain without going further into the interior. Melchor Diaz thence turned back travelling up the stream with the purpose of crossing the river and of following his journey along the other bank. After travelling for five days, and, aided by a large number of Indians, he set himself to the work of constructing floats in order to cross the river. Whilst the floats were being constructed the Indians were forming a conspiracy to surprise the Spaniards and drown them while they crossed the river, but Melchor Diaz was notified by an Indian of what was going on. He captured the Indian who gave him the information, made him a prisoner and by rigorous punishment made him disclose the whole conspiracy, after which he caused him to be killed and, at dead of night, ordered him thrown into the river with a heavy stone tied to his neck so that the Indians might never learn of the fate of their companion. They, however, did learn about it the next day. Observing that the Spaniards had already suspected their treason, they attacked them. In the encounter, the superiority of the Spanish arms, rather than the number of their soldiers, triumphed, the Indians being ignominiously routed leaving a great many of their number wounded. After the combat, the Spaniards crossed the river on the floats, accompanied by the friendly Indians, with their horses swimming and tied on to the floats.

Let us now turn back and give an account of the march of the army from Señora to Cíbola (Bancroft, Prince, and other historians affirm that Sonora is the same place Melchor Diaz called Señora) leaving Melchor Diaz on the other side of the Colorado River, as he will after a while engage again our attention.

Before taking up again the narrative of the army the reader's attention is called to the fact that while Melchor Diaz traveled by the other bank, or the north side of the Colo rado River, he passed through a great stretch of land of what forms today the States of California, Nevada and Utah.

Between the point of Señora and the Pueblo of Chichilticalli they did not suffer any hardship, nor did they observe anything of importance excepting that many of the soldiers contracted sickness on account of having eaten too much prickly pear which the Indians gave them in the form of a preserve, and that the soldiers who were on the vanguard had seen a flock of sheep. Concerning the flock of sheep Castañeda says:

"I saw them myself and followed them; they were of very large carcass and very long wool. Their bodies were large and thick, and when they run they throw their heads back, their horns touching their spinal columns. They are very much used to rough lands, a reason why we could not catch any."

After the army had traveled three days in the desert they came to a little rivulet which runs through a precipitous cañon where they met with a horn which Coronado had left there for them as sign and guide. The horn, according to Castañeda, was about six feet long and was as thick as the muscle of a man. At about a day's journey from Cíbola a violent tempest, accompanied by intense cold, rain and snow, caught the army, obliging the soldiers and Indians, who accompanied them, to take refuge in the caves of the mountains, where they passed the night. The Indians, on account of having come from tropical countries, felt the cold more severely than the Spaniards, so much so that on the next day the soldiers were obliged to turn their horses over to the Indians, and travel on foot. Prince tells us that several Indians perished from cold on that occasion, but Castañeda says nothing about it, by which it is seen that there is a mistake somewhere, either in Prince's translation or Hodge's to which the Author has now reference. When the army had arrived in Cíbola, Coronado commenced to make inquiries regarding the lands and peoples that might exist beyond Cíbola receiving from the Indians the information that further in the interior a province could be found that was composed of seven pueblos very much like those of Cíbola, to which they gave the name of "Tusayan," situated at 25 miles from Cíbola and inhabited by warlike Indians. To discover these seven cities or pueblos, Coronado selected Don Pedro de

Tobar, who undertook the voyage accompanied by seventeen mounted soldiers, Father Juan de Padilla and another Franciscan priest, who, in his first years, had been a warrior. Tobar and his companion did not delay long in reaching the province of Tusayan to which they entered almost unobserved, because its inhabitants dared not come out of their pueblos since Coronado had possessed himself of Cíbola, and because they had been notified by other Indians that the Spaniards were a ferocious set of men and that they rode on certain animals that ate people. Tobar and his companions spent the night at the edge of one of the pueblos, and the next day, on being discovered, a great multitude of Indians, armed with bows and arrows and drawn in line of battle came out, sending the Spaniards an interpreter to tell them that they would be destroyed if they crossed a line which they had made with corn meal. Whilst the interpreter was saying that, some of the Spaniards attempted to cross the line, wherefore one of the Indians struck a horse with a stick; Father Padilla was indignant at that and addressing the captain said: "In truth I do not know what we have come here for." When the soldiers heard the words of Fray Juan Padilla, one of them uttered the cry of "Santiago," the soldiers throwing themselves instantly upon the Indians with so much dexterity that in a short time they killed many Indians, compelling the others to flee in confusion. With this victory, Tobar was enabled to take peaceable possession of the pueblo, receiving their submission together with a great quantity of provisions and other presents made him, among which were cotton coverings, elaborated deerskins, corn meal and piñones and domesticated birds. With the submission of this pueblo the whole province submitted observing the same ceremonial and giving the Spaniards the same presents. Here also the Spaniards learned that near the place there was a great river along the banks of which a great number of pueblos were settled and inhabited by men of very large stature (which was none other than the great Colorado River already discovered by Melchor Diaz as we have said).

As Don Pedro de Tobar had no authority to go further than Tusayan, he returned to Cíbola, and informed the general of what had been told him. Coronado next sent out Don

Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas accompanied by 12 soldiers to discover said river. Cárdenas in his trip passed through Tusayan where he was well received and was furnished with guides for his trip. After travelling for 20 days they came to the brink of a deep ravine at the foot of which glided the famous Colorado River, the canyon being according to Cárdenas, no less than three or four leagues in width. It took them four days to look for places by which to descend to the water, but without success; till, at length, Captain Melgosa, accompanied by Juan Galeras, found a place by which to go down,—the depth of the ravine being so great that those who remained in the upper part could not see them when the former had come to the middle of the canyon. They returned about four o'clock in the afternoon, having not been able to descend as far as the water. From there, Cárdenas and the rest returned to Cíbola where Don Pedro de Soto Mayor, to whom Coronado had entrusted the task of taking notes about the voyages, gave Coronado a detailed report of the voyage and its fruitless results.

A little after the arrival of Cárdenas at Cíbola, a party of Indians also arrived under the command of a small captain, whom the Spaniards nicknamed "Bigotes" because he was the first Indian they had seen with a moustache. Bigotes informed Coronado that he had come from his land, which lay very far to the East, (Cárdenas gives the distance at 70 leagues) to offer his submission and that of the inhabitants of his province, and as proof of the good faith of his words gave Coronado presents of tanned hides and some articles of pottery, which Coronado accepted with a show of sincere gratitude, giving Bigotes in return a few glass pieces and a few pearls and small bells, all of which were a wonder for the Indian who had never before seen any like articles. Bigotes informed Coronado that in his land they had cows, describing such animals by the figure of a cow which was tattooed on his own skin. That information encouraged Coronado so much as to decide him on the resolution of verifying Bigote's narrative by forthwith sending out Hernando de Alvarado, accompanied by 20 soldiers and Bigotes, and ordering the latter to stay even 80 days in that land, if necessary, that he might give an exact account of what he should discover and

see. After five days' journey Alvarado came to a pueblo built upon a very high rock to which it was possible to ascend only by means of steps which the Indians had cut on the rock after the fashion of a ladder. The Indians called this pueblo "Acuco" which we know today by the name of "Acoma."

It was 50 miles east from Zuñi; its population reached to 200 souls and its Indians had a very bad reputation and were feared by the other villages on account of their valor and skill in combats. When they noticed the arrival of Alvarado and his men, they came down to the valley in a bellicose attitude, drawing a line between themselves and the Spaniards and indicating thus to the latter that they must not pass it; but, as Alvarado paid no attention to their threats, but gave them rather to understand that he was determined to go as far as the pueblo even if on that account he should have to fight, the Indians surrendered simply at the sight of the arms and determination of the Spaniards; and, to give proof of their good will and the firmness of their resolution, they wiped the sweat off the horses of the Spaniards with their hands and rubbed their own bodies with it making crosses with their fingers. That ceremony, according to Bigotes, was the most solemn among the Indians, and was only observed when they made peace treaties.

The ceremony over, they brought the Spaniards a large number of turkeys, much bread, soft deerskins, piñones (pine nuts), corn meal and corn. After a short visit in the pueblo of Acuco (Acoma) Alvarado continued his march towards the province of Tiguex at a distance of three days journey from Acuco where he arrived and was received without any difficulty by the Indians amid demonstrations of joy on account of Bigotes being with them. Alvarado stayed here for a brief period undertaking again his journey to another pueblo which the Indians called "Cicuyé," (Pecos) —a pueblo which Bigotes had mentioned to Coronado. Before starting for Cicuyé, Alvarado sent an emissary to Coronado with a very interesting description of what he had discovered persuading him to come and pass the winter at Tiguex. Coronado received Alvarado's communication with great rejoicings, as he already felt very displeased at not having

been able to discover some of the riches so much spoken of by Cabeza de Vaca and Niza. On the fifth day of his journey Alvarado reached the Pueblo of Cicuyé, which, (given the distance travelled in five days, and the direction he took eastward) was none other than the Pueblo of Pecos; all historians concur in this. At Cicuyé, Alvarado and his men were received with demonstrations of real gladness. All the inhabitants of the pueblo went out to meet him at the sound of drums and flutes accompanying him to the pueblo and giving him in addition, presents of woollen and cotton coverings and valuable turquoises which they obtained by trading with the Indians of the province of Tiguex. Alvarado met here an Indian slave who had come from the provinces close to Florida, and who said that further on in the interior there were many and very large pueblos in which gold and silver abounded, and that there were many cows. This information kindled in Alvarado's breast the desire of going to see those lands and the cows; and he caused the Indian slave, whom he named "Turco" because of his looking very much like the Turks, to accompany them. The news given out by Turco to Alvarado of the fabulous riches of gold and silver, was sufficient for Alvarado not to mind the cows. So great was the enthusiasm that took hold of his soul because of his belief that he had now in reality discovered what both he and Coronado as well as the rest of the Spaniards most heartily desired, that he instantly decided to return and relate himself to Coronado the discovery communicated to him by Turco. While Alvarado was returning, Coronado had already sent out Don Garcia López de Cárdenas, accompanied by some soldiers, to Tiguex in order to make the necessary preparations for the reception of the army which was to pass the winter in that place. At Tiguex, Alvarado met López de Cárdenas, and he remained there awaiting the coming of Coronado. Alvarado and Cárdenas forced the Indians to abandon a whole pueblo, without allowing them to take out anything more than the dress they had on, and to leave all the provisions in the pueblo for the alimentation of the army. Here Alvarado received information about other pueblos which were said to exist to the north of Tiguex, and, as Castañeda blamed the Indian, Turco, for all the misfortunes that

befell the army and Coronado, in referring to the information that Alvarado received in regard to the pueblos to the north of Tiguex he says:

"I believe myself that it would have been of greater benefit if we had followed the direction (northward) instead of what Turco said, because he (El Turco) was the cause of all the misfortunes that befell the expedition."

Before starting for Tiguex, Coronado received information of the existence of another province, to which the Indians gave the name of "Tutahaco," consisting of eight pueblos, towards which Coronado turned his steps, taking along with him 30 men and some Indians who served as guides, and leaving orders that Arellano should follow directly towards Tiguex, after the army had rested in Zúñi, as he, Coronado, had taken a different route to go to the Province of Tutahaco. The Province of Tutahaco has never been identified by historians, some confounding it with that of Acuco (Acoma), and Castañeda hints that Tutahaco and Tusayan are one and the same thing; but from what we have read, it is clearly seen that Castañeda was mistaken. In the opinion of this author, the Province of Tutahaco must have existed in the neighborhood of the Rio Grande, in the country lying between the pueblos of Isleta and Laguna—the author basing his opinion on the direction of the route taken by Coronado in order to get to it, and with this opinion agree Salpointe, Bancroft and Prince, especially Prince, who, referring to that particular point, says:

"This Province of Tutahaco was, evidently, to be found in the valley of the river which we know today by the name of San José. Today only one of its pueblos exists: the pueblo of Laguna."

The houses and customs of those pueblos were identical, in every respect, with the houses and customs of the Indians of the Province of Cíbola, which we have already mentioned. At Tutahaco, Coronado was given a hospitable reception, lodgement and provisions being assigned to him and his men, and allowing him to stay there, without any molestation, any length of time he desired. After spending a few days in that province he continued his march toward Tiguex, where he met Alvarado and El Turco, demanding of the

Most Rev. Peter Bougarde, Archbishop of Santa Fe. Successor of Archbishop Chapelle.—Details further on.

latter a narrative with more details than the one he had already given Alvarado concerning the places from which he had come. El Turco complied, stating to him that there was a very large river in his land traversing large prairies and its width being about two leagues. It contained fishes as large as a horse, and very large canoes each with more than twenty paddlers in which the principal chiefs sailed under cover of elegant awnings and sails, and that over the most conspicuous part of the canoe a large golden eagle was to be seen; that the king of those regions took his siestas (naps) every afternoon under a big tree lulled by the sound of innumerable golden bells; and that the table service used by the inhabitants of those lands consisted of golden jars and dishes; and many more lies. Perhaps Coronado would not have believed El Turco had not the latter shown him some ornaments of ordinary metal he had along, and that he was able to distinguish the difference between those ornaments and the genuine silver which Coronado showed him. By this means El Turco was able to ingratiate himself into the favor of Coronado. El Turco also told Coronado that the Indians of Cicuyé had stolen from him some golden bracelets, requesting him at the same time to recover them for him. Coronado sent Alvarado to Cicuyé to recover El Turco's bracelets, but the Indians of Cicuyé informed Alvarado that El Turco did not say the truth, at which Alvarado became indignant and caused Chief Bigotes to be imprisoned together with the governor (cacique) of the pueblo fettering and handcuffing them with irons, the result of which was that the Indians of the pueblo rose in insurrection charging Alvarado with being insincere and a liar. Alvarado returned to Tiguex carrying with him Bigotes and the governor of Cicuyé, whom Coronado kept in prison at Tiguex for more than six months. This inhuman, cruel and unjust action of Coronado, and the circumstance of having Lopez de Cárdenas forcibly drive the Indians out of the pueblo of Tiguex, taking from them their provisions and other holdings, as we have already said, came to be the reason why the Indians of New Mexico began to lose the confidence which up to then they had had with respect to the good faith of the Spaniards. This was then the origin of the mortal hatred which began to

Most Rev. J. B. Pitaval, D. D., was born in France, February 10th, 1858. He made his preparatory course of studies for the priesthood in the seminaries of the archdiocese of Lyons, France, and came to the United States at the call of Bishop Macheboeuf, of Denver, in June 1881, remaining for a few months at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md., where he was ordained a deacon the following September, by His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons.

On December 24, 1881, he was ordained a priest in Denver, Colorado, by the Right Reverend Joseph Projectus Macheboeuf, Bishop of Denver, and from that date until 1902, he labored as a missionary priest in Colorado.

On July 25, 1902, he was consecrated Bishop Titular of Sora, in Santa Fe, New Mexico, by the late Most Rev. Peter Bourgade, Archbishop of Santa Fe, who made him auxiliary bishop.

Upon the death of Archbishop Bourgade in May, 1908, Bishop Pitaval became administrator of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, and was nominated on January 3rd, 1909, Archbishop of Santa Fe, officially appointed in the Consistory held on April 29th, 1909, and vested with the sacred Pallium on August 18th 1909.

take root in the hearts of the Indigenes of New Mexico, and came later on to end in the destruction and expulsion of the Spaniards, as the reader will shortly see.

A Portion of the Army Leaves Cibola for Tiguex.

In obedience to the orders of Coronado, Don Trístan de Arellano left Cibola for Tiguex, with the army, at the beginning of December. The march lasted ten days the army suffering a great deal during that time on account of the intense cold and snow they had on the road, the snow being so much, in one of the last nights of the journey, according to Castañeda, that it completely buried the whole equipment of the army, as well as the soldiers and their bedding, to such a degree (words of Castañeda's) "that had anyone come suddenly he would not have been able to see anything of the army, but only large mounds of snow." On passing by Acuco (Acoma) the Indians of that pueblo went out carrying a large quantity of provisions for the army, on which account many of the officials and soldiers made a visit to the pueblo continuing afterwards their march thence to Tiguex. At Tiguex, they were very affectionately received by Coronado who, in a long and eloquent harangue informed the army of the great fortune that awaited them in the land of the "Great River" mentioned by Turco; the information so enthused the soldiers that both they as well as Coronado imagined they saw at last the *Alpha and Omega* of Columbus, or, at least, another empire as rich as Moctezuma's, all looking forward with eagerness to the day of the departure.

We have already seen the injustice done by Cárdenas when he expelled the Indians of a whole pueblo, and how Coronado also had held the Indian Bigotes, who was then a very old man, and the governor of Cicuyé as prisoners; with the sole purpose of satisfying El Turco. Those two circumstances had already begotten in the Indians, besides the hatred which they already entertained for the Spaniards, a determination to take vengeance on them, which finally materialized into a firm resolution of breaking asunder all friendly relations between themselves and the Spaniards. Another misdeed of Coronado's came now to hasten the lamentable outcome which put an end to his friendship with the Indians of the

province of Tiguex. As the soldiers were in lack of clothing and cold was intense, Coronado caused Juan Alemán, one of his Indian governors, to come to his presence, and told him that all the Indians must gather together among their pueblo more than 300 articles of clothing for his soldiers, ordering them to go and carry his order to the other governors, and sending soldiers immediately to all the pueblos with such haste that the Indians had no time to hold consultations among themselves for the purpose of taking the steps conducive to the fulfillment of the order. The soldiers behaved cruelly in all the pueblos, they despoiled the Indians, not only of what they had in their homes, but they even took away the shirts they had on their bodies, leaving them exposed to the roughness of the weather. And even more, there were cases of criminal assaults upon the wives of the Indians. The Indians brought due complaints of all these disorders before Coronado, who ordered an investigation which proved fruitless, as it was not possible for the Indians to identify the assailants, the fatal and unexpected incident closing finally in a bitter fight between the Indians and the Spaniards, in which, as was to be expected, the Indians were defeated, many of them being made prisoners.

Cárdenas who was the captain of the soldiers who took part in that fight, having received orders from Coronado not to leave a single Indian alive, caused to be burnt alive several Indians who had gone to surrender themselves in conformity with the peace agreement they had already made with Juan de Zaldivar, Lopez, and Melgosa about which Cárdenas knew nothing until he had consummated one of the blackest crimes recorded in history.

The Indians retired to their pueblos after a desperate struggle justly offended and filled with bitter anguish on account of the treatment they had received at the hands of those they had welcomed with so much hospitality. Despite the incessant snows and the intensity of the cold during 60 days, Coronado made constant efforts to re-establish friendly relations with the Indians; but the Indians refused every overture, stating to him that they could not depend on men false to their word and lacking in gratitude, who, not satisfied with holding Bigotes and the Governor of Cicuye as pri-

soners without any motive, they, not only violated their homes and despoiled the Indians of all they had, but had even burnt alive the Indians who had surrendered themselves. As Cárdenas had been the man who had committed the horrible crime, Coronado thought it opportune to send him to the Indians to give satisfaction for what he had done; but the Indians, although Alemán had received Cárdenas with seeming friendliness, assaulted Cárdenas dealing him two heavy blows on the head obliging him and his soldiers to flee. When Coronado learned what had happened to Cárdenas, he laid siege to the pueblo, held it in blockade for 15 days during which there were several encounters, with the loss of 200 Indians, and the death of Francisco de Obando and many wounded on the side of the Spaniards; Obando was taken up by the Indians before dying and carried away to the pueblo. After such a heroic struggle on the part of the Indians they surrendered to the Spaniards when they could no longer live on account of the insatiable thirst that was devouring them, but before surrendering they had killed many horses. The Indians offered to deliver to the Spaniards the women and children of the pueblo in order to be able themselves to continue the struggle, and, indeed, they delivered 100 small and large persons, whom the Spaniards received, to save them their lives.

The last night of the siege they made an attempt to go out, and went out of the pueblo; but they were observed by the soldiers of Don Rodrigo Maldonado, were attacked, and many of them, together with one Spanish soldier, perished in the encounter. Those who remained alive made a precipitate flight towards the Rio Grande where many perished by drowning and a large portion of the others killed by the Spaniards. Those who now remained alive were captured and compelled to serve as servants of the Spaniards. With this victory, the insurrection of the Indians of Tiguex ended, the province being completely abandoned by the beginning of March 1541.

During the time the siege of Tiguex lasted, Coronado made a trip to Cicuyé, carrying with him the governor of that pueblo in order to pacify the inhabitants and make peace with them, a thing in which he was successful, promising them that he

would return Bigotes to them. In that way the Indians remained very well pleased and submitted to Coronado. Let us now leave Coronado making his preparations for the march he intended to make, as soon as the ice melted on the Rio Grande, (a trip which he was able to undertake on the first days of May 1541) to give our attention to Melchor Diaz, that we may in this way avoid a void in the history of this memorable but ill-fated expedition.

Lamentable End of Melchor Diaz.

We have already said that Melchor Diaz, after discovering the Rio Tison (Colorado Grande), crossed said river continuing his explorations up stream towards the North, and that, before starting from Señora, he had left another man in command of the soldiers there remaining. That official was Don Diego de Alarcon. A little before raising the siege of which we spoke in the preceding paragraph, Coronado received from Alarcon letters informing him, not only of the failure of Melchor Diaz's expedition, but of what was still more unfortunate—the death of Melchor Diaz—a great misfortune for the expedition. Castañeda relates the sad occurrence in these words:

"When they had crossed the river they turned to the sea coast (the Gulf of California) traveling in a southern direction until they arrived at certain banks of very fine sand which they were unable to cross because they would have been drowned (perished by being buried in the sand which was movable and swampy) as in the sea, for when they set their feet on the sand they sank, as if there was a lake beneath their feet. They at once abandoned that road and took another one. During the journey, a bloodhound, carried by one of the soldiers, pounced upon the sheep they drove for food purposes. To prevent the scattering of the sheep, Diaz threw his lance at the bloodhound, the lance burying itself in the ground, and as Diaz fell from his horse which was running at the moment of throwing his lance, his body hit against the lance which pierced his intestines. This accident compelled Diaz to order the return to Señora. Twenty days after, during which the Spaniards suffered a great deal both on account of their daily encounters and fights with the Indians,

and of the difficulty they had in attending to their captain, Diaz, unable to support any longer the fatigues of the journey, died on the way."

The untoward news greatly distressed the Spaniards, and, in order better to learn the true situation of what had happened, Coronado sent out Alvarado to investigate everything, and dispatched, at the same time, emissaries to Mendoza with reports of all he had discovered, and of the death of Diaz. At Señora, the Indians of the pueblo, which the Spaniards called "Los Vellacos," had attacked the Spaniards before Alvarado's arrival, with poisoned arrows killing a soldier, and again attacked them afterwards; but this time they were pursued to their very pueblo by Alcaráz whom Alvarado had sent against them, and, after their defeat, were made prisoners; but, as the Indians gave blankets and robes to the Spaniards, they were set at liberty which they made use of in order to renew their attacks again with poisoned arrows. In the last encounter they killed seventeen soldiers, besides compelling the Spaniards to move from Señora to another place they founded and called "Suya," distant forty leagues from Señora in the direction of Cíbola. Such was the end of Melchor Diaz's expedition, and of the existence of the Villa of Señora. Let us again turn our attention to Coronado.

Submission of the Province of the Queres and Voyage of Coronado to La Gran Quivira.

Coronado unwilling to begin his voyage to his so much lauded "Quivira" without leaving the other provinces in perfect peace, was able, without any obstacle worthy of mention, to obtain the submission of the pueblo of Zia (Chia) and the other four pueblos of the province called "Queres" or "Quirix", Zia being the first one to submit. Coronado made a signal distinction of that pueblo by presenting to it four pieces of (cannon) of artillery (the four were broken—Coronado's reason for giving them). The Indians of the twelve pueblos of the province of Tiguex were the only ones who would not surrender, and would not re-inhabit their pueblos. Having pacified the provinces alluded to, Coronado sent letters to Don Pedro de Tobar, with some Indians from Cíbola who had come to visit Coronado, telling him what he and the

others should do in order to follow the army, and how they should find letters at the foot of certain crosses at each day's journey on the road. This done, the army set out from Tiguex, at the beginning of May for Cicuyé, a place where they were received amid rejoicings and welcomes because Coronado had given back to them their captain Bigotes, returning him the favor by presenting to Coronado a young Indian called Xabe who belonged to those of Quivira and who might help them as guide. Before going any further, the author desires to relate an incident analogous to the one which happened in Culiacán (ante) in the diabolical vision forged by Trujillo. Here it is: While the siege of the pueblos of Tiguex was in progress, a soldier who suspected Turco of being a wizard had the singular thought of locking up Turco in a room in order to undeceive himself as to whether or not Turco was a wizard. According to that soldier, whose name was Cervantes, Turco conversed with the devil a whole night long, the devil being enclosed in a clay pitcher. Cervantes says that Turco himself admitted it and that he proved what he had admitted with this question he made to Cervantes:

"How many Christians have the Indians killed?" To which Cervantes answered: "They have not killed a single one." Turco answered indignantly: "You lie, five Christians have died, among them a captain," (Obando) wherefore Cervantes believed that Turco was in reality in league with the devil. Let us now follow Coronado.

From Pecos (Cicuyé) the famous march commenced in a southwest direction following the course of the Pecos River, with the young Quivira Indian, Xabe, as guide, till they reached, after four days' journey, the place where they crossed the Pecos River (which Cabeza de Vaca called Las Vacas) in the neighborhood of Puerto de Luna which they could not cross at first on account of the large volume of water that obliged them to construct a bridge, a work they performed in four days. From that place, Coronado sent out an escort of soldiers and Turco as vanguard of the army, the army following quite near. After ten days' travel they arrived at an encampment of Indians called "Quereches" who are known now by the name of "Apaches Vaqueros." These received

Coronado in a friendly manner, because Turco had told them beforehand that they should do so, and informed him corroboratively of what Turco and Xabe had before told him concerning the large towns that they would find along the large river. From the Pecos River toward the interior of the plains (The Staked Plain) the Spaniards met with innumerable herds of the cows of Cabeza de Vaca—the bison or buffalo.

The army travelled more and more for several days getting further and further into the vast terrestrial expanse without finding anything else except bisons, and without suffering anything except a serious incident. Cardenas (Garcia) had an arm broken and one soldier lost his way. To find the lost soldier, Coronado sent out Don Diego de López with 10 soldiers who were also lost, but were afterwards found by the Indians called "Taijas;" the poor soldier however remained lost. López and his companions gave Coronado an account of an incident they experienced which borders not only on the ridiculous, but even on what is incredible. López speaks: "Such a great number of cows (bisons) was found that many were killed by the horses in the chase after them towards a brook that glided between two very high banks; and the number of cows was so great that they began to fall one upon another till they perfectly filled the brook to the top of the banks, many of them passing over the fallen ones in the brook; and the men also threw themselves over that bridge of cows without knowing what had happened, losing by the fall three horses with their saddles and trappings."

It was learned in this place by another Indian of Quivira whom they called "Ysopete" who had joined the army, that the things which Turco had told the Spaniards were not true, and he did not hesitate to tell Coronado that Turco was a liar. Coronado, however, did not want to believe Ysopete, always following the advice of the mendacious Turco. After a few more journeys Coronado arrived at a very large encampment in which the Spaniards were well received, the Indians giving them presents of well tanned hides, and requesting them to bless them, as it had been done many years before by three Spaniards and a negro (Cabeza de Vaca and his companions) who passed through there. Among those Indians, the

Spaniards saw a female Indian as white as Spanish women, whom the Spaniards took as an Albina.

Thus did the army march for 37 days covering fifteen or twenty miles per day without finding anything more than encampments of Indians, abundance of buffalo and deer, and, on the brow of the hills, sometimes flocks of wild or mountain sheep, experiencing every day new misfortunes and hearing daily the charges against Turco by Ysopete and Xabe. The aridity of the lands that they were discovering gave them little hope of seeing their ideals realized, their discomfort increasing by the information they received from the Indians of the last encampment to the effect, that La Quivira was very far to the north, and that Turco had been all along deceiving them. The aspect of things from that day commenced to change, the Spaniards coming short of killing Turco, for they were now satisfied that he was a miserable impostor and that Xabe and Ysopete had told them the truth. Coronado seeing that El Turco had made fun of him and his army, and that to continue the march further into the interior with the army, in view of the fact that his provisions were now being exhausted, would be to expose it to unaccountable sufferings, caused Turco to be fettered, and called a council of his officers with the purpose of sounding them as to whether or not the army should follow on or return to Tiguex. The majority of the officers were of opinion that the army should return to Tiguex with Don Tristan de Arellano at the head, and that General Coronado should proceed to the interior of the land with thirty mounted and six infantry soldiers. So it was done, in spite of the energetic protest made by the soldiers to the effect that they preferred to accompany Coronado even if they lost their lives. Coronado took Turco, the Indian with him, not as one of his staff but as a prisoner; his wish being to give, in that way, one opportunity more to that liar of proving that what he had told Coronado and the army was certain. Ysopete also accompanied Coronado as a guide.

The Army Retrocedes and Coronado Finds the so Much Talked of Quivira.

It is believed that the place where Coronado and the army separated was the upper part of Texas, Rio Colorado. This

is, however, a mere conjecture of the persons so affirming. After due preparations the two corps separated,—Coronado accompanied by 30 of the best soldiers well equipped and mounted on the best horses, with Ysopete, and other Indians given him by the Teyas acting as guides. Coronado entrusted to Don Diego de López the charge of the command. The Indians whom the Teyas had sent as guides for Coronado did not long stand the fatigues and long marches; they escaped out a few days after the departure. That circumstance compelled Coronado to send Diego de Lòpez to the nation of the Teyas after other guides. Arellano was still in the land of the Teyas hunting buffaloes and preparing and fixing the meat for the subsistence of the army in its long march to Tiguex. As Coronado knew that Arellano had not yet set out on his march of retreat, he sent him orders with López to hasten the return of the army to Tiguex where they were to wait for him. The new order did not please the army because all the soldiers were still in hopes that Coronado would rescind his first order, and allow them to accompany him. The Teyas gave López other guides enabling him to return to where Coronado was. When this happened, Coronado had already travelled for 15 days. When López had joined Coronado again, they contiuned the march with the firm resolve not to abandon those lands till they had discovered the Quivira and its fabulous riches.

After forty days' journey counted from the day when he separated from the army, and during which nothing worthy of mention had been seen, Coronado arrived at the far-famed Quivira, which was nothing more, according to Castanéda, than one of the many Indian encampments where they lived in slender huts like the ones they had seen since they crossed the Rio de Las Vacas (Rio de Pecos). The reader may well understand the class of ideas that on that moment crowded upon the minds of Coronado and his men; one may well imagine the anguish of Coronado's soul on realizing so bitter a disappointment; and how he foresaw in this failure, not only the loss of his fortune, but even that, which in his estimation was as precious as life itself—his prestige as a soldier and a conqueror. At that moment the laurels with which he had hoped to wreathe his brow, in

imitation of Cortés, were turned into piercing thorns. Turning to the Indian chiefs, who had received him with demonstrations of genuine joy, he told them that Turco had deceived him; whereupon the said chiefs asked Turco many questions, accusing him as a liar, and requiring of him to state the reasons he had had for deceiving Coronado, and for obliging him thereby to travel through those deserts. Turco, in answer, said that his own land lay in those sections; and, besides that, he had been advised by the Indians of Cicuyé to deceive the Spaniards, carrying them through plains that they might perish from hunger both themselves and their horses, or, at least, should they return to Cicuyé, they would return so extenuated that they (the Indians) would not have trouble in killing them all. All the satisfaction Coronado could get from that ruinous voyage was that of punishing Turco by taking his life away by the penalty of the garrote (strangulation).

Regarding the precise place in which Coronado ended his voyage, and the route he followed in order to arrive at it, nothing is known with certainty. All American writers differ, but they agree unanimously, that it was the river known by the name of "San Pedro y San Pablo," or the Arkansas, in the State of Kansas, to the east of the place where the present city of Dodge City is founded, near the "Great Bend" of Kansas. In the same way all authors are agreed in the conclusion that the Indians Coronado found in La Quivira were the ones known today as the "Wichita" Indians, who are also the ones that always inhabited that part of the continent. Let us leave Coronado here, and give now our attention to the army.

The Army In Its March of Retreat.

A soon as Arrellano became convinced that his endeavors and those of his soldiers to accompany Coronado had been useless he set himself energetically to the work of preparation for his long journey.

The soldiers and friendly Indians had killed about 500 buffaloes and dressed the meat by sun-drying it, with which, believing themselves well provided, they commenced their return following a more direct route than the one shown them

by their Teyas guides and covering the distance in 25 days, while in the first journey they had delayed thirty seven days. Regarding the method observed by the Indian guides (maps, as the Spaniards termed them,) in order not to get lost in those inmense plains, Castañeda says:

"In the morning they notice the rising of the sun observing next and marking the direction or way towards which they were traveling. Then they shot an arrow towards the direction they were going, following that direction till they approached the place where the arrow had fallen and shooting another one in the same direction before reaching the first one. They repeated the performance, the whole day long, during the twenty five days that the march lasted, while in the first voyage it took us thirty seven days." *

In his long march, Arrellano saw nothing particular, nor did he meet anything of any importance except some lakes of very good and rich salt and of very crystalline waters and many little animals which looked like the squirrels of Spain and live all over the plains congregated in numerous holes." (Tusas, prairie dogs, as they are called in New Mexico.) The army arrived at the Pecos River about 80 miles further down than the place where they had constructed the bridge, and, as they could not cross the river they had to travel up the stream till they arrived at the bridge and there crossed the river following the march up to Cicuyé with the belief that the Indians of that pueblo would receive them cordially and with rejoicings, but they were mistaken, for those Indians not only refused to welcome them into the pueblo, but received them with bellicose demonstrations, their conspiracy with Turco being thus proven. Arellano did not insist on submitting them to obedience, he and his soldiers not being in good trim to give battle. He tried to make peace with the Indians, but they proudly rejected all his proposals, wherefore he determined upon a sagacious and prudent course of action and followed his march for Tiguex reaching that place in July 1541. He found that the Indians had returned to their pueblos, but with the arrival of the army, they again abandoned them through the fear and terror inspired in them by the presence

* Castañeda Relacion.

of the legends about the Seven Cities had been all the booty of them.

Other Provinces are Discovered. Coronado Returns.

Immediately upon his arrival at Tiguex, Arellano sent Capt. Hernando Barrionuevo, commanding a company of soldiers in search of provinces in the neighboring part. Barrionuevo discovered the province of Jemez which was composed of seven pueblos actually there is only one.* To the Northeast of Tiguex and Tuyapanque near the junction of the Ozama River with the Rio Grande, he struck two pueblos likewise, one was the pueblo of San Juan the other is now not extant. At Jemez he gathered many provisions without any hindrance, for the Indians received them with unexpected good grace. The Indians of Tuyapanque flew to the mountains to a place where they had their pueblos in safety, so rugged that the horses were not able to get to them. In the pueblos that had been abandoned pieces of many were found including says Castañeda that "somewhere there were mines of gold and silver existed".*

Thence Barrionuevo continued his march towards the Southwest till he reached another pueblo called Braba twice as larger than the actual pueblo of Taos in which an amount of twenty five men constructed one they had to clear away and because a small stream crossed it, as it does now, through the center, they named it "Valladolid". Another pueblo which Arellano had sent to explore the lands to the south of Tiguex, upon the banks of the Rio Grande traveled by leagues and discovered the province of "Puy". Indians composed of four pueblos not actually existing. Continuing the voyage down the river he reached a place on the Rio Grande where the water disappears from the surface of the land and thence returned to Tiguex because he had no possibility to go over by leagues, and because the time fixed for the return of Coronado was quite near at hand.

When the legate had arrived Castañeda gives out his views about the province of Los Pueblos and as the time of Coronado's arrival was drawing near Arellano at the head of

* According to the latest historians these four pueblos are those pueblos situated in the Pecos Valley.—The Compiler.

forty men, started out to meet Coronado. At Cicuyé he found the Indians in readiness to give him battle. He engaged them killing many and among the dead were many caciques. Arellano fearing that the Indians of Cicuyé might make war on Coronado remained there for several days waiting for the arrival of Coronado who had already sent him word by an Indian of his arrival at Cicuyé.

Coronado did not delay long his arrival, his presence being a motive of much pleasure, not only for the Spaniards, but for the Indians of Cicuyè as well, who had now tamed down by means of the punishment administered to them by Arellano. No one, however, rejoiced more than the Indian, Xabe, who had returned from the land of the Teyas with Arellano and was at Cicuyé on that day. Xabe, overflowing with satisfaction on hearing that Turco had been put to death, burst into a mighty laughter, as he asked the Spaniards, who was the liar he or Turco? After the ordinary salutations had passed off Coronado continued his march for Tiguex with hopes of returning to Quivira, for the idea that in that place much gold and silver existed never deserted his mind for a moment. Immediately upon his arrival at Tiguex, he gave his orders and made the necessary arrangements in order to spend his second winter at Tiguex. As some historians (among them, Prince) give it as their opinion that Coronado actually visited the Missouri River, the author of this work deems it opportune to give his reason for believing the contrary; that is, that Coronado did not visit, nor even saw the Missouri River. The great river which Fernando De Soto discovered—the Mississippi—De Soto called "The River of the Holy Ghost." That river, which, at the place where De Soto discovered it, is the Missouri and the Mississippi together, is the one to which Castañeda refers in his "Relacion;" and, that neither Coronado nor his men ever saw it, he himself tells us in these words:

"From trustworthy information that I could obtain, it (the river) passes through the province of Arache. It was not visited, because, as they say, it comes from very distant lands out of the mountains of the South Sea."

Since we have now Coronado quartered in Tiguex, let us hear the words of the historian Mota Padilla concerning the

failure of Coronado's expeditions to la Quivira, and the reasons he gives us in support of his opinion. Padilla speaks:

"Perhaps it was a punishment from God that those of this expedition should find no riches, for instead of thinking first on the conversion of those heretics they set all their endeavors in looking after riches, struggling against fate, and making, what should have been their first aim, a secondary affair."

A few days after Coronado's arrival at Tiguex, Pedro de Tobar arrived from San Jeronimo bringing in new soldiers with the purpose of going to look for Coronado at la Quivira. As he did not expect to meet with Coronado at Tiguex, he was greatly distressed, together with his soldiers, because they all were anxious to visit the far-famed Quivira. Coronado consoled them with the hope that, after the winter was passed, the army would again go to Quivira. Tobar brought letters from Mendoza for Coronado, and from individual persons for the soldiers; among these, one came for Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas in which the announcement was made to him of the demise in Spain of a brother of his who had left him a rich heritage.

Clothing had become so scarce among the Spaniards who had gone to Quivira that Coronado was obliged to look for clothes among the friendly Indians. He collected some articles, which the officers appropriated to themselves and their favorites unmindful altogether of the soldiers. Great discontent was the result of such a proceeding which gave birth to very serious murmurings and great dissatisfaction, culminating in the disclosure of the truth about the false riches of Quivira. The soldiers told Tobar, and to those who had come with him from San Jeronimo, that the whole story about la Quivira had been a deceit played upon the Spaniards and planned by the Indians of Cicuyé and Turco in order to cause the death of the army in the plains. This declaration accelerated the sinister unravelling of the ill-fated expedition, as will be seen.

Coronado himself secretly suffered from the bitterness of the deceit practiced on him by the Indian, Turco; he certainly spoke as though he really desired to undertake a second voyage to Quivira, but his heart yearned for a propitious

opportunity to present itself to him of returning to New Spain. The duty of declaring the truth to his sovereign could not be evaded, but he delayed the fulfillment of that duty until October 20th, 1541, the day on which he wrote his report, or account, to the Emperor of the ill-fated voyage to Quivira in the following words:* (Taken from volume 3 of "Coleccion de Documentos Niédito," in the hands of the author of this work).

"Letter of Francisco Vasquez Coronado to the Emperor Giving Him an Account of the Expedition to the Province of Quivira and of the Inexactness of What was Related to Fr. Márcos de Niza Concerning That Country." S. C. C. M.

'On the 20th of April of this year, I wrote to your majesty, from this province of Tiguex, in answer to a letter from Y. M., done at Madrid, on the 11th of June of last year, and I gave you particular account and information about this journey which the viceroy of New Spain commanded me to make in the name of Y. M. to this land which was discovered by Fray Marcos de Niza, provincial of the order of Señor San Francisco, and of what the whole of it is, and of the class of people, as Y. M. must have ordered it to be seen by my letters, and that while attending to the conquest and pacification of the natives of this province, certain native Indians of other provinces beyond these ones had given me account, to the effect that in their land, there were much larger pueblos, and better houses than those of the natives of this land, and there were lords who commanded them, and who were served in golden vases, and other things of much grandeur. And

*NOTE.—Coronado's letter is given verbatim for two reasons, i. e. (1) Because when the first Spanish edition of this work was published, the authority containing said letter had not been received by me from Spain, and (2) to conclusively contradict, by Coronado's own words, the erroneous and false statements, so often published that Coronado visited the site where now stands the city of Santa Fe. The reader will observe in reading this letter from Coronado to the Emperor that he, Coronado, complains of the inclement cold and the absolute scarcity of wood (fuel). Wood was then as it is today, abundant close to Santa Fe, the city being at the foot of the Sierras and practically enclosed by piñon, cedar and pine forests.—THE AUTHOR.

although, as I wrote to Y. M., because it was the story of Indians, and at that by means of signs, I would not believe them until I saw it with my own eyes, the story seeming to me quite great and important to the service of Y. M., that it should be seen, I determined to go, with the men I have here, and see it, and I started from this province on the 23d of the month of April last by the ways the Indians offered to lead me. And after nine days of travel I came to such large plains, that, through where I traversed them, I found no end to them, although I traveled through them for more than 300 leagues; and in them I found so great a quantity of the cows about which I wrote to Y. M. that existed in these lands that to count them is impossible, for not a single day, while I traveled through the plains until my return, did I loose sight of them. And after traveling for 17 days I encountered an encampment of Indians who follow these cows, who are called Querechos, and do not plant (or sow the land) and they eat the raw meat and drink the blood of the cows they kill. They tan the hides of the cows, with which all the people of this land dress; they have pavilions (huts) made of the tanned and greased hides of the cows, all well done. They dwell in them, and go with the cows moving with them. They have dogs of burden, and on them they transport their tents and poles and other little articles. They are the best disposed people which I have to this day seen in Indies. These people could not give me any information of the land to which the guides were carrying me; and through where they wished to guide me I traveled for five days until I arrived to certain plains so destitute of any sign as if we were engulfed in the sea: here they (the guides) were at helter-skelter for in all of them (the plains) there is not a stone, nor a hill, nor a shrub, nor anything alike; there are many and very fine pasture grounds with good grass. And lost as we were in these plains, some mounted men who went out hunting cows met some Indians who were also a-hunting who are enemies of the ones I met in the encampment I had left, and another nation of people called the Teyas, with their bodies and faces tattooed, tall in size, and very well disposed people. These also, like the Querechos, eat the meat raw; live and go after the same manner, with the cows. From these I had an account of the

land to which the guides were carrying me, that it was not as they had told me, for these represented to me the houses as of straw and hides and not of stone and of several stories as the guides I carried had represented them, and in them a little of corn food. And with this news I felt quite anxious, on seeing myself in those plains without end, where I was in sore need of water, and where many a time I had to drink of so bad a quality that it had a greater part of dirt than of water. There the guides confessed to me that only about the grandeur of the houses they had not told me the truth, for they were of straw, that in the multitude of the people and other things of policy, they did say it (the truth) and the Teyas were against this. And because of this division between the Indians, and also because it was already some days that many of the men who were with me ate only meat, the corn which I took from this province having given out; and because from the land where I met these Teyas to the land whither the guides were taking me there would be, it was reckoned, more than forty days of traveling; although the fatigue and peril was represented to me which might be on the journey through the want of water and corn, it seemed best to me, through no motive but that of serving Y. M., to go on ahead, with only thirty mounted men, till I got to see the land, so I might be able to give your majesty a true account of what I might therein see. And I sent all the rest of the men I had back to this province with D. Tristan de Arellano as chief commander; for, according to the lack of waters, in addition to the circumstance that they had to kill bulls and cows for the purpose of feeding themselves there being no other food it would have been impossible to prevent many men from having perished, if all had gone ahead with me. And with only the thirty mounted men which I took in my company I traveled for 42 days after I left the army all of us feeding only on the meat of the bulls and cows we killed at the cost of some horses which were killed, for those animals are, as I have written to you, very daring fierce; going for several days without water and cooking our meals by means of dry cow-dung, for there is not any kind of wood in all these prairies outside of the creeks and rivers which are quite few."

"Our Lord was pleased that, after having at last travelled

through those deserts for 67 days, I arrived at the province called Quivira to which the guides were taking me and which they had described as with stone houses and of many stories; and not only are they not stone houses, but they are straw houses, and their people are as barbarous as all others, I have seen and come across till now; for they have no coverings, nor cotton to make them out of, but only hides which they tan from the cows they kill for they are settled among them on a quite large river. They eat the meat, raw, like the Querechos and Teyas. They are mutual enemies, but they are of the same manner of people; and those of Quivira are ahead of the others in the houses they have and in planting corn. In this province, of which the guides that took me thereto are native-born Indians, I was received peacefully, and though, when I started they told me that I would not be able to see it all even in two months, there are not in it, neither is there in all the rest that I saw and learned about, more than 25 pueblos with straw houses, all of which rendered obedience to Your Majesty and placed themselves under your Royal Lordship. Their people are tall grown individuals and I had some Indians measured who had ten palms of stature; the women are of good disposition, their faces are more after a moorish than an indian appearance. The natives gave me there a piece of copper which an Indian chief had hanging from the neck. I sent it to the viceroy of New Spain, because I have not seen in these parts any other metal but that, as well as some small copper bells which I sent him and a small quantity of metal which looked like gold, and which I have not known whence it came but I believe that the Indians who gave it to me got it from the ones I have here with me at my service, for I don't know anywhere else it might have had its origin, neither do I know whence it may be. The diversity of languages in this land, and the lack of persons understanding them has been a drawback to me. In every pueblo they speak their own (language). I have, therefore, been obliged to send out captains and men to many places in order to learn whether in this land there is any place where your Majesty might be served; and, although this object has been sought with all diligence possible, no settlement has been found, neither have I had notice of any, except these provinces which are quite a small thing.

The province of Quivira lies nine-hundred and fifty leagues distant from Mexico; through where I came, it is at 40 degrees. The land is, of itself, the most suited of all I have seen to yield all the things in Spain, because, in addition to being in itself, thick and black and of having very good waters in creeks, springs, and rivers, I found everything raised in Spain, such as nutmegs, and sweet grapes, and very good raspberries. In conformity with what your Majesty has commanded, I have given the best treatment possible both to the natives of that province and the rest I have met wherever I have passed, and in nothing have they been aggrieved by me or by those in my company. I stayed in this province of Quivira for 25 days both with the object of seeing and walking through the land as well as to gain information as to whether further on there might be anything that might serve Your Majesty, for the guides, I had, had given me notice of the existence of other provinces further on. And (the information) I could obtain, is that there was neither gold nor any other metal in that land; and the rest about which they gave me an account are but small pueblos; and in many of them they do not plant and have no houses except huts made of hides and reeds, and go roving about with the cows. Thus it was that the information they gave me was false, for the purpose of having me go there with all my men, believing that, by reason of so many deserts and uninhabited places in the road, they might lead us into a part where both our horses and ourselves would die of hunger. And so the guides confessed it, and that, with the advice and command of the natives of these provinces, they had done it. And with this, after having seen the land of Quivira, and having had the information of what was further on, which I state above, I returned to this province to put the men on their guard whom I had sent back, and also to give information to Your Majesty about what that land is, for I wrote to Your Majesty that I would do so on seeing it. I have done all that has been possible for me to do in order to serve Your Majesty and to discover land wherever God, Our Lord, might be served, and the patrimony of Your Majesty expanded, as your loyal servant and vassal; for, since I have arrived at the province of Cíbola, where the Viceroy of New Spain sent me in the name of Your Majesty,

having seen there was nothing of what Fr. Marcos said, I have tried to discover this land, 200 leagues and more in circuit around Cíbola, and the best I have found is this river of Tiguex where I am and its towns which are not in position to be peopled, because, in addition to their being at a distance of 400 leagues from the sea of the North and from the South Sea more than 200, where no possible manner of trading can exist, the land is so cold, as I have written to Your Majesty, that it seems impossible for winter to be spent therein there being neither wood nor clothing wherewith men might be sheltered but only hides with which the natives dress and some cotton coverings in small quantity. I send the Viceroy of New Spain information of all I have seen in the lands I have gone through; and, as Don Gonzalo Pèrez de Cárdenas is going to kiss the hands of Your Majesty, who in this journey has worked much and served Your Majesty very well, and will give Your Majesty information concerning everything here, as a man who has seen all, to him do I refer myself.—And may Our Lord preserve the S. C. C. person of Your Majesty with the increase of larger realms and dominions as we your loyal servants and vassals do wish.—From this province of Tiguex, on the 20 of October of the year 1541.—S. C. C. M, Your Majesty's humble servant and vassal who kisses your royal feet and hands."

(Rubric) "FRANCISCO VASQUEZ DE CORONADO."

Coronado is Hurt.—Cárdenas Returns.

The Spaniards passed the winter in extreme poverty, their consternation increasing with the confusion that overtook the army through a lamentable accident suffered by Coronado. While taking a ride in company of Rodrigo Maldonado, and mounted on a very fiery horse running at full speed, the cinch of his saddle burst, and Coronado had such a terrific fall, the horse trampling his body, that he was so badly hurt as to be on the point of death, and had to be confined to his bed for quite a length of time. The accident is attributed by Castañeda to Providence that the second voyage to Quivira might not be carried into effect. Let us hear him:

"The trip to Quivira had now been announced and the necessary preparations were being made. But as nothing

in this world is at the disposal of man, and God Almighty operates in everything, it was His Will that everything should fail, and that the fatal fall should happen to the general himself."

While the general was still ill, Cárdenas arrived in Tiguex stating that he had to turn back from Suya because he had found the village in ruins, that it had been set on fire, and that all the Spaniards, many Indians, and all the horses were dead. The evil news was not communicated to Coronado at once; they had to wait till he became better. When he recuperated, the disaster was announced to him; the effect of which affecting him so badly that he relapsed into bed refusing to be interviewed. With the general's relapse the confusion among the soldiery increased and the idea occurred to Coronado of secretly considering his return to Mexico on account of deeming himself seriously ill. He therefore commenced at once to plan the manner most conducive to carry his determination into effect without appearing himself as the originator of the plan. After the most thorough discussions between himself and some of his officers, in whom he had absolute confidence, it was agreed to prepare a petition which, after being signed by all the captains and soldiers, would be presented to Coronado, who was to feign surprise and displeasure on receiving it. So it was done. As soon as the petition was signed, it was presented to him and he played his part so well that the unwary, who had fallen in the trap laid for them, were the most emphatic in urging on him the good basis on which rested the reasons laid before him for their return to Mexico, and how he would be exonerated from all blame, when it would be shown that the army had demanded the course taken. It was not long, however, before the truth came to light. When those who signed blindly realized what had occurred they protested declaring that they desired to remain and to continue in the discovery and conquest of La Quivira, but Coronado unheeded their words. It was proposed to him that he march himself with the army to Mexico, but to leave 60 soldiers in Tiguex to wait for the orders of the King. All was of no avail. They requested him to return the petition to them, but Coronado refused to accede. Tired at so much waiting, they determined upon

stealing the petition from him; they took his trunk out of his room, but could not find the paper desired, whence they hit upon the thought that Coronado had it under his bed, and as they could not steal it therefrom for fear of the sentries stationed there by Coronado from among the men who had made the plan with himself, they resigned themselves to the will of Coronado. Immediately after, and, in spite of being as yet very sick, Coronado gave the order for making the preparations in order to set out on the return march to Mexico.

Fr. Juan Padilla, Fr. Juan de La Cruz, (Escalona), and Andres del Campo (Portuguese) Remained Among the Indians. Coronado Returns to Mexico.

It was the month of April, 1542, when Coronado gave the order for the preparations to commence. Fathers Juan de Padilla and Fr. Luis de Escalone (called also Juan de la Cruz) in company with Andres del Campo, hailing from Portugal, and some friendly Indians of the ones who had come from Mexico with Coronado, made up their minds to continue preaching the gospel, among the Indians, Fr. Luis selecting the province of Cicuyé, and Fr. Juan de Padilla the province of Quivira. Coronado did not oppose, but rather encouraged those ministers of the Lord to persevere in their work, sending an escort of soldiers to accompany them to Cicuyè, the place in which Fr. Luis remained, Fr. Juan de Padilla continuing in his march to la Quivira, accompanied by the Portuguese and some of the friendly Indians who served them as guides. Both priests, Padilla at Quivira, and Fr. Luis at Cicuyé, were martyred. We shall recur to these holy missionaries, who were the real heroes of the expedition, before closing this chapter.

Coronado's Return.

All things being now in readiness for the return voyage, Coronado reviewed the army rejoicing at the success with which his wishes were crowned, and at having written to Emperor Charles V, on October 20th, 1541, the narrative which the reader has already read. Towards the end of April, 1542, Coronado left Tiguex toward Mexico, stopping for a few

days at Zuñi because many horses were dying on the road, following his trip without experiencing any reverse, to Culiacán, leaving all the province of New Mexico pacified, and also leaving at Zuni some of the Indians who had come with him from Mexico. A little before reaching Chichilticalli, Coronado met Captain Juan Gallego, who was now returning with more soldiers and provisions. Continuing his march he arrived at Culiacán at the beginning of June, remaining in that city until the 24th of the same month, when he left again for Mexico to give Mendoza an account of his fruitless expedition. Mendoza received him with undisguised indifference, but did not censure him, contenting himself with relieving him from the post of governor of New Galicia. The removal from office, the loss of his military prestige, the remorse of his conscience, which doubtless continually gnawed his heart on account of so much injustice he practiced upon the Indians was about the only reward Coronado was entitled to. The author of this work believes that he, among all the Spanish explorers, has the least right to claim honorable mention in the annals of history, excepting for his famous journey which gave as a result the discovery of the Indian provinces of New Mexico and of the plains which today form the states of Kansas and Oklahoma. Thus ended the romantic voyage of Coronado, and with the voyage ended also in a tragical manner the life of Coronado. Some English speaking historians, among them Bancroft, affirm that Mendoza contented himself with showing Coronado his displeasure on account of the bad result of his expedition; but that afterwards he reconciled with him, allowing him to retain his post as governor of New Galicia. That seems to be an error, for not only was Coronado suspended from that high dignity, but was, according to other old historians, completely ignored by the viceroy, the contempt with which he was received being the cause of his death.

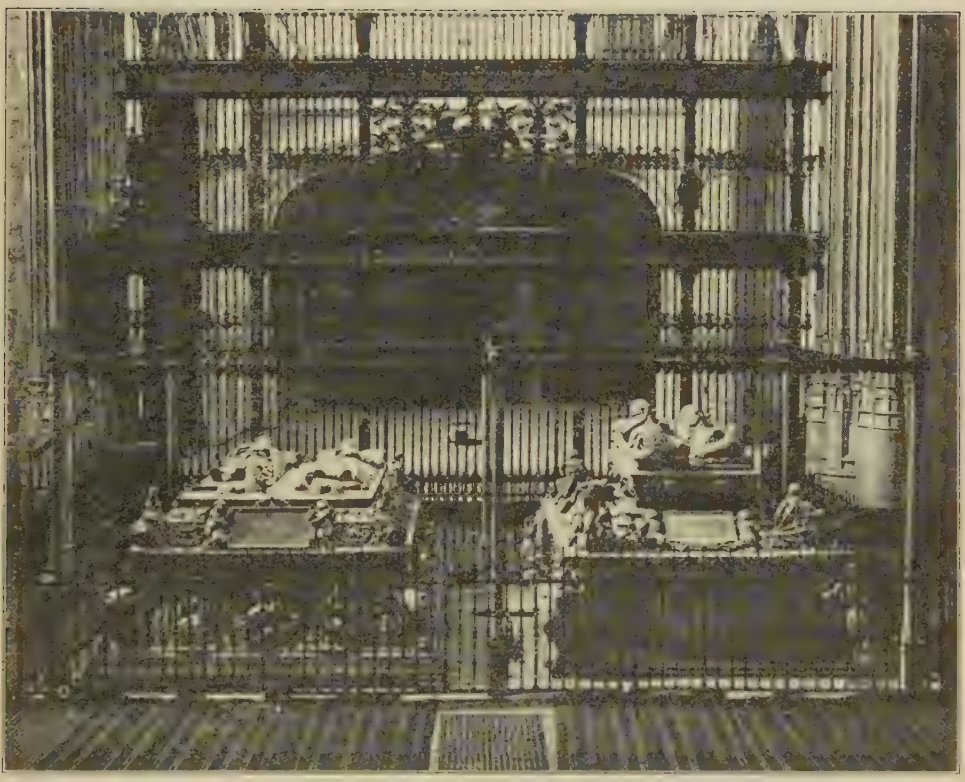
We shall now close this chapter with a few words of admiration and respect for the memory of those venerable Franciscans Juan de Padilla and Fr. Luis de Escalona, the only ones in all the expedition who deserve honorable mention for they were, indeed, real conquerors, having conquered with the

sacrifice of their own lives the only true empire, the Empire of Eternal Glory.

Fr. Juan Padilla was by birth an Andalusian. He came to México as a Franciscan monk between the years 1525 and 1535. Fr. Luis (Juan de la Cruz de Escalona) was born in France, but of Spanish parentage. Many historians do not believe that he was a priest, but simply a lay brother; this author believes he was a priest. Be that as it may, the certainty about them is that both were the first martyrs who with their blood baptized these lands without any other hope but that of converting the Indians and of sacrificing their lives to give in that manner testimony of the holy truths of Christianity. Fr. Juan de Padilla was assassinated by the Indians of la Quivira while he was preaching to them the Christian doctrine. Concerning this there is no doubt, even if some historians doubt that he ever arrived at la Quivira, Prince, for example, affirms "that he was martyred before he had entered the town." (See Prince's Hist. of New Mex., p. 145). Bancroft says that Fr. Padilla suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Quivira Indians because he insisted on going to preach the gospel to a tribe that was at war with the Quiviras (see Bancroft's Hist. of Arizona and New Mexico, p. 67). On that point Bancroft agrees with Castañeda. The same opinion is held by Archbishop Salpointe ("Soldiers of the Cross" q. v) and Rev. Fr. James H. Defouri. ("Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico" q. v.) Concerning the death of Fr. Padilla there was proof, for the Portuguese who accompanied him to la Quivira escaped from the hands of the Indians at Father Padilla's instance, and was able to see from a hiding place, as it will be seen afterwards, how the Indians killed Fr. Padilla with stones. Concerning Fr. Luis not a word was ever heard again after the soldiers separated from him, who carried sheep for him to Cicuyé, from which fact it is inferred that he had a similar fate as Fr. Padilla.

This chapter ends here. In the next we shall treat of the so-called foundation of Santa Fé and of the voyages of Fathers Agustin Rodriguez (Ruiz), Francisco Lopez y Juan de Santa Maria, Espejo, etc., etc.

Before commencing the next chapter the Author desires to remark that in the appendix of this work he will give the sketched list of the 20 Franciscan martyrs who sprinkled with their blood for the love of God and the conversion of the gentiles the virgin soil of this portion of the new world, commencing with Fathers Juan de Padilla and Escalona and ending with those who perished in the uprising of the year 1680.



The above is the picture of the royal tombs in the Cathedral of Granada, Spain. On the left side is the tomb of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, under whose protection Columbus discovered America, October 12, 1492. The tomb on the right side contains the remains of King Philip, the Handsome, and his wife, Queen Jane, known in history as the "Crazy Queen." This photograph was secured lately for me in Granada, Spain, by Don Pablo M. Hernández López, son of my distinguished friend, Dr Luis Hernández, of Spain.—THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER VI.

The Foundation of Santa Fe Discussed—Voyage of Francisco de Ibarra—Fr. Agustin Rodriguez, (Ruiz), Fr. Francisco Lopez y Fr. de Santa Maria—Chamuscado Cuts a Figure—Discussion of the Origin of the Name "New Mexico"—Castaño de Sosa, Bonilla and Juan Humaña—End of the First Book.

There are some writers who affirm that the City of Santa Fe was founded in the year 1543 by Fr. Juan de Padilla and his companions. Among them we have the Reverend James H. Defouri, of grateful memory, whom this author had the honor of counting among his particular friends. Father Defouri is the only one of those writers who bases his assertion on what, apparently, has any show of authority, and for that reason the author of this work will consider his work alone in the present discussion. Speaking of Coronado's return to Mexico (to which we referred in the last chapter), Rev. Father Defouri says:

"Many of the soldiers, and even some officers, who did not want to return to Mexico, deserted the army and remained at Tiguex, founding there the first colony of white men. That happened in April, 1543,—a date, we can believe and affirm, Santa Fe was founded, a mission being established there, although that name (Santa Fé) was not given it then, but in the year 1598, in which Juan de Oñate in his *Discourse of the Journeys* which the captain of his majesty made from New Spain, to the Province of New Mexico, September 9, 1598, to the City of San Francisco of the Spaniards, which at present they are building for themselves."*

The very authority quoted by Father Defouri, "Discourses, etc.," says that it was when Oñate visited the place that the foundation of the city commenced, that is, after the year 1598. It could not have been otherwise, for from what we read in the foregoing chapter, we know that Coronado carried with himself all the soldiers and officers of the army

*Rev. J. H. Defouri's "Hist. Sk. of the Catholic Church in N. M."

without leaving in New Mexico any other Europeans than Fr. Juan de Padilla, Fr. Luis de Escalona, and the Portuguese, Andres del Campo; that Juan de Padilla started at once for Quivira, the other friar remaining at Cicuyé (Pecos). The author of this work, after an examination and comparison of the writings of all the writers which he has been able to consult, excepting Prince, who does not say a word about the foundation of Santa Fe, is of opinion that the villa of Santa Fe was not founded before the year 1605, the date in which Oñate, as will be seen in the chapter (post) which treats of Oñate, founded it. On that matter Archbishop Salpointe,* Bancroft† and the majority of authors, who have written on that point, are all agreed.

Here we shall leave what pertains to the foundation of the city of Santa Fe, in order to treat in the following chapters of the voyages of Ibarra, Fr. Agustin Rodriguez (Ruiz) and Antonio de Espejo and those who followed him.

The Entry of Ibarra.

About the years, 1563-65, Don Francisco Ibarra was governor of the provinces comprised today in New Vizcay, (today the State of Durango). Ibarra enjoyed the good friendship

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*Salpointe: "Soldiers of the Cross." 51.

†Bancroft: Hist. of N. Mex. and Ariz., 133.

NOTE—For further confirmation of our contention that Tiguex was on the Rio Grande, the reader is referred to the unusually important and highly interesting description of Tiguex (Tihues as Benavidez calls it) given by Father Benavidez to the king, which is made part of this history as appendix No. 1. The description so given by Father Benavidez is so accurate and it agrees so clearly, and so perfectly, with what we have said on that subject, that it leaves no room for doubt, Father Benavidez closing his description thus: "The river is called the Rio Bravo and must have in width the distance covered by the shot of an arquebus." (See appendix 1, under head "Tihues") Castañeda, Coronado's co-explorer and historian of the expedition, (ante), says on the point which seems to have led some writers to believe that a certain number of Spaniards remained in New Mexico besides the two friars and the Portuguese, that some of the gentlemen wanted to remain in order to be in possession of the country until the viceroy could send reinforcements, and asked for 60 soldiers, but that the soldiers declined to remain and so all went back with Coronado.—THE AUTHOR.

of the Viceroy of México, Luis de Velasco, because a daughter of Velasco was married to Diego de Ibarra, an uncle of Francisco de Ibarra. The uncle of Don Francisco being thus related, it was not a matter of any difficulty to Don Francisco to obtain the appointment of captain general of the expedition which Velasco in obedience to the command of the king of Spain, Charles I., was organizing in order to explore the lands discovered by Coronado 21 years before. At the end of the year 1564, then, Ibarra set out at the head of the expedition. It has never been possible to know anything positive about the lands that Ibarra visited; there is not a single historian who has been able to investigate with precision the places visited by Ibarra. By following his tracks, it is no easier for the reader to discourse about the directions traveled by Ibarra's expedition than it is for the historian. In other words, the conclusion, after reading Ibarra's narration, may be made agreeable to the theory that he did visit New Mexico, but not following the same route followed by Coronado from the fact of mentioning the Rio de las Vacas (Pecos) at the edge of "very extensive plains." With the same facility the contrary can be affirmed in regard to what he tells us respecting the Indian towns he discovered, on account of those towns having names totally different from those of the pueblos and places visited by Coronado. According to Bancroft (citing Ibarra's narration) Ibarra was accompanied by 50 soldiers, among them came Pedro de Tobar (a captain of Coronado), several friars with Father Acebedo as superior. The course of his expedition was northward, but to the right of Coronado's route. According to Vargas,* Ibarra revolved around the northern part until he struck the "Valleys of the Cows." Beaumont also quoted by Bancroft, says that in the place when Ibarra had arrived at the plains of Las Vacas he found a large city abandoned by its inhabitants, called "Pagme," that its buildings were built of limestone, that it had fine houses and covered more than three leagues. That, if, indeed, it is not an invention of Beaumont, as he does not give us the source of his observation, is the only incident worthy of men-

* Vargas: N. Mex. Testimonio 129—Cited also by Bancroft's N. Mex. and Ariz. 72.

tion, and, at that, only because of the mention made of "the plains and River of Las Vacas;" but not even, on that account, does the expedition of Ibarra deserve to be considered of importance in history. Let us now pass over to the consideration of the voyage of the Rev. Fr. Augustin Rodriguez (called by Espejo and other historians, Fr. Agustin Ruiz) and his companions, and of those who followed after them.

Voyages of Fr. Augustin Rodriguez (Ruiz) and Expedition of Espejo.

All English speaking historians who have written on the history of New Mexico, have apparently fallen into the error of considering Fr. Augustin Rodriguez (Ruiz) as a priest. In spite, however, of the fact that in our times the error of calling the priests "frailes" has become very common, "fraile," friar, and "sacerdote," priest, are not analogous terms, either term having a distinct meaning. Anglo American writers fall more generally into this error. Fr. Augustin Rodriguez was not a priest; he was simply a friar, layman, which signifies a brother who enters a religious order, according to Escriche, one who takes the "habit" in any of the regular orders and has made "the three vows of obedience, poverty and chastity;" if the friar performs the services corresponding to the altar and choir of his order, he is known and designated by the name of "friar of mass and the kettle," (fraile de misa y olla). The priests who accompanied Fr. Rodriguez were Fathers Juan de Santa Maria and Francisco Lopez. Fr. Rodriguez was the initiator of the voyage we are now considering in this chapter, and his success in moving the heart of the viceroy and his superiors was secured by the Christian charity which so distinguished him among his brethren, according to Torquemada.*

In the year 1581, when the Count of Coruña, Don Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza, was Viceroy of New Spain, Fr. Rodriguez was residing at the convent in Zacatecas, to which convent the pueblo known by the name of San Bartolomé belonged. A few days after his arrival at Zacatecas he commenced his evangelical pilgrimages among the Indians that belonged to the convent, or mission, of Zacatecas. In one of those pil-

*—Torquemada: Mont. Indiananem, vol. 3, 626.

grimages (missions) he visited the pueblo of San Bartolomè in the extreme south of what is today the State of Chihuahua, and it was then that he heard from the Indians of said pueblo, about other lands peopled by Indians who lived in terrace houses, dressed in cotton and had much corn. Fr. Rodriguez, noticing the good disposition of those Indians, and their willingness to be converted, made several trips to the mother-convent to obtain preachers. But as in these places the friars were none too many, there being a great deal to do and to provide for, the good Fr. Augustin returned alone, until lastly having his seat and dwelling place in the valley called San Bartolomé, some Indians, seeing the great desire he showed of finding new peoples to convert them to God, gave him information of certain large towns that existed far from there, which, because they had so many people, they called them "New Mexico." (The author takes notice of this passage because Espejo does not claim to have given that name to the province.) And in order to satisfy himself of the truth he advanced inland by the way they pointed out to him towards the north and found good towns.

That information was sufficient for Fr. Rodriguez to make up his mind to penetrate into those regions and effect their conversion, or, at least, receive the martyrdom which he so fondly longed for. He at once undertook a trip to the mother convent to inform his superiors of the news he had received, and to ask missionaries in order to go and christianize the Indians of those lands. On this occasion God vouchsafed to crown his efforts with marked success, for the prelate gave him two priests for the time being, who offered themselves for that journey until they received advices of what might be more convenient. One of them, who went as the superior of his companions, was called Fr. Francisco Lopez, and had come from the province of Andalusia, and the other, Juan de Santa Maria. As he was assured by the father superior, that notwithstanding the king's prohibition issued long before, to the effect, that no expeditions should be made into the lands discovered by Cabeza de Vaca, Niza, and Coronado, there would be no difficulty in obtaining due permission from Viceroy Coruña, Fr. Rodriguez (Ruiz) undertook a trip to the City of Mexico carrying a letter from his superior to the

viceroy. The viceroy authorized the entry as solicited by Fray Rodriguez, giving him authority to organize an escort of not more than twenty soldiers; but Fray Rodriguez was unable to gather more than nine soldiers who enlisted for the voyage, more eager to find gold than to protect the priests. These were Pedro Bustamante, Hernan Gallegos, Felipe Escalante, Hernando Barrado, Josè Sanchez, Pedro Sanchez de Chavez, Herrera, Fuensalida and Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, who was chosen captain of the soldiers, In addition to the soldiers, eight Indians went with them, as servants, and a mestizo (half breed) called Juan Bautista. making all together a party of twenty-one men.

First Mission in New Mexico—Discovery of First Mines 1581.

On the 6th of June 1581, Fray Rodriguez, accompanied by the other priests and the rest of the men set out from San Bartolomé towards the river de Conchos near San Bartolomé. When they had reached that river, as far as its junction with the river of the North, they gave it the name of "Guadalquivir," crossing it at the same point where Cabeza de Vaca had crossed it 45 years before. Thence they travelled 20 days northward meeting with a large number of Indian Pueblos, which according to the direction they were travelling, were of the province of the pueblos visited by one of the captains of Coronado near the place where stands today the town of Socorro in New Mexico To these pueblos, Fr. Rodriguez gave the name of "San Felipe." From thence they followed up their journey till they reached the province of Tiguex settling at the pueblo of Puaray in which they established their settlement thus founding the first mission in New Mexico. Thence Chamuscado with the other soldiers made several trips into the interior of the other provinces in search of gold, for that was the only object that induced Chamuscado and the other soldiers to accompany the priests. As they did not find the gold they were after, although they did discover some mines, they determined to return to New Spain, and report leaving the priests and Fray Rodriguez with the friendly Indians and the mestizo, at Puaray. They started on their return trip towards the end of December 1581 or the beginning of January 1582.

A few days after they had arrived at San Bartolomé, Chamuscado and two of his soldiers, Bustamante and Gallegos, of the soldiers who had accompanied him set out for the city of México to give testimony of what they had seen and discovered. Chamuscado did not reach México, having died on the way. Pedro de Bustamante and his companion, Hernan Gallegos, after burying Chamuscado, continued their journey, reached Mexico City safely and on the 16th day of May, 1582, appeared before Viceroy Mendoza, and made a report of the journey in the form of a deposition, under oath, reporting the whole journey, the finding of mines; how they had left Fr. Rodriguez and Fathers Lopez and Father Juan de Santa Maria in the pueblo of Puaray, and how their captain Chamuscado had died 30 leagues from Santa Barbara.

Barrado Appears and Reports Death of the Friars.

It was October the 20th, 1582, when Viceroy Mendoza hearing that another of Chamuscado's soldiers was in the city, and was circulating the report that Fr. Rodriguez and Fathers Lopez and Juan de Santa Maria had been killed by the Indians in the Tiguex province, caused said Barrado to appear and give his testimony under oath, which order Barrado complied with immediately.

After giving a detailed account of the journey made by him in company of Chamuscado, Fr. Rodriguez and Fathers López and Juan de Santa Maria and the other soldiers, etc., he stated that after his return with Chamuscado and the other soldiers to Santa Barbara, and staying there for three months, more or less, one of the Indians who had remained with said religious in Puaray had arrived at Santa Barbara, that from that Indian, whose name was Francisco, he learned of the killing of Fr. Rodriguez and the two Fathers, Lopez and Juan de SantaMaria; that said Indian had seen the Indians of Puaray kill Fr. Rodriguez and how he was certain the other two Fathers had been killed.*

*NOTE—The foregoing report of the killing of Fr. Rodriguez and Fathers López and Juan de Santa Maria is taken from vol. 15, p. p. 81 et seq. of the "*Colección de Documentos Inédictos Relativos al Descubrimientos, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceania*," which together with other important volumes of

Bustamante's Report About the Mines.

"In like manner, we discovered in said land eleven silver mines with very rich veins and the ore of three of them was brought to this city, and given to his excellency; he sent it to be assayed by the assayer of the mint, who assayed them, and found one sample to contain 50 per cent of silver; the other contained twenty marks to the hundred weight, and the other five marks."

The report of Chamuscado's soldiers alarmed the inhabitants of México especially the Franciscans at Santa Bárbara, (San Bartolomé) who, encouraged and directed by Father Bernardino Beltràn, commenced to discuss ways and means to go in search of their companions, inducing, by entreaties, Don Antonio de Espejo, a man of great wealth, who at that time was sojourning in Santa Bárbara, to undertake the voyage. We will leave Espejo and the Franciscans here making preparations for the expedition, while we relate what happened to Fray Rodriguez and his companions.

Tragical End of Fr. Rodriguez.—New Mexico is the Name Given to the Province.

After the departure of Chamuscado and his companions, Fr. Rodriguez and the priests, Fr. Lopez and Fr. Santa Maria, thought of devising the proper means to inform their superiors of the good disposition of the Indians to receive the gospel and to have them send out more missionaries. Father Santa Maria volunteered to undertake alone the voyage, but was killed by the Indians shortly after starting. Concerning that occurrence, Torquemada says:

"The friars kept on forward in their voyage, seeing that the natives of those lands received them kindly all along them, and they went further in for a distance of another 150

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the same "Colección," reached me from Spain after my first Spanish edition of this history had gone to press. Upon comparison of what I said in said Spanish edition on this journey of Fr. Rodriguez, etc. with what this original official report shows I found that the authors I relied upon in my said former edition do not fully agree with this original official report, consequently, the reader is now assured that he is now receiving an absolutely authentic account of that memorable expedition, as is the case with their accounts given here as correct and accurate.—THE AUTHOR.

leagues, as far as New Mexico, *for they were the ones to give that name to the country.* Contemplating the bountiful harvest the Lord was placing before them and that the infidel Indians encountered no difficulty in receiving the gospel, as they were alone, they sought the means to notify their superiors of the great need there was of their sending out more husbandmen. For this purpose, Fray Juan de Santa Maria offered himself, a young man suited for any work, and with a willingness to suffer anything for the love of Jesus Christ. Fr. Juan was by nature inclined and devoted to the knowledge of astrological phenomena, for which reason he was commonly called by all the 'astrologer.' Relying on the knowledge he possessed of the stars, he took another route in order to return (different from the one they had traveled) and in order also to see what new things he might thereby find. He had scarcely traveled three days, when the infidel Indians killed him by a cruel kind of death; for, having laid down to sleep, resting by the roadside, they cast a very large stone over his head, which took his life away without his being able to breathe."

Father Francisco Lopez and Fr. Rodriguez (Ruiz) accompanied by the mestizo and the friendly Indians that had remained, settled permanently at Puaray, making that point the center of their operations; but they did not last long in the exercise of their sacred ministry, for they were afterwards, all of them, martyred by the Indians. Father Lopez, first, and then Fr. Rodriguez, the friendly Indians and the mestizo. Let us hear Torquemada describe the martyrdom of these holy men and of the faithful servants that accompanied them:

Death of Father Lopez and Fr. Rodriguez.

"Fr. Francisco Lopez and Fr. Agustin Rodriguez remained in the employ of this administration in the pueblo, where they took up their dwelling, trying to learn the language of the Indians in order to preach to them with more clearness the law of God, which they taught them by means of signs. Engaged as they were in this good work, it happened that one day there came to the pueblo where they were staying, some Indians that were hostile to the ones where they were quartered, with weapons in their hands possibly to kill them, because they had received the religious men in their company

and were feeding them. Father Francisco stepped out to reprimand them for the evil they were doing, and to persuade them to desist from their discord and hatred, and to live in peace with their neighbors as they were all one people. The barbarians, who did not know God, nor respected his ministers, like another Pharaoh, who, being told by Moses what God commanded, said: 'Who is the Lord that I may hear his voice and do what you say?' Looked at one another and said among themselves: 'Who is this crier that thus comes out to preach to us what we do not wish to hear?' And turning their wrath against him they did not wait to hear any more reasons, but all, at the same time, shot their arrows at him and struck him down dead to the earth."

With the death of Father Lopez, Fr. Rodriguez (Ruiz), the friendly Indians and the mestizo were left alone among the hostile Indians, all of them realizing that the end of their lives was also very near, for the pitiful, tragical close of the lives of their companions was for them an infallible sign of the fate that awaited them. So it was, and the disastrous voyage, which these ministers of the Lord conceived, closed with their death. How Fr. Rodriguez (Ruiz), his Indians and the mestizo came to their death, Torquemada also tells us in these words:

"Not wishing to endure him, (for there is no greater rage, nor torment for the wicked than to be reprimanded by the upright man) they killed him within a few days, and afterwards did the same with the Christian Indians who were with him that they might not survive to testify concerning their misdeeds. Nevertheless, they did not go without their punishment, for Antonio Espejo went shortly after in search of those priests and in demand of those lands, and gave them a good chastisement."

Let us now return to New Spain to consider the steps taken by the Franciscans and Espejo in order to undertake the journey of deliverance to which we have alluded in the foregoing paragraphs. We left Father Beltrán making preparations for said voyage and we are now going to speak about it. Before going into the subject, however the author calls the attention of the reader to the following remark, viz: that all he is going to say concerning Espejo's voyage, save

the author's comments, is reproduced from the reports of Espejo himself, as they were written by the historian of his expedition, which reports are now in the possession of the author of this work, said author having received them direct from Spain after the first Spanish edition was published. With this explanation, the frequent quoting from those reports will be avoided. The voyage follows:

Espejo's Entry into New Mexico—1583.

Some difference is perceived between Espejo and Torquemada in what relates to the death of Fr. Juan de Santa Maria and his companions, Espejo affirming that said priests had been murdered before Chamuscado and the other soldiers returned to San Bartolomé, while Torquemada says that the soldiers, when they returned to New Spain, had left said priests alive and in the exercise of their ministry. One, however, is naturally inclined to believe that Espejo is mistaken, and that Torquemada spoke with full knowledge of the facts, if the testimony given by Chamuscado and his companions is taken into account. Let us now enter upon the consideration of Espejo's voyage.

Espejo's Voyage.

On the 10th day of November, 1582, the voyage was undertaken, Espejo and Father Bernardino Beltrán starting from San Bartolomé accompanied by fourteen soldiers whose names were the following: Juan Lopez de Ibarra, Diego Pérez de Lujan, Gaspar de Lujan, Cristobal Sánchez, Gregorio Hernández, Juan Hernández, Miguel Sánchez Valenciano, with his wife and two sons, Lázaro Sánchez, Miguel Sánchez Nevado, Pedro Hernandez de Almansa, Francisco Barrato, Bernardo de Luna, Juan de Frias and the Fathers Pedro de Heredia y Juan de la Cruz; in addition to these soldiers and priests, Espejo carried with him some Indian servants and friends. They all went well supplied with arms, food provisions and mules and horses, Espejo bearing all the expense. The route taken by Espejo was the same that had been followed by Fr. Agustin Rodriguez and his companions, traveling along the Concho River to its confluence with the Rio Grande and meeting, after two days' journey, with the

firstencampment of the Concho Indians who received him with demonstrations of joy and gave him guides to lead him as far as the nation of the Pasaquates, distant 24 miles from that place. The Pasaquates also received the Spaniards amid demonstrations of sincere sympathy giving them new guides to take them to the nation of the Indians called Tobasos. The Tobasos, however, on receiving advice of the coming of the Spaniards, and as some years before, according to Espejo, some Spaniards who passed through there had carried away as captives some of the Indians of that nation, were afraid Espejo should do the same, and, on that account, abandoned their pueblo though they returned shortly after at the instance of Espejo. Concerning that incident Espejo says:

"It was known afterwards that some years before, certain soldiers had come through there in search of mines, and had taken as captives some natives, a circumstance which made them fearful and distrustful of the rest. The captain gave orders as to how they should be called, assuring them that no harm should be done to them; and did it so skilfully that he made many of them come whom he regaled and gave gifts, treating them kindly, and declaring to them, through the interpreter, that they were not going to do anybody harm whereby they again were quieted, and consented to receive crosses, and that the mysteries contained in them should be explained to them, showing that they received thereby a great deal of contentment, after which demonstration they (the Tobasos) went accompanying them (the Spaniards) until they led them into a peopled land of another and different nation which was about 12 leagues distant from theirs; they use the bow and the arrow, and go naked."

That nation the Spaniards called "Patarabuyes" and the Indians called it "Jumanos." Concerning them, Espejo tells us that it was a province of many pueblos, of very large population and many very large rivers, of which the Rio Grande was the largest. These Indians, notwithstanding their return to their pueblo, attacked the Spaniards during the night, killing several horses and abandoned their pueblo. The next day Espejo, succeeded in pacifying them and in having them return to their pueblo. This first encounter with the Indians is thus described to us by Espejo:

Espejo's First Fight.

"They are a warlike people and they at once showed it, for the first night our men made camp, they struck at us with arrows and killed five horses and badly wounded as many and would have left none alive had it not been for the guards that defended them. Having done this damage they deserted the place, and climbed up a mountain (sierra) that was near by, where the captain went next morning with five well armed soldiers and an interpreter named Pedro, an Indian of their own nation, and with good expressions he quieted them and left them at peace, causing them to come down to their pueblo and houses and persuaded them to inform their neighbors that we were not men who harmed any one; neither were we going to take away from them their possessions—a thing he succeeded in accomplishing by his prudence, and by giving the caciques some strings of glass beads, hats and other trinkets we carrried for this purpose. With this and with the good treatment we gave them, many of them accompanied our men for some days, travelling always along the bank of the said Rio Grande."

Espejo Hears of Cabeza de Vaca's Journey.

Thence the Spaniards travelled always up stream between large numbers of pueblos, being everywhere received in a friendly manner by the Indians. After having travelled for twelve days more, they came to a pueblo where the Indians used the sign of the cross and raised their eyes to heaven as if they prayed, whereupon one of the priests asked the Indians where and how they had learned to do that, to which they answered, that years before, three Christians and a negro had passed through there. These were no others than Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Maldonado and Estevanico. The Spaniards continued their journey, always northward along the river, without meeting any opposition from any of the many pueblos they traversed, but rather being the objects of kind receptions till they came to a pueblo with houses of three and four stories, where they received information that further into the interior there were many nations of Indians dressed in clothes made of wool and cotton, like the Spaniards. Considering the route Espejo was travelling

and the many journeys they had made, it is reasonable to believe that this last pueblo was near the Province of Tiguex, as they were not long in arriving at the said Province of Tiguex, where they positively learned that Fr. Rodriguez and the Fathers Francisco Lopez and Juan de Santa Maria had been murdered. Espejo thus relates that event:

"After having stayed in this province for four days, and at a little distance therefrom, they came to another province called Tiguex, which was composed of sixteen pueblos; in one of which, called Poala, (Puaray) they were informed that the Indians had killed the two fathers, Fray Francisco Lopez, Juan de Santa Maria, and Fray Agustin, whom they were looking for, and with them the Indians had also killed three boys and a mestizo. When the Indians of this pueblo and their neighbors saw our men, feeling the remorse of their own conscience, and fearful of being punished for the death of the said fathers, they did not remain, but leaving their houses they climbed up the near-by mountains whence they could not be made to descend, although we tried it with all sorts of caresses and contrivances. They found in the pueblos and houses many supplies and great abundance of turkeys and different kinds of rich metals. It could not be ascertained precisely how many were the people of this province for the reason (as I have said) of their having gone to the sierra."

The Spaniards encamped there for several days because there were many among them who deemed it a useless task to proceed further with the journey, as the chief object of the voyage, the deliverance of Fr. Agustin Rodriguez and his companions, could not be realized. Espejo, however, was able at last to persuade his companions and the religious to follow further inland in order to verify the information that the Indians were giving them concerning the existence of other pueblos which the Indians declared were very large in population and rich in corn, silver and gold. Espejo next determined to go himself with only two of his companions to explore the new lands, leaving at that point the remainder of the expedition with the intention of establishing there his rendezvous. After two days' travel Espejo arrived at a

province of eleven pueblos and of considerable population, so large that, to use Espejo's expression, "they numbered over 40,000 souls." Espejo continues his description of what he saw in that province in these words: "It was a very firm and well supplied land whose boundaries touch the lands of Cíbola, where there are many cows with the hides of which they dress, and also with cotton goods." Espejo also found in that pueblo indications of the existence in the neighborhood of rich minerals—which fact prompted him to return to his place of rendezvous to inform his companions about the discovery of what he thought to be a group of valuable mines. Espejo says: "There are signs of many and very rich mines, as we found metals from them in the houses of the Indians, who have and adore idols made of these metals."

The good news brought by Espejo had the effect of changing the minds of those who wanted to return to New Spain, for, in addition to what Espejo told them concerning the rich minerals, they had already received advices of another province further north which had been also very much exaggerated inducing them all to go to that province (the province of the Queres with which the reader is already acquainted.) Espejo's account concerning that province, says literally:

"Having arrived at the rendezvous (as said) they had advices concerning another province called Los Queres which lay on the Rio del Norte six leagues distant, and as they set out thitherward and arrived to within a league of it, a large number of Indians came out to receive them peacefully and to request them to go with them to their pueblos, saying that they would be well received and entertained. They saw only five pueblos in this province in which there was a very large number of people, and the people they saw were over fifteen thousand souls, who adore idols, like their neighbors. They found in one of these pueblos a magpie in a cage, and some paintings such as those that are brought from China with the sun, the moon, and many stars painted on them. On reckoning there the latitude they found themselves at 30½ degrees north."

From that province, Espejo changed his route towards the northeast, visiting the province of Cia (called also Cuvaines) which, the reader will remember, is composed of five pueblos

ofwhich Cia was the largest and the principal one. The population which Espejo says he found there does not agree with what Castañeda tells us, for, according to Espejo, the inhabitants of those five pueblos were "over twenty thousand souls." Those Indians seemed to Espejo very much advanced in civilization, for "they judged them to be the most curious people and of better policies than any they had so far seen, and of better government showing rich metals and the mountains from which they mined them out." Here they again received news of another province which lay towards the Northwest and to which they determined to go. That province was Jemez (Espejo called it Amejes). There also the Spaniards were well received, but, as they were informed of another province larger which was towards the Southwest, (Acoma) they pursued their route until they reached it. The Acoma Indians received them with the same good will they had received Alvarado forty years before. Here Espejo gives a description of the rock upon which the pueblo is built. As we already informed the reader about that, we will omit what Espejo says concerning the same, contenting ourselves with the statement that Espejo was treated with more frankness than was Alvarado, and his men; for, during the three days that Espejo and his men remained in that place, they made him presents of (blankets) and robes well worked, and lots of provisions, and gave them also "one of their solemn dances coming out dressed in gallant garments which they enjoyed exceedingly."

Espejo Finds Coronado's Monuments.

Thenceforth, Espejo continued his march towards the West till he came to the province of Cíbola, finding at Zuñi the crosses Coronado had left there, and three of the Christian Indians who had come with Coronado, called, Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaspar de Méjico, and Antonio de Guadalajara "who had almost forgotten their own language and understood well that of the natives although the Spaniards after a few trials with them, understood them easily," (Espejo's words.) These Christian Indians informed Espejo of another still larger province which was at seventy days' travel from that point, having many, and very large pueblos, a large lake and very rich (deposits) of gold. Espejo and some of the

Spaniards wished to go and visit the province, but, as Father Beltrán with the greater part of the Spaniards opposed it, Espejo abandoned the hope of making the trip to said province with all his men; whereupon he concluded to make the trip himself with such of the men as were willing to follow him, which he did undertaking his march towards those lands with some of his companions allowing the Father and those who wanted to follow him to return to New Spain, if so they desired. After having travelled twenty eight days westwards, they arrived at one province which, according to Espejo, had over "Fifty thousand souls." These Indians threatened the Spaniards with death if they insisted on arriving at their pueblos, but Espejo was able to pacify them by means of presents he made them, whereupon they permitted him to enter accompanied by 150 friendly Indians and the Christian Indians that had come with the Spaniards from Cíbola. At their entry into the pueblo the Spaniards were received amid rejoicings by the Indians and their caciques "who sprinkled quite a quantity of corn meal over the ground through which their horses passed." The Indians called that pueblo "Laguato."

Thence the caciques sent word to the other pueblos to come and see the Spaniards, and many Indians from said pueblos did subsequently come loaded with presents for the Spaniards. Great efforts were made by the caciques of those pueblos to get the Spaniards to go with them, but, Espejo, suspecting some treason, excused himself from visiting them, stating to the caciques that as the horses were "very fierce" it was necessary to prevent them from killing Indians by constructing for the horses limestone fences (fortress). The Indians, fearing that what Espejo said might happen to them, offered to construct the fences themselves, as Espejo tells us:

"The Indians believed it so well, that in a few hours they got many of their people together and built an enclosure which our men wanted, with incredible promptness. Besides this, upon the captain announcing that he desired to leave, they brought him a present of forty thousand cotton blankets, striped and white, and a large quantity of handkerchiefs with embroideries, and many other things, among

them rich metals which seemed to have much silver. They obtained from these Indians important information regarding the great lake above mentioned, and confirmed what the others had said concerning the riches and abundance of gold."

Espejo Finds Rich Mines—1583.

Espejo seeing the good result of his stratagem, sent the baggage to Zuñi with five of his companions and the friendly Indians, and he continued his voyage towards said mines with only four of his men and the guides he had with him, travelling always westward, coming to the mines at a distance of forty-five miles from that place. The mines proved to be so rich that Espejo himself was able to touch ore with his own hands. Let us hear him describe the find. "And he drew out with his own hands very rich ores, and with much silver, and the mines, which had very broad veins, were on a mountain which was easy of ascent, there being an open road for that purpose."

At the spot where the mines lay there were two small rivers, one of them the author believes to have been the Gila, basing his opinion on what the Indians said to Espejo, viz: "And they told him, by signs, that beyond those mountains there was a river which was more than eight leagues wide and that it flowed towards the Sea of the North, and that on both banks of it there are many pueblos, so great, that in comparison with them, the ones in which they actually were sojourning, were only wards." Espejo did not doubt the narration of the Indians, but he resolved to return to Zuñi, making the journey without any difficulty. He was agreeably surprised on his arrival there by meeting Fr. Bernardino Beltrán and the soldiers who were before so determined upon going back to New Spain. The explanation given by Father Beltrán for his not having gone was that, as the Indians appeared so well disposed to receive Christian instruction and be baptized he thought it part of his duty to remain in the exercise of his ministry.

Espejo Visits the Province of The Queres and Other Pueblos.– Returns to San Bartolomé by the Rio de Pecos—1583.—More Mines Found.

As Espejo manifested his desire of continuing the discovery of other pueblos, Father Beltrán and the soldiers who

had before decided to return to San Bartolomé, agreed upon their return voyage, joining with them the soldier Gregorio Hernández. Thus, at Zuñi, the expedition divided, Fr. Beltrán and the soldiers mentioned going to San Bartolomè, and Espejo, with eight soldiers, taking an eastward course till they struck the Rio del Norte, and kept travelling up stream till they reached the provinces of the Queres and the Hubates. In both provinces, Espejo was welcomed by the Indians, who overloaded him with presents and rich ores. Espejo asked them where had they obtained those ores, and the Indians showed him the mines, which were near, and from which Espejo and his companions drew out a goodly quantity of silver. Thence they continued traveling till they came to the province of los Tannos (which must have been the province of los Tanos, Galisteo, mentioned in the preceding chapter). In that province, Espejo did not receive the treatment he expected, became disgusted, and his companions being so few he determined to return to San Bartolomé.

"As they were so few (as we have said) they determined to go, starting for the Christian land, and they put it into effect at the beginning of July of the year eighty-three, guided by an Indian who went with them, and took them by a different road from the one they had travelled on their coming, down a stream which they called "de las Vacas," because there was a great multitude of them along its banks, by which way they travelled 120 leagues, meeting them (the Vacas) continually. From here they set out to the Río de Los Conchos, by which they had entered, and from there to the Valley of San Bartolomé, whence they had come to begin the discovery; and when they arrived they found that said Fray Bernardino Beltrán, and his companions, had arrived safely at said pueblo many days before, and that from thence they had gone to the Villa of Guadiana. (Espejo carried with him two Indians to be educated). At this town, Captain Antonio de Espejo gave correct information of everything above mentioned, which he immediately forwarded to the Count of Corona, viceroy of that kingdom, and he to his majesty, and to the lords of his royal council of the Indies that they might ordain what should be their pleasure."

Such was the result of the celebrated voyage of Espejo, the

most beneficial in its results of all that had till then been made to these lands of New Mexico. He spent twelve months on the voyage, penetrating on the west very far to the interior of what is today the State of Arizona, and on the north to the province of Los Tanos, what is today Galisteo, in the County of Santa Fe. He had no mishap or evil encounter with the Indians, in spite of what Torquemada affirms (ante). He discovered rich minerals, while Father Beltrán, also, did on his part much spiritual good.

Origin of Name "New Mexico."—Espejo calls it "Nueva Andalucia."

Before closing his narrative of Espejo's voyage the Author of this work deems the occasion opportune to do away with another historical error which appears in a great number of historical works. That error is this: Many of the writers on the conquest of New Mexico affirm that it was Espejo who gave this territory the name of "New Mexico." This is an error, as we shall prove it by the very words of Espejo himself. Among the rare works which the Author of this work was able to obtain through the kindness of Don Antonio Aragon Montejo, of Madrid, Spain, are Volumes III and XV, entitled, "Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía" (Inedited Documents Concerning the Discovery, Conquest and Organization of the Old Spanish Possessions in America and Oceanica, to which we have already referred). In Volume XV, at page 162, of said work is the report or narrative which Espejo sent to the Count of Corona, viceroy of New Spain at that time, which report Espejo sent immediately after his arrival at San Bartolomé. Espejo begins his report with these words:

"It is about twenty-one days that I arrived at these mines of Santa Bálbola (San Bartolomé—the Author), of this district, very tired and fatigued of having traveled for more than a year to this date, more than eight hundred leagues, seeing and discovering the provinces of New Mexico, *to which I gave the name Nueva Andalucia.*"

The fact, therefore, is established that it was not Espejo who gave this country, then a province of Spain, the name of New Mexico.

Espejo Solicits Authority to Colonize New Mexico—Castaño de Sosa, Bonilla and Lomas y Colmenares—Urdiñola—Juan Humaña—Don Cristobal Martin.

Before Espejo's return to New Spain several Spaniards endeavored to obtain leave from the kingdom in order to prosecute the discoveries and colonization of New Mexico. Don Cristobal Martin a moneyed man residing in the City of México offered to spend in the enterprise of the discovery as much as fifty thousand dollars obliging himself to secure three hundred colonists and to defray all the necessary expenses out of his individual purse. In return he demanded privileges and concessions so extraordinary that his petition, though approved by the Viceroy of México, was rejected by the Council of the Indies. Espejo also thought of continuing his work of colonization, and, believing himself with more rights than Don Cristobal and the other claimants, absolutely ignored the viceroy and other authorities in México; addressing himself directly to the king, through the medium of his son-in-law, Don Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza. In this second effort Espejo failed.

Bonilla and Barbadillo, in accordance with previous arrangement and agreement with Espejo, were waiting in Madrid for Gonzales de Mendoza; who carried with him, for the King, a copy of Espejo's narrative. Espejo offered to take four hundred men with their wives and families, and in addition, four companies of soldiers and all the military stores and ammunitions of war, horses, live stock of cattle and sheep and everything else needed for undertaking the colonization on a large scale in all of which he promised to spend the sum of one hundred thousand ducats; and, that the new colonies should not be lacking in spiritual help, offered also to take twenty four Franciscan Fathers. In return for his sacrifices and large expenses he asked for himself the appointment of Captain General and Governor with privileges equal to the ones granted to the Viceroy of México. The petition of Espejo, together with that of Don Cristobal Martin, were referred by the King to Don Francisco Diaz de Vargas (historiographer and relative of the conqueror of the same

name) who at that time was alcalde of the City of Puebla, that he might make a minute and conscientious investigation into what Espejo, Don Martin and the others solicited. Don Francisco Diaz de Vargas, basing his opinion upon the failure of the expeditions of Fr. de la Asunción, Fr. Marcos de Niza, Fr. Francisco Rodriguez (Ruiz) and Coronado's, did not hesitate in giving his decision unfavorable to the petitions of Espejo and the others.

The report of De Vargas had the effect of causing said petitions to be all ignored, but, not on that account, were the other rich and prominent men in civic and military affairs, discouraged. In the province of New Galicia lived Don Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares who in the year 1589 presented his petition to the Viceroy Villamanique asking authority for the conquest of New México, he offering also to defray all the expenses on his own account. This petition was approved by the Viceroy, but rejected by the King. De Lomas did not abandon the hope of realizing his wishes and so in 1592, Velasco being Viceroy of México, he again presented a new petition, but without obtaining results, because Velasco had already promised that privillege to Francisco de Urdiñola whom he afterwards appointed to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. Urdiñola, however, was not able to undertake the conquest because he was arrested to answer to the charge of having killed his wife. When Don Juan Bautista de Lomas saw the failure of Urdiñola he made in 1595, another petition with the same object, Monterey being then Viceroy of México, but he again was doomed to a similar disappointment.

Castaño de Sosa Steps In and Gives the Pueblo Indians the Formal Government Which They Have to This Day.

Don Gaspar Castaño de Sosa was a man of great prestige, and Mayor of the City of San Luis Potosí. Intrepid, and arrogant, and believing himself a man of great prominence he determined to undertake the conquest and colonization of New Mexico. He assembled, in men, women and children, one hundred and seventy persons and started on July 27, 1590, from Nuevo Leon carrying along wagons, horses, mules,

cattle, sheep, and all necessary things for the foundation of colonies.

Part of his route was through the Rio Grande, and part along the Rio de Pecos to which he gave the name of "Rio Salado," (Salt River). Castaño visited all the pueblos of New Mexico and was kindly received by the Indians, except in one of them where he had to employ force in order to penetrate into it. Castaño, although without any authority from the king, adopted a better policy than his predecessors, for it was he who for the first time, gave the pueblos a definite form of government appointing, in the greater part of them, a governor and other officials. The government which Castaño gave the Indians at that time was subsequently recognized by the governments of Spain and México, and, even in our own days, and under the United States government, the same system of government is still in force in all the pueblos. Castaño was about to return to New Spain when he was met in the Pueblo of San Domingo by Capt. Juan Morete, who was coming with an escort of fifty men, sent by the viceroy, to arrest Castaño. Castaño did not resist the authority, but surrendered at discretion, and with his men was taken back to México, ending thus with his voyage to New Mexico.

De Lomas—Coming of Humaña and Bonilla—Arrest of Castaño de Sosa Related by Villagrá.

Concerning the expedition made by Juan de Humaña and Francisco Leyba Bonilla (Bonilla was a Portuguese) to New Mexico, little or nothing is known, having been undertaken without any authority, there is no authentic history about it outside what Villagrá tells us, who, while accompanying Oñate, as we shall see, met an Indian called Jusepe, at the Pueblo of San Juan, and from him Villagrá learned that Humaña, Bonilla and the Indian Jusepe in their company had penetrated as far as the Great Quivira returning thence laden with gold, and that, while they were returning, Humaña had murdered Bonilla; that, subsequently, the Spaniards, who had remained with Humaña, were surprised by the Indians and all had been killed—he alone (Jusepe) having been able to escape from the massacre.

The tragical outcome of the efforts of De Lomas and the

arrest of Castaño is given to us by Villagrá in one of the cantos of his epic poem in these words:

"The viceroy ordered that the voyage should
Be registered without delay; Juan
Bautista Lomas undertook at once
The task. A man of wealth, tho' old in years,
Was he, with highest credit o'er the land.
He laid his plan before the viceroy but
Without effect. Towards the closing of
The year eighty-nine and middle of
Ninety Castaño entered; for he was
Lieutenant oldest of the kingdom of
Leon, followed by a valiant multitude
Of nobles whose intrepid chief of camp
Was called Cristobal Heredia, well
Versed in the affairs of war and also with
Discretion to explore deserted lands.
The viceroy ordered all of them, by Capt.
Morete apprehended: Who, without
Delay, and helped by fearless soldiery,
Well fit by exercise to do the work,
Caused their arrest, and set them in their post." *

* Villagrá's "Historia de la Nueva Mexico."

Captain Gaspar de Villagrá, co-conqueror of Oñate, 1598, and first historian of New Mexico. His "Historia de la Nueva Mexico" was published in Spain in the year 1610.

BOOK II.

EPOCH OF THE FIRST CONQUEST, PACIFICATION AND CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE INDIGENES, BY DON JUAN DE OÑATE, 1595-1608.

CHAPTER I.

Epoch of the Entry of Oñate—The Conquest is Effected—Christianization and Pacification of the Indians of New Mexico.

Upon a careful reading of the works of the old authors, which the author of this work has been able to read, he has reached the conviction that many of them do not agree as to the date of Oñate's departure, the majority of them giving it at the year 1595. There is no doubt that all of them have confounded the dates in which Oñate commenced to make his petitions and preparations, and from that error many others have flowed in regard to Oñate's voyage. Villagrá was the most distinguished of Oñate's captains, and the historian of this important expedition. Taking, then, into consideration the fact that the Spanish authors themselves are so confused in the matter of dates so memorable, there is no reason why we should censure the writers of other nations who have had to depend on translators who never, perhaps, took the pains of comparing the works from which they were translating with the original writings.

All the authors, who have written on the history of New Mexico, with the exception of Bancroft, are in error as to the date on which Oñate undertook his voyage of conquest. Fr. Frejes (see appendix No. 2) says it was in 1595; Shea and Salpointe fix it at 1596; Prince, Davis and the rest affirm that it was in 1591. It seems certain that none of them ever had the opportunity of consulting Villagrá, hence the error referred to. Pino and Barriero do not mention Cabeza de Vaca, Fr. Marcos de Niza, and Coronado. Pino affirms that the expulsion of Otermin happened in 1644, 36 years before the time it actually took place. In like manner, Pino and Barriero

HISTORIA
DE LA NVEVA
MEXICO, DEL CAPITAN
GASPAR DE VILLAGRA.
DIRIGIDA AL REY D. FELIPE
nuestro señor Tercero deste nombre.
Año 1610.
CON PRIVILEGIO.

Fac-simile of the title page of the first history of New Mexico, written by Captain Gaspar de Villagrá, one of Oñate's most distinguished captains in the conquest of New Mexico, 1598. Published in Spain in 1610.

affirm that Oñate made his voyage in 1595. We shall speak of these two authors in another part of this work.

Bancroft is the first of the English speaking writers who discovered the error in 1877, date in which he found the work of Villagrá. Villagrá wrote his work entitled "History of New Mexico" a few years after the pacification of New Mexico (in 1610,) and, as he was one of the conquerors himself, it follows that the account given by him is both authentic and acurrate. The Author of this work, notwithstanding the fact, that the Historical Society of New Mexico has a copy of Villagrá's History, obtained the book through the agency of Mr. Camilo Padilla, of El Paso, Texas, who found the volume in Old Mexico. It is thus that this author can furnish the reader with the very source of one of the most important historical events of our soil. By this means, the radical change which, this work of Villagrá, makes in all the works written before Bancroft's, can be better appreciated. —A reason, too, why the author has deemed it opportune to say something respecting the efforts made in Mexico to find so precious a work.

Don Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, director of the National Museum in México in 1899 or 1900, upon learning that a copy of the "History of New Mexico" by Villagrá was on the hands of a man in Madrid, Spain, called Manuel Gomez Velásco, made a trip to Madrid, with the sole object of obtaining the work in order to reprint it in México. He had no difficulty in getting it, as he himself tells us in his "introduction" to the new edition. He brought it to México and reprinted it on the printing press of the National Museum the same year of 1900.

How rare that work was up to that date, Mr. Troncoso states in his introduction in the following words; "The book of Villagrá is actually very rare, it was published for the first time at Alcalá de Henares (Spain) in the year 1610, (eleven years after the conquest of New Mexico by Oñate) in an 8vo volume, of 24 preliminary leaves not numbered, and the text folded into pages from 1 to 287. The copies of this first edition preserved in the public and private libraries are few, and here, in México, there are extant only three or four copies."

There is no reason, then, to criticize the historians who

wrote anterior to, or contemporaneously, with Torquemada, or Torquemada himself; or even those who wrote after him, much less, those of other nations, for none of them had seen the work of Villagrá. That is how the historical errors came to be transmitted till the year 1900, when the National Museum of México issued the second edition of Villagrá.

To the work of Villagrá four appendices have been added, the first, by Don José Fernando Ramirez in which all the "Documents, in reference to Villagrá," were published. The second appendix is that of Father Alonzo de Benavides, and it treats of "The Spiritual and Temporal Treasures which redounded in the benefit of the Indians of New Mexico through the services of the Franciscan Fathers." This appendix was read to the king in 1630, and the Author considers it of such importance, especially because of its having been ignored by the other writers, that he has reproduced it in full, as the first appendix of this work.

The third appendix is from the pen of the Presbyter, Don Agustin Fischer, and treats, among other important things, of the uprising of New Mexico in 1643, and the expulsion of Otermin and the rest of the Spaniards (reproducing Otermin's narrative itself) in 1680.

The fourth appendix, written by the Count Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora in 1693, under the title of "Mercurio Volante," treats of the restoration of the provinces of New Mexico accomplished by Diego de Vargas, Zapata y Lujan, Ponce de Leon, governor and captain general of that kingdom. Sigüenza also reproduces the narrative of De Vargas himself, a thing the Author of this work has emulated in another chapter, with the sole object of giving to the world the true history of the greatest of conquerors of New Mexico. We shall now begin our narrative of the voyage.

Entry of Oñate—1598.

The conqueror, Don Juan de Oñate, was not a full-blooded Spaniard, but a direct descendant from Hernan Cortés, and from Emperor Montezuma. His father, Don Cristobal de Oñate, was one of the most famed captains of Cortés, in the conquest of the rich and powerful Mexican empire, and the founder of the City of Zacatecas. His mother Doña Isabel

Tolosa, was a grand daughter of Cortés and great grand-daughter of Montezuma. Our hero, then, Don Juan de Oñate, was related to the "Great Men" of Mexico and Spain, and was consequently a man of much importance and great prestige in governmental affairs.

The narratives of Cabeza de Vaca, Niza, Coronado and Espejo had imbued Don Juan with the idea that to him Providence had reserved the honor of the discovery, pacification and christianization of the provinces of New Mexico. He concluded, therefore, to undertake the big enterprise relying not only on the well established prestige of his parents and grandparents, but also on the brilliant military career which he had made himself, and above all, on the great fortune he had at his command for the realization of his ideal. He, therefore, presented to Viceroy Velásco on September 25th, A. D. 1595, his petition, or solicitation, soliciting the favor he had so much yearned for, obliging himself to bear all the necessary expenses, both of men and troops, as well as of war materials, food provisions, wagons, colonists with their families, and, in short, whatever might be necessary for effecting the colonization of New Mexico. In return and, as reward for his services and expenses, he asked to be appointed governor and captain general of all the lands he might be able to colonize; he asked, further, for a land grant of thirty leagues (nearly ninety miles), and a salary of 8,000 ducats a year; that he and his descendants should be declared "hijos dalgos," (nobles) and that he should be allowed to carry along as many as six priests well equipped. For the maintenance of the soldiers, however, he requested a loan of $20,000.00 from the royal coffers. Velásco approved Oñate's petition granting him everything he asked, and the "capitulations" (contract) was signed on the 24th of August of the same year (1595).

Having signed the contract, Oñate began the work of procuring the means which the enterprise required, and, with the aid of his powerful relatives and friends, he was able, in a very short time, to gather at Santa Bárbara a number of adventurers who were anxious to win fame. In the formation of the army, Oñate was encouraged, helped and sustained by his brothers, Fernando, Cristobal, Alonzo and Luis, and by

the four Zaldivar brothers (who were Oñate's nephews), sons of Juan Zaldivar, who had been a captain of Coronado. The names of the Zaldivars were Cristobal, Francisco, Juan and Vicente; Vicente was appointed sergeant-in-chief, and, as such, commenced to enlist men in the City of Mexico, immediately after the papers had been signed, being thus able, without much difficulty, to enlist the 200 men which Oñate had promised.

While this was going on in Oñate's camp, in the month of November, a change of viceroys occurred. The Count of Monterey arrived from Spain as successor to Velasco. With the change of viceroys, the Oñates and their supporters lost their prestige, because the new viceroy had, as is always the case with all public men, his particular friends and advisors. These began at once to file complaints against Oñate, demanding his suspension, and the appointment in his place of Don Pedro Ponce de Leon. The new viceroy reported to the King all that was going on, asking at the same time for authority to suspend Oñate pending the necessary investigations which were to be made. The King granted the petition of the viceroy, forwarding at once his royal order to that effect.

Oñate, unconscious of what was being done, continued making his arrangements for the voyage. His preparations being now concluded, and just as he was getting ready to undertake the voyage, a courier arrived from Mexico, bringing the royal order instructing the viceroy not to allow Oñate to prosecute his entry into New Mexico. The King based his decision on the information secretly made to him by the viceroy, as will be seen in the following order of the King and the command of the viceroy:

The King.

"Count of Monterey, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, or to the person or persons in whose charge is the government of the same: Having seen the letter you wrote to me on December the 20th of last year, in which you speak of the agreement which the viceroy, Don Luis Velasco, your predecessor, had made with Don Juan de Oñate, touching the discovery of New Mexico, and the causes, which

you say, held you back in what was resolved, remarking that it was not convenient to approve the agreement, if recourse was had here on the part of said Don Juan de Oñate until you should again write to me; and consulting, through my Royal Council of the Indies, on my subject Don Pedro Ponce de Leon, who is said to be from the Villa of Baélen, having offered to make said discovery, I have determined that the execution of what was capitulated with the said Don Juan de Oñate, be suspended. And I, therefore, command you not to permit the entry to be made by him nor to prosecute it, if he should have commenced it, but let him hold back until I shall provide and command what may seem convenient to me, about which you shall have prompt notice. Dated at Azeca, May 8th, in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-six. I, the King, by command of the King, our lord, Juan Ybarra."

Command of the Viceroy, the Count of Monte Rey.

"Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Azevedo, Count of Monte Rey, Lord of the houses and estate of Biedina y Ulloa, Viceroy, Lieutenant, and Captain General of His Majesty, in this New Spain, and President of the Royal Audience and Chancery that therein resides: To you, Don Lope de Ulloa, Captain of my guard, to whom I entrusted the inspection concerning our investigation of the fulfilment of the agreement that Don Juan de Oñate is taking in regard to the journey of discovery, pacification and conversion of the provinces of New Mexico—with the appointment of my lieutenant in order to prevent, obviate, and chastise the disorders and excesses that may be committed by the men on said journey! Know ye, that by command of the King, our lord, to me addressed, and given at Azeca on May 8th, 1596, I am commanded and ordered not to permit that the said Don Juan de Oñate make the entry of said New Mexico, nor prosecute it if he has commenced it, but to hold back until His Majesty provides and commands what may seem convenient, and that about this matter, he shall send me prompt notice; wherefore, in the meanwhile, His Majesty has determined to suspend the execution of what has been capitulated with the said Don Juan de Oñate, according, as it all appears in the original Royal order, which I enclose herewith with this my command. And as it is fit

that what His Majesty orders be made evident to the said Don Juan de Oñate so he may keep it and comply with it we command you to notify, and caused to notify said Don Juan de Oñate about the said original Royal Order as well as this my order and command so he may keep it and comply with it as contained therein. For which purpose, in the name of His Majesty and mine, as Viceroy, and his lieutenant and supreme captain general of this New Spain and of the provinces and journey of New Mexico; I command the said Don Juan de Oñate, that by keeping it and complying with, as soon as this my command is notified and cause to notify to him by you, to halt, and not to advance any further from the point and place where he may be notified, nor consent, that the men he has mustered may pass, nor the provisions, ammunition, baggage, nor anything else, nor to prosecute said journey, but rather desist from it, and hold back until there be a new order from his Majesty and in his Royal name; and in his failure of not complying, in case he should advance forward against what is provided for in said Royal Order and by me commanded in this my command, if it be not with your express permission, by writing, in order the better to hold back said men, I, therefore, in the said Royal Name, revoke and annul the titles, patents, contracts, provisions, commissions and all other agreements that have been made in the name of His Majesty with and to said Don Juan de Oñate, and to the captains and officers he appointed for said journey, or to carry the effect of it, so that in no manner may they use, nor be able to use them, with the understanding that, by doing the contrary, nothing will be complied with which has been granted in his favor, in the said agreement and capitulations; and that it will be proceeded against their persons and effects, as transgressors of the orders and commands of their King and natural lord, and as is done against rebellious and disloyal vassals, usurpers of the rights of discovery, entry and conquest of provinces belonging to His Majesty; and that the processes that by reason of this disobedience, rebelliousness, and most grave offences may have to be made I do from now on call, summon, and cite them to appear, within sixty days after the notification of this command, personally in this city of México at the houses

wherein is my residence, before my person and that of the judges that I shall appoint to hear such cases, where by appearing they will be heard and justice shall be done to them; and that by not appearing and in their absence and on account of their rebelliouness a process shall be formed against them and the processes shall be notified to them in chambers and they shall be assessed in damages, as if they had been notified in their own persons. All of which I send as it is, not only to the said Don Juan, but to the captains and officials of said corps, who are engaged for the said journey; and, then, if it should appear to you, that it should come to the notice, of the other soldiers and men, you shall cause a public proclamation to be published declaring to all the said officers, soldiers and persons that in any way may be going to the journey that, under penalty of death and the loss of their property, and of being held and considered as rebellious and disloyal vassals of his Majesty, not to advance further in their voyage; and, in right thereof let them neither hear nor obey said Don Juan. And so I provide, and I command that this my command go countersigned by Juan Martinez de Guilleftigui, my secretary, and that he give as much testimony as if despatched by the goverment; wherefore, in virtue of the particular Royal Order, which I hold, to act in cases I may deem proper, with my secretaries, I command with all due regards that my said secretary countersign it. Done in México on August 12th, 1596. The Count of Monte Rey. By command of his Lordship, Juan Martinez de Guilleftigui.

The sadness that took possession of Oñate's soul is thus depicted to us by Villagrá in the following verse:

> "This sad and miserable life, my lord,
> Feeds only an illusive, paltry hopes
> Whose meagre substance has hardly reached
> Our doors when lo! it sinks and vanishes
> In unexpected suddenness."

The bad news did not discourage Oñate who, in order to keep unaltered the enthusiasm in his soldiers, acquainted neither the colonists nor the troops with the contents of the order, but rather told them that they were orders to the

effect that he should not delay longer his departure. Oñate appeared frequently before his soldiers and colonists advising them not be dismayed, and assuring them that the day of the departure was not far off. He was thus able to calm the spirits of some of the displeased ones, who already were murmuring, among them being some of the priests, many of whom at last decided to abandon Oñate.

Oñate lost no time in making satisfactory reply to the charges of his enemies, who, headed by Ponce de Leon, employed every sort of trickery in order to effect the ruin of Oñate and his friends. The friends of Oñate did not forsake him in his moments of anguish; all fought, with equal boldness, the foes of Oñate, being able, after a bitter struggle of almost three years, to overcome Ponce de Leon and his partisans. The victory being achieved, nothing was wanting, except that the formal inspection, ex-officio, which was to be made as to the precise condition of the army and the means of Oñate to comply with his promises. The inspection was made by the inspector, Don Juan Frias Salazar, during the months of December 1597 and January 1598, and as he found everything in perfect condition, and in strict conformity with the legal requirements, he did not hesitate to give a favorable report, thus enabling Oñate to undertake his voyage.

Oñate and his People Start.

On the 26th day of January 1598, the caravan, which was to mark our history with its most memorable epoch, started out on its voyage. They started from Santa Bárbara (San Bartolomé) numbering altogether, 400 souls of which 130 were colonists who came accompanied by their families. In addition to his sheep, Oñate brought 7000 head of cattle and 83 wagons. On the seventh day of February they reached Rio Conchos. Thence he continued his march, but not along the river, and were lost in the desert, and suffered a great deal because of the scarcity of water. During the long and painful journey they made before reaching the Rio Grande all suffered and went four days without drinking a drop of water. When despair had already taken possession of their souls, believing themselves on the verge of perishing from

thirst, together with all the stock, they reached the Rio Grande, many soldiers and many horses dying and drowning through overdraughts of water. Let us hear Villagrá relate what he saw and witnessed immediately after they had arrived at the river. Villagrá speaks:

"The horses gaunt approached the rolling stream,
And with great speed into the waters plunged
Headlong; and two of them so much did drink
That, bursting, side by side together died.
Two others blinded by their raving thirst
Into the powerful river pushed so deep
That, carried by the current, perished, drowned.
And, as when in a public tavern some
Foul wretches stretched themselves across the floor
Intoxicated by the wine they drink,
So our companions lay hidropic and
Deformed, and swollen on the humid sand,
As if they were unsightly toads, not men—
The river not appearing big enough
To them for quenching their devouring thirst."

On the 30th day of April, 1598, Oñate took on the banks of the Rio Grande formal and solemn possession of New Mexico in the following form:

"In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and the undivided Eternal Unity, Deity and Majesty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons in one sole essence, and one and only true God that with his eternal will, Almighty Power and Infinite Wisdom, directs, governs and disposes potently and sweetly from sea to sea, from end to end, as beginning and end of all things, and in whose hands the Eternal Pontificate and Priesthood, the Empires and Kingdoms, Principalities, Dynasties, Republics, elders and minors, families and persons, as in an Eternal Priest, Emperor and King of Emperors and Kings, Lord of lords, Creator of the heavens and the earth, elements, birds and fishes, animals and plants and of all creatures corporal and spiritual, rational and irrational, from the most supreme cherubim to the most despised ant and tiny butterfly; and to his honor and glory and of his most sacred and blessed mother, the Holy Virgin Mary, our Lady, gate of heaven, ark of the covenant in whom the manna of heaven, the rod of divine justice, and arm

of God and his law of grace and love was placed, as Mother of God, Sun, Moon, North Star, guide and advocate of humanity; and in honor of the Seraphic Father, San Francisco, image of Christ, God in body and soul, His Royal Ensign, patriarch of the poor, whom I adopt as my patrons and advocates, guides, defenders and intercessors, that they pray to the same God in order that all my thoughts, words and actions be directed to the service of his Infinite Majesty, the increase of the faithful and expansion of his holy church, and obedience to the most Christian King, Don Felipe, our lord, strong column of the Catholic faith, may God preserve for many years; and the crown of Castile, and the enlargement of his kingdoms and provinces: I wish that those that are now, or at any time may be, know that I, Don Juan de Oñate, governor and captain general, and Adelantado of New Mexico, and of its kingdoms and provinces, as well as of those in their vicinity and contiguous thereto, as settler, discoverer and pacifier of them and of the said kingdoms, by the order of the King, our lord. I say that whereas by virtue of my appointment and titles that his majesty gives me, therefore, as such governor, captain general and Adelantado of said kingdoms and provinces, he promises me, in virtue of his Royal ordnances and Royal orders and two other sub-orders and chapters of letters of the King, our lord; dated at Valencia, January 26th, in the year 1586; dated at San Lorenzo on the 19th of June, in the year 1589; dated the 17th of January, 1593; dated the 21st of July, 1595; and by another last Royal order, dated the 2nd of April of this past year 1597, in which in spite of the contradiction of other parties, His Majesty approves my election so made, continuing my said office, and now I come in demand of said kingdoms and provinces, with chief officers, captains, ensigns, soldiers, and the people at peace and at war to people and pacify them; and with a great quantity of war materials, wagons, carts, cattle, horses, oxen, sheep and other stock, and as many of my people are married, I find myself today with my full and entire camp, and with more people than what I drew out of the Province of Santa Barbara, near the river which they call Del Norte, and on the bank which is contiguous to the first towns of New Mexico, which said river runs through

them, having made and opened a road for carts, broad and plain, that others without difficulty may go and come over it, and having travelled on foot one hundred leagues of unpeopled country; and whereas I wish to take possession of the land today, the day of the Ascension of our Lord, dated April 30th, of the present year 1598; through the medium of the person of Don Juan Perez de Douis, clerk of his Majesty, and secretary of this expedition and the government of said kingdoms and provinces, by word and in the name of the most Christian king, Don Felipe, Segundo, (second) of that name, and for his successors, (may they be many) and with the utmost happiness, and for the crown of Castile and kings that from his glorious descent may reign therein, and by, and for, my said government, relying and resting in the only and absolute power and jurisdiction which the Eternal High Priest, and King, Jesus Christ, son of the living God, universal head of the Church, first and only institutor of her sacraments, base and corner stone of the old and new testaments, and its foundation and perfection; who has power in heaven and on earth, not only as God and consubstantial with his eternal father, but as Creator of all things, who is the only, absolute and natural proprietor—lord of all; that as such can do and must do, order and dispose at His holy will; and whatever he may hold as good; but also as man, to whom his eternal Father, as to such, and being the son of man and through his painful and sorrowful death, and triumphant and glorious resurrection and ascension, and the especial title of universal Redemptor, that he won thereby, gave entire faculty, jurisdiction and dominion, civil and criminal, high and low, minor, above and below, his empire in the Kingdom of Heaven, and over the reigns of the earth, and in whose hands he placed the weight and measure, the judgment, rewards and punishment for the universe, making him not only King and Judge, but also universal pastor of the faithful and infidels; of those who today believe in his voice and follow him and are within his fold, the Christian people, and of those who have not heard his voice and evangelical word, nor do know him now, and whom, he says, it behooves him to bring to his divine knowledge, because they are his, and he is their legitimate and universal

pastor, for which purpose, having ascended to his Eternal Father, in his corporal being, he had to leave, and left, as his Vicar and substitute, the prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, and his successors legitimately elected to whom he gave and left the Kingdom, power and Empire, and the keys of heaven, just as the same Christ—God received them from his Eternal Father, as his head and universal lord, and to the others, as his successors, servants, ministers and vicars, and so he not only left the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and spiritual monarchy, but bestowed upon them, also, temporal jurisdiction over the monarchy in the one and the other branch, and twofold authority that by themselves, or, by means of their children, the Emperors and Kings, when and how they deemed it proper, for urgent cause they might enlarge the aforesaid temporal jurisdiction and empower monarchy to act and put its mandates into execution, so soon as the occasion and necessity should require it, this they executed using the entire temporal power, of the secular arm and faculty, as much by themselves, as by armadas and armies by sea and land, in their own lands, and in the lands of the different barbarous nations, with the colors, flags and the Imperial Standard of the Cross, subjecting the barbarous nations, paving the way for evangelical preachers, insuring their lives and persons, avenging the injuries received bv those who have already been received into the fold, and refraining the impetuous, and bestial, barbarous fierceness of the above mentioned barbarians; and in the name of the Mighty Christ God who commanded that his gospel be preached to all the world, thus, by his authority extending the boundaries of Christianity, and expanding his empire by the aid of his above mentioned children, the emperors and kings, among whom the King, Don Felipe, our lord, king of Castile and of Portugal, of the West and East Indies, discovered and to be discovered, by the medium of the aforesaid power, jurisdiction and monarchy, apostolical and pontifical, transfused, granted and sanctioned, recommended and entrusted to the kings of Castile and Portugal and to their successors since the time of the Sovereign Pontiff Alexander VI, by divine and singular inspiration, as well as by Christian piety teaches

it to be infallibly so, for God never deserts his vicar, who represents his person in grave things and imparts to him experience as the true teacher of the truth as time has shown; a thing which testifies with infallible certainty, to the consent, permission and confirmation of the aforesaid empire and dominion of the East and West Indies, in and to the kings of Castile and Portugal and to their successors, transferred and lodged upon them by the church militant, and by the other sovereign pontiffs, successors, of the said most holy pontiff of glorious memory, Alexander VI, to the present day on which solid basis I rest to take the aforesaid possession of these kingdom and provinces, in the aforesaid name; to which are fixed, as the foundation and pillars of this edifice many other grave and urgent causes and reasons that move and compel me to it and give me sure entry, and with God's help and that of his blessed mother's and the standard of the holy cross, through the medium of the evangelical preachers, children of my seraphic Father San Francisco I will give surer, more prosperous and happier success: and the first and not least consideration for the present case is the death of the preachers of the holy gospel, true sons of San Francisco, Fray Juan de Santa Maria, Fray Francisco Lopez and Fray Agustin Ruiz, first discoverers of this land, after that great Father Fray Marcos de Niza, for all gave their lives and blood as the first fruits of the holy gospel in this land, these martyrs suffering a martyrdom death which they did not deserve, for being once well received by these Indians and admitted into their pueblos and homes, the said religious men remaining alone among them to preach to them the word of God, and the better to understand their language, confided in the security inspired by the good treatment which they gave to them, and having on all occasions done good to these natives during all the time that the few Spaniards, who were with them, being only eight, stayed, as well as after the departure of the said soldiers, they (the Indians) returned, against the natural law, evil for good, and inflicted death on men who were innocent like them, who did them no harm, and who gave them, then what they could, and tried to give them the life by means of the law of grace, more advantageously; this being sufficient cause and reason, if there should be no other, to justify my

pretensions, besides which, the correction, and punishment of the sins against nature, and the inhumanity that exists among these bestial nations and which it behooves my king and prince, as so powerful a lord to correct and repress, and to me, in his royal name, in the present case; and, without these, the pious reason, my Christian opinion of baptism, and the salvation of the souls of so many children as live and are born at present among these infidel parents, who do not recognize nor obey their true God and most principal Father, and cannot, morally speaking, recognize him if it is not through this means, as the experience in all these lands has demonstrated; and even when they could recognize him, by the sacrament of baptism, they cannot preserve the faith, nor persevere in his vocation among idolatrous and infidel people, against whom this work must be done, because it is the will of God, that all be saved, and that to all may come to the sound and effect of his word and passion, and God must be obeyed, and not men, although they be judges, or fathers, or if they have kingdoms and cities, for a single soul is more precious than all the world, and its dominions, riches and properties; without these, there are other causes on which I lean to effect my purpose, as well as the temporal good (for the spiritual good is priceless), which these barbarous nations may acquire with our commerce and trade, and what they may gain in their political trade and the government of their cities, living like reasonable beings, in policy and understanding, augmenting their occupations and mechanical arts, and increasing in new live stock, breeds; and seeds, vegetables and provisions, clothing and fruits, and selling discreetly and learn the economical treatment of their families, houses and persons, clothing the naked, and those who are already clothed, improving their raiment; and, finally leaving out other things, to be governed in peace and justice, secured in their homes and highways and defended and protected from their enemies by the hand and the expense of so powerful a king, the submission to whom is real progress and liberty, and of having in him their own father, who, at his cost, and by means of his resources, and concessions of lands so remote, may send them preachers and ministers, justice and protection with the instructions of a true Father of peace,

concord, security and love, all of which I shall fulfill even to the loss of life; and I command and will always command the same to be fulfilled under penalty. And, therefore, resting on the solid basis aforesaid I take the aforesaid possession, in the presence of the most Reverend Father Fray Alonzo Martinez of the order of our lord Saint Francis, Apostolic Commissary, *cum plenitudine potestatis*, of this journey of New Mexico and its provinces; and of the most reverend fathers of the holy gospel, his companions, Fray Francisco de San Miguel, Fray Francisco de Zamora, Fray Juan de Rosas, Fray Alonzo de Lugo, Fray Andres Corchado, Fray Juan Claros and Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, and my beloved fathers and brothers Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, Fray Pedro de Vergara; lay friars and religious who go on this journey and conversion; and of my Aide de Camp, General Juan de Zaldivar Oñate and of the officers of my staff, and of the greater part of the Captains and officers of the camp, and persons of peace and war of it; I say, that by voice and in the name of the most Christian King, Don Felipe, our lord, the defender and protector of our holy Mother, the Church, and his true son and for the crown of Castile and kings that from his glorious progeny reigned therein and by and for my said government, I take and apprehend once, twice and three times and all that I can and must by right the Royal holding and possession actual, civil and criminal, in this said Rio del Norte, without exempting anything and without any limitation, with the meadows, dales, and their pasture grounds, and passes. And this said possession I take and apprehend, in voice and name, of the other lands, Pueblos, Cities, and Villas, solid and plane houses that are now founded in the said Kingdoms and Provinces of New Mexico, and those that are neighbors and contiguous to it, and which were founded before in them, with the mountains, rivers, river banks, waters, pastures, meadows, dales, passes, and all its native Indians as are included and comprised in them, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction high and low, upper and lower empire from the edge of the mountains to the stone in the river and its sands, and from the stone and sands in the river to the leaf of the mountains. And I, Juan Perez de Donis, clerk of his Majesty

and post secretary, do certify and give faith that the said lord Governor, Captain General and Adelantado of the said Kingdoms, as a sign of true and peaceful possession, and continuing the acts thereof placed and nailed with his own hands on a certain tree, which was prepared for that purpose, the Holy Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and turning to it, with his knees on the ground, said:

"Holy Cross, divine gate of heaven, altar of the only and essential sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Son of God, way of the Saints, and possession of their glory; open the gate of heaven to these infidels; found the Church and Altars where the Body and Blood of the Son of God may be offered; open to us a way of safety and peace for their conversion and our conversion, and give to our King, and to me, in his Royal name, peaceful possession of these Reigns and Provinces for his holy glory. Amen.

"And immediately, incontinenti, he fixed and set in the same manner with his own hands in the Royal Standard the Coat of Arms of the most Christian King, Don Felipe, our lord, on one side the Imperial Arms, and on another part, the Royals; and at the time this was being done, the clarinet sounded, and the arquebuses were discharged with the biggest demonstration of gladness: And his Lordship, the said lord Governor, Captain General, and Adelantado for perpetual memory, ordered that this act of possession be signed and sealed with the high seal of his office and was so signed and under written with his name and sign, and was to be kept among the papers of the journey and Government, and that from this original as many copies be taken as might be wanted, noting the fact in the book of government, and signed with his name, the witnesses being the aforesaid most Reverend Father Commissary Fray Alonzo Martinez; Apostolic Commissary, Fray Francisco de San Miguel; Fray Francisco de Zamora, Fray Juan de Rosas, Fray Alonzo de Lugo, Fray Andres Corchado, Fray Juan Claros, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, Fray Pedro de Vergara, Don Juan de Zaldivar Oñate, my aide de camp, General, and the other officials of my staff, captains and soldiers of the army aforesaid, on the day of the Ascension of our Lord, the 30th and last of April of this year 1598."

The following are the names of the Fathers, Colonists, and soldiers that accompanied Oñate: Don Cristóbal de Oñate, son of the conqueror, who, in spite of being only 18 years of age, the conqueror had appointed him as lieutenant Governor and Captain General; Don Juan de Zaldivar, Aide de camp; Don Vicente Zaldivar, brother to Don Juan, chief sargent; Capt. Villagrá, solicitor general; Capt. Bartolomé Romeros, accountant; Capt. Zubia, purveyor; and the captains Juan Velarde, Juan Pérez Donis, secretaries, the other officials and soldiers being the following: Cap. Pablo Aguilar Aranjo; Ascencion de Archuleta; Ayarde, Ensign; Dionicio Barruelos; Bartolo; Juan Benitez; Divero; Pedro de Ribera; Rason; Pedro de los Reyes; Alfredo Francisco de Posa y Peñalosa; Juan Ranjel; Capt. Alonzo de Quesada; Cap. Juan Gutierrez de Boca Negra; Capt. Juan Pinero; Capt. Marcelo de Espinosa; Capt. Marcos Farfán de los Godos; Capt. Diego Landin; Capt. Gerònimo Marquez; Capt. Diego Nuñez; Ensign, Bernabé de las Casas; Ensign Gerónimo de Herredia; Ensign Leon Zapata. The colonists and soldiers are the following: Aranjo; Ascencion de Archuleta; Ayarde; Bartolo; Bibero; Juan Perez de Bustillo; César Ortiz Cadimo; Juan Camacho; Estevan Carabajal; Carrera; Juan de Caso; Castillo; Juan Catalán Cavanillos; Cordero; Marcos Cortéz; Pedro Sánchez DaMiero; Juan Diaz; Juan Esarramal; Juan Fernandez; Manuel Francisco; Alvaro Garcia; Francisco Garcia; Marcos Garcia; Simon Garcia; Luis Gascon; Bartolomé Gonzales; Juan Gonzales; Juan Griego; Guevara; Francisco Guillen; Antonio Gutierrez; Antonio Hernandez; Gonzalo Hernandez; Pedro Hernandez; Cristobal de Herrera; Juan de Herrera; Alonzo Nuñez de Hinojosa; Leon de Isasti; Jimenez, Francisco de Ledesma; Domingo de Lizana; Cristoval Lopez; Juan Lopez; Alonzo Lucas; Lucio; Malea; Francisco Marquez; Hernan Martin; Juan Martinez; Juan Medel; Medinal Monroy; Munuera; Naranjo; Juan de Olague; Juan de Ortega; Ortiz; Regundo Paladin; Simon de Paz; Juan de Pedraza; Simon Perez; Juan Ranjel; Rascon; Pedro de los Reyes; Diego Robledo; Francisco Robledo; Pedro Robledo; Pedro Rodriguez; Sebastian Rodriguez; Lorenzo Salado; Juan de Salas; Alonzo Sanchez; Antonio Sariñana; Serrano; Varela; Francisco Vasquez; Jorge de la Vega; Francisco Vido; Juan

de Victoria Vido; Villabba; Villaviciosa Zumaía. The names of the priests that came with the expedition, besides Fray Alonzo Martinez, commissary, and Father Marques, as well as of those who came sometime after, are the following: Fray Francisco Zamora, Fray Juan Rosas, Fray Alonzo Lugo, Fray Francisco de San Miguel, Fray Andres Corchado, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, Fray Pedro Vergara, Fray Cristobal Salazar, who was a relative to Oñate, Fray Juan Claros, and the lay brothers, Martin, Francisco and Juan de Dios. Those are all the priests, who, according to Villagrá, (ante), came with Oñate, or little after his arrival into New Mexico. According to Father Fray Francisco Frejes, Oñate must have brought 59 missionary priests, but Frejes and Barreiro who assert the same thing are surely in error, because, as we have already read in Villagrá and Torquemada, the priests who came with Oñate were not so many; had they been otherwise, Villagrá and Torquemada would have given us the names.

Pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros. Origin of Its Name.

The opportunity presents itself here of correcting one of the errors most common among almost all the English speaking historians, viz: That the Indian Pueblo, known by the name of "San Juan de los Caballeros," received that name in 1680, when Otermin and the rest of the Spaniards were expelled from New Mexico; and that on that occasion San Juan was given the name of "de los Caballeros," because it was the only pueblo that remained faithful to the king. That is a grave error. Besides the Pueblo of San Juan there was another pueblo that of Pecos, (Cicuyé), which also proved its loyalty by not taking part in the rebellion. Now, so far as the suffixed addition of "de los Caballeros," that is another grave error. It was Oñate who gave that pueblo the name of "San Juan de los Caballeros." When the ceremony of taking possession which we have just noted was over, Oñate on the next day passed over to the bank* on the left side of the Rio Grande continuing his march, and after many difficult journeys and untold sufferings, came on to the province of the

* See Villagra's "Hist. de la Nuevo Méjico."

Piro Indians and visited many of the other pueblos along the Rio Grande stopping in the Pueblo of Puaray for several days. In this Pueblo of Puaray he found painted on the wall a picture, which had been drawn by the Indians, partially covered with white wash, representing the torture suffered by Agustin Rodriguez and Fathers Lopez and Santa Maria and two Indians of those who had come with Castaño de Sosa named Cristobal and Tomas, respectively, entered said pueblo, to which he gave the name of "San Juan de los Caballeros." Villagrá in his "Canto 16" gives us the authority for the statement. Villagrá says:

There is not in the world a pleasure so
Delightful as to be compared with that
Which fills the bosom of a crew whose fleet,
Though combated and harassed by the wrath
Of raging winds, at last does reach secure
And blessful anchorage in the calmness of
A harbor that's well known. Our luck was not
Unlike; for at the end of all our toils,
And labors with alternate weal and woe,
We were at length approaching full of joy
A graceful pueblo beautifully laid
Out, and to which the name was given of
"San Juan," by many "de los Caballe—
Ros," to recall the mem'ry of those who
First hoisted high, in these new lands
And regions vast, the bloody Ensignon
Which Christ was, for the weal of all
Mankind, upraised."

The day following the entry of Oñate at the Pueblo of San Juan was a day of fright for Oñate and his men. Early in the morning all the Indians came out of their homes, weeping loud. They wept because they believed their crops were lost on account of the scarcity of water. The Spaniards were astonished at the piteous lamentations of the Indians. When informed of the reasons of such despair among the Indians they were able to tranquilize them by assuring them that the priests would pray to Heaven that the rains might come; as the priests, indeed, did. There came the next day such an abundant rain that the Indians were really astounded and so much so, that they looked upon the priests

as men descended from the clouds. The account of that memorable event, given by Villagrá read as follows:

"The General being at his meal one day,
The savages raised such a frightful wail
That we all thought the day had come when we
Should all be called before the judgement seat
Of God to give our last tremendous account
Upon the universal ending of
The world. Wherefore we, altered and confused,
Asked them the cause of such unusual wail.
They answered that their people cried for rain,
That a long time had passed already and
The clouds had ne'er again refreshed the earth
With water, and that everywhere the ground
Through drought was bursting open and was so
Killed by the pang of thirst that not a hope
Remained that any plants would yield a crop.
The commissary, then, and Father Fray
Cristobal trusting in that Sovereign Good
In whom and whence we have both life and all
We need, commanded that it should be said
To them to cease their wailing; for they would
At once be offering their prayers to
The God of Heaven that he take a look
Of pity on the land; and hoped that He,
(Though they were disobedient children) would
Send down abundant rains, and that these would
In such a manner, come as to cause their
Plants to revive and yield abundant crops.
And just as when the children hush
Because one gives them of the things for which
They ask, and cry, and are afflicted: So,
Too, they did hush remaining quiet, yet
With anxious hope awaiting sure the rain
For which they cried so much in their distress.
And scarcely had, next day, the hour arrived
In which their wail had burst; when lo! the sky
With clouds o'ercast poured forth such torrents of
Refreshing rain, that the barbarians,
With awe o'erpowered stood in mute gratitude
Admiring God's unbounded Mercy."

Bonilla's Expedition Is Verified.

Concerning the Expedition of Bonilla and Humaña (of which we gave an account in the last chapter of the first book of this work) we will now give the information which the Indian

Jusepe gave to Oñate; at the same time we shall give the account of the description which said Indian made of La Quivira and its riches whereby he awakened in Oñate's heart the desire to pass to that much talked of land. According to Villagrá, Jesupe said:

Upon the heels of this success there came
An Indian whose baptismal name, he said,
Jusepe was; and that he came in flight
From where the people were who had come with
Bonilla, contrabands, without due leave.
He gave the news that there Humaña had
Left him already dead, cut with a knife,
Because of mutual enmities they had,
And that this governor, as General
Remained of all those men: that he left him
Upon the margin of a stream so wide
And copious that it had a league in full,
And that its distance was six hundred miles
From our new camp and settlement; besides
He said, that, goaded by th' inviting news
He had of many towns abounding in great sums
Of gold, was penetrating deep into
The land, and that he hoped to cross in floats
The stream because he deemed the country well
Peopled, as showed the many smokes
We could discover from this side and see;
He also told us that they had passed through
A pueblo which was so surpassing big
That they employed one and one half a day
To get across its length from end to end.

This is the picture of the Royal Pantheon "Escorial" situated 30 miles from Madrid, Spain, where nearly all the bodies of the Spanish Monarchs are entombed.—The first casket on the left side contains the remains of Philip II, under whose authority Oñate conquered New Mexico, 1598-9. The first casket on the right side contains the remains of Charles II under whose authority and protection De Vargas was enabled to effect the second and permanent conquest of New Mexico, 1692-3. This photograph was like that of the tomb of the Catholic Kings, procured lately for me in Madrid by the same gentleman, Mr. Pablo M. Hernández.—THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER II.

Various Voyages of Oñate—The First Colony Is Founded With the Name of "San Francisco"—The Colonists Prepare to Cultivate the Ground—Meeting in the Colony—Some Colonists Take to Flight—Villagrá Imprisons Them and Chastises Two of Them With the Penalty of Death by Strangulation—Oñate Has Intents of Discovering the Gulf of California—Rebellion of the Acomas—Villagrá is Sent to Mexico—Dissensions and Complaints of the Priests—Other Incidents.

First Colony Discussed, 1598-1599.

Before entering into the full accounts proper to this chapter, it is necessary to remind the reader that almost, without exception, all the English speaking historians—Bancroft excepted—who have written on the history of New Mexico, (including Mr. L. E. Twitchell, who published his "Leading Facts of New Mexican History" in the year of 1911, or some few months prior to the publication of this work in the English language) affirm that Oñate founded his first colony on the west side of the Rio Grande. They are, all, in error, especially Mr. Twitchell, who goes so far as to say (Lead. Facts of New Mex. Hist., vol. 1, p. 316) that "Bancroft is in great error as to the exact location of the capital (which was the first colony) first established by Oñate, when he says that it was at San Juan de los Caballeros. He is also mistaken as to the place where the chapel of San Gabriel was located. He would have them both on the left (the east) of the Rio Grande, while as a matter of fact they were on the right (west side) bank, and north of the confluence of the Chama with the Rio Grande."* As already stated (ante) it is evident

*Twitchell's translation (Lead. Facts of New Mex. Hist., vol. 1, p. 315) has it that because the "inhabitants of San Juan received the Spaniards with great courtesy, and thereafter the pueblo was known as that of San Juan de los Caballeros" the name of "los Caballeros" was given to the pueblo by Oñate. The conflict, then, between Mr. Twitchell's translation and Villagrá's report is, undoubtedly, due to one of two causes, i. e.: that the translator never saw Villagrá's work or that he did not understand Villagrá's Spanish.—THE AUTHOR.

that Mr. Twitchell's translator never saw Villagrá's history of New Mexico, in fact, I believe that he relied, entirely, on Torquemada's works (cited by Mr. Twitchell as a note on page 316, of his 1 vol., supra). Torquemada states in vol. 1 of his "*Monarquia Indianorum*" at p. 672, vol. 1, that Oñate "made his settlement at a place named San Gabriel, which is located in thirty-seven degrees of latitude north, and is situated between two rivers, the smallest of which is used to irrigate the wheat, corn and barley fields. The other and larger river, which is called del Norte, abounds in fish of large size and good." This last authority left to itself would seem to justify Twitchell's assertions that Bancroft was wrong. Yet, when compared with what Villagrá, who was not only one of the conquerors but one of the colonists as well, states, it will be readily seen that Bancroft was right, and even Torquemada can be taken as being correct for really the said first colony was founded between two rivers, but one of these rivers was not the Chama, as asserted by Mr. Twitchell, but it was no other than the Santa Cruz river, which empties from the east into the Rio Grande, some four or five miles south of the pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros. Bancroft relied on the authority of the famous historians Escalante and Salmeron. Torquemada, who wrote his works eleven years after the founding of the said first colony, relied on the information of others, for although a Franciscan himself, he was not one of the number of colonists, and I rely, wholly and absolutely, on the very best of authority, an eye witness and a colonist, on Villagrá's own word, as it will be seen further on.

Founding of First Colony—Missions are Established.

We will now show how we know that the said first colony was founded on the east side of the Rio Grande, and south of the pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros. For various weeks Oñate remained at the place where he had camped near the said pueblo of San Juan in consultation with his captains, and the priests, regarding the place most convenient for the foundation of the colony. After many and very heated discussions, Oñate made up his mind to invite the Indian Governors of all the pueblos with the view of demanding from

them solemn submission and obedience to the crown of Spain. This he accomplished without the slightest resistance; the chiefs from all the neighboring pueblos were gathered and, after a paternal peroration from Oñate they swore allegiance and obedience to the crown and asked to be instructed in the Christian faith.* Whereupon Oñate assigned priests to the different pueblos as follows: Father Miguel to the Pecos province. Father Zamora to the province of the Queres. Father Lugo to the province of the Jemes. Father Corchado to the province of Zia. Father Claros to the province of the Teguas and to Father Cristóval "the province of those noble Teguas where the encampment was."

The reader will thus understand that the first colony could not have been founded on the west side of the Rio Grande without Villagrá making mention of the recrossing of the Rio Grande, and also because Villagrá clearly states that the assignment of priests was made at San Juan de los Caballeros, where the encampment was, and that to the last of the

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* "A lo cual todos replicaron,
Que quisiesen primero doctrinarlos,
En aquello que asi les proponian,
De aquel hombre mortal pasible y muerto,
Y que si bien á todos estubiesse,
Dejar su ley, por recibir aquella,
Que alli les enseñaban y mostravan,
Que todos con gran gusto lo harian,
Y que si viesen no les conbenia,
Que no mandasen que ellos recibiesen,
Cosa que no entendiesen ni alcanzacen,
Con cuia puerta luego el Comisario,
Sembró sus religiosos como Christo,
Sembró el Apostolado por Provincias
Y asi á San Miguel luego le dieron,
La Provincia de Pecos, y á Zamora,
La Provincia de Queres, y al gran Lugo,
La Provincia de Emés, y á Corchado,
La Provincia de Zia, y al buen Claros,
La Provincia de Tiquas, y con esto,
Dieron á Fray Cristoval la Provincia,
De aquellos nobles Teguas donde el campo,
Quiso hazer asiento, y alli juntos,
Los soldados á una hicieron fiestas."

Villagrá's Hist. de la Nuevo México. Canto 17. p. 96.

priests so assigned, Fr. Cristobal was given the province of "those noble Teguas where the encampment was made."

Now, as a further proof that Bancroft is right and Twitchell wrong, we will show that the San Gabriel chapel was located on the east side of the Rio Grande, as Bancroft affirms, and not on the west side of said river as claimed by Twitchell. As heretofore stated, I ignored entirely all the authorities cited by all known authors on New Mexico history and take my information from the fountain itself, which, in this instance is Villagrá. No mention is made by Villagrá of any chapel other than the one first built in the colony for the Indians of San Juan de los Caballeros. It stands to reason that said chapel would not have been built across the Rio Grande some three or four miles from said pueblo and with the Rio Grande between said pueblo and the chapel; no, it would have been the height of folly. The chapel was built by the Royal Ensign, Peñaloza, under the direction of the Father Comisario (Superior), as stated by Villagrá: "And as the Royal Ensign, Peñaloza, came willingly with all his people, for the pueblo of San Juan, the Religious immediately built a chapel, which was blessed by Father Comisario, who, with great joy baptized a great number of children." *

We shall now present to the reader the strongest and most positive proof in support of our contention; that the first settlement, San Gabriel, which was the first capital of New Mexico, was located on the east side of the Rio Grande, and close to the pueblo of San Juan. The testimony we now offer is none other that of Oñate's own word. In the year of 1599, and on the 11th day of January of that year, Oñate appointed, named and designated Captain Villagrá as a member of the Council of War ("vocal del Consejo de Guerra"). The official appointment concludes thus: "Given and sealed with my official seal in this Pueblo of San Juan Bautista, the

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* "Y como el Real Alferez Peñaloza.
Llegó con todo el campo sin disgusto,
Al pueblo de San Juan los Religiosos,
Hizieron luego Iglesia y la bendijo,
El Padre Comisario, y baptizaron,
Mucha suma de niños con gran fiesta."—
Villagrá's Hist. de la Nueva México." Canto 16, p. 90.

eleventh day of the month of January of one thousand and five hundred and ninety-nine years.—*Don Juan de Oñate*—By order of the Señor Gobernado—*Don Juan Gutierrez Bacanegra.* *

Oñate now made up his mind to make himself, personally, a voyage throughout all the pueblos with the object of selecting the choicest place to found "the city." Oñate, therefore, started out on the 13th of July, (1599), towards the Pueblo of Picuris (which the Spaniards named San Buena Ventura) accompanied by several soldiers, visiting the Pueblos of Picuris and Taos, and returning on the 19th of the same month to San Juan, whence he continued his voyage, the next day, to the south. He visited the Pueblos of San Ildefonso, Pecos, Galisteo, Santo Domingo, Cia and Jemez, discovering near this last pueblo, the now famous sulphur and hot springs. None of the places he visited seemed adequate to him for the purpose of establishing the first town. He returned to San Juan reaching the encampment on the 10th of August.

When the priests and the rest of the people had heard the account given by Oñate, it was determined by unanimous vote that the foundation of the "city" should be made upon the site where the colonists and the army were encamped, as already stated. The obstacles, which for so long a time had caused the delay, being now removed, the construction of a great ditch was commenced on August 11th, 1599, for the conduct of the water necessary in the works of manufacture and domestic use. As to whether or not, a city or simply a village was built, nothing is said to us by either Villagrá or Oñate. It is certain, according to Villagrá, that besides a church, several dwelling houses, and corrals were built, and that preparations were made for the colonists to enter upon the cultivation of the land, the year following. It is equally certain that only a portion of said village remained standing for a very short time after it had been founded, but it is not known, whether on account of dissensions among the Spaniards, or for other

* "Dada y sellada con el sello de mi oficio en el Pueblo de San Juan Bautista, á once dias del mes de Enero de mil y quinientos y noventa y nueve años."—"Don Juan de Oñate"—"Por mandado del Señor Gobernador"—Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra."—Villagrá, Hist. de la Nueva México, (Page 27, Ap. 1st.)

reasons, many of the colonists dispersed, peopling different places in the immediate surroundings of San Juan. It is also known that the Spaniards called said village "San Gabriel" and also "San Francisco." These facts are conclusively shown by Villagrá.

Great discontent reigned now among the colonists and soldiers occasioned by the scarcity of victuals and the neglect with which Oñate was treating his people, as will be seen before this chapter closes; the displeasure culminating in a mutiny in which the leader of the seditious faction was Captain Aguilar. It was not possible, however, for Aguilar and the forty-five soldiers who followed him, to diffuse among the rest of the soldiers, the odium which they had conceived against Oñate. Oñate would have punished them very severely, had not Aguilar and his turbulent faction implored his pardon on their knees and with tears in their eyes. Four out of the forty five who had helped to promote the mutiny deserted, taking with them, by theft, several horses, but Oñate sent in pursuit of them, Captains Villagrá and Márquez with an escort of soldiers; the fugitives were overtaken near Santa Bárbara, but Villagrá recovered only the horses and captured two of the deserters who were punished, by Villagrá with the penalty of the gallows, or by taking their lives as he did, by means of strangulation. As Villagrá was so close to Santa Bárbara, he did not want to return to New Mexico without first visiting that point. He did so, and sent thence to the Viceroy an account of all that had happened. This occurred towards the beginning of September 1598. Villagrá and his companions returned to New Mexico at about the middle part of November of the same year.

Oñate's Western Trip—Mines are Found Again.

Whilst Villagrá was in pursuit of the deserters, Oñate made a trip to the West, accompanied by Father Martinez, Commisary (Superior) of the Franciscan Friars who had come with him. During the trip Oñate visited all the pueblos of the provinces of Tiguex, Jemes, Acoma, Zuñi, and Moqui, and received the formal submission of all the pueblos in said provinces. From Moqui he sent Captains Farfán and Que-

sada on a journey of exploration and in search of mines. They found very rich mines some ninety miles (30 leguas) to the west of Moqui, discovering at the same time, tracks and indications of former explorers who were doubtlessly, Espejo and his companions, as the reader will recall Espejo's voyage in the first book of this work.

Anxious for the discovery of the South Sea (the Gulf of California) Oñate now determined to pursue his voyage until he would reach the Colorado River, and to follow the course of the river to its mouth in the South Sea, and, as he was familiar with the direction and road which he should follow, both from what he knew of the expeditions of his predecessors and from the new information he received from the Indians of Moqui and Zuñi, he did not hesitate in making up his mind. Moroever, he determined first to leave everything in perfect order at San Gabriel, as well as orders for Villagrá, and Vicente Zalidvar, whom he had sent on an exploring tour to the plains in the direction of Quivira.

From the measures taken by Oñate it can be conjectured, that he expected the revolt which, on account of his bad conduct and carelessness towards the colonists and their families, had been secretly brewing in the colony. He had appointed Don Juan Zaldivar, Governor and Commandant during his absence of the colony and of the soldiers who had remained at San Gabriel. He now sent orders to Don Juan Zaldivar to deliver the command to Vicente Zaldivar immediately after the return of the latter to San Grabiel, and that he, Don Juan Zaldivar, accompanied by thirty soldiers should set out for Zuñi, where Oñate would wait for him. Discord in the colony had at this date grown to such extreme, that it was not possible for Don Juan to comply promptly with the orders of his general. Hunger had, to a great extent, decimated the number of the colonists. The want of corn and wheat was producing desolation, not only among the Spaniards, but also among the Indians, who were now subsisting on herbs of the field, as the Franciscan Fathers declared it. According to Father Escalona (post), the very sad situation of the colonists, their families, and the Indians was due to two causes: (1) The negligence of Oñate in seeking means for obtaining the resources necessary for the

maintenance of the people and Indians. (2) To the quenchless thirst after riches which had taken possession of him and his captains to such degree that they did not attend to any other business, but that of exploring unknown regions in search of gold, gold and more gold, leaving the priests and the rest of the people exposed to die of hunger or to be murdered by the Indians. The terrible drought that had prevailed that summer having caused the complete ruin of the crops and starvation was doing its dreadful work.

Autum was already far advanced when Villagrá and Márquez, returned to San Gabriel from Santa Bárbara. As soon as Villagrá learned that Oñate was to be found at Zuñi making preparations for his voyage to the South Sea, he set out on his march with his horse and dog as his only companions. Before getting to Zuñi he suffered a good deal through the inclemency of the weather, and for want of food, so much so that according to his own statement he was obliged to kill his faithful companion, the dog, for the purpose of satiating his hunger, a thing, however, he could not do for lack of fire to cook the meat, and he might have perished by hunger and cold, had not three soldiers whom Oñate had sent in search of horses met him.

Don Juan Zaldivar Goes Out to Reinforce Oñate—His Tragic Fate—Battle of Zuñi.

We have seen Oñate at Zuñi preparing for his voyage to the South Sea; Vicente Zaldivar absent from the Colony in an exploring tour on the plain; and Villagrá and Márquez returning to San Gabriel. Now we shall relate the treason of which the Indians of Acoma availed themselves in order to assassinate Don Juan Zaldivar and those who went with him to the pueblo; and the terrible vengeance taken by the Spaniards. We will explain the treason of the Acomas, the battle fought to revenge Zaldivar's death, and the surrender of the Pueblo of Acoma as it occurred. Here it is: As Don Juan Zaldivar was not able to transfer his command to his brother Vicente with the haste which the order of Oñate demanded he had to wait till the 18th of November in order to appease the malcontents.

On that day he delivered the command to his brother, Don Vicente Zaldivar, and set out with 30 soldiers to reinforce Oñate.

Death of Captain Juan Zaldivar.

Don Juan Zaldivar took a notion to visit the Acoma Indians who had ardently requested him to do so giving him the impression that they were going to furnish him with as many provisions as he desired to take for his journey. Don Juan did not suspect the treason of which he was going to be the victim. He acceded willingly to the requests of the Indians, entering the pueblo on the 4th of December, accompanied by six soldiers, and leaving the others encamped at the foot of the rock. Don Juan seeing the cordiality of which they were the object, was careless in taking the necessary precautions to protect himself. The Indians employed friendly tactics to separate the Spaniards, and, once they had succeeded, they rushed upon them with such ferocity and in such large numbers that, despite the extraordinary bravery and almost superhuman valor of Zaldivar and his companions, after three hours of a deadly struggle, fought hand to hand with the savages, all the Spaniards perished, the last being Don Juan Zaldivar who fell dead at the mortal blow of a club in the hands of the Indian Zutecapan. At the entrance of the pueblo three Spaniards had remained. The three Spaniards mentioned succeeded in escaping after a precipitate flight, and in communicating to their comrades below what had happened. Without loss of time the commander of the soldiers sent a courier to Oñate and another to the colony. It is not difficult to imagine the anguish felt by the Spaniards on learning of the treason of the Acomas; swearing to chastise them all with death they began to organize an expedition of extermination against the Acomas.

The death of Don Juan Zaldivar caused Oñate to abandon, for the time being, his voyage to the South Sea, the sad event obliging him to return to San Gabriel in order to consult with the priests concerning the causes necessary to declare war against the Pueblo of Acoma. With all haste Oñate returned to San Gabriel with all the soldiers of his expedition and those who had been left of the force of Don Juan Zaldivar,

firmly resolved to inflict a severe punishment upon the treacherous Indians. Oñate, therefore, determined to declare war against that pueblo; but in order not to expose himself to the criticism and censure of his superiors, he desired first that the priests should define to him the causes that justified a government in declaring war. The answer of the priests, in which they all concurred, left no room for Oñate to doubt the justice that protected him in his determination. The answer is signed by Fray Alonzo Martinez, apostolic commissary, and superior of the religious men of the expedition, which, on account of its great importance in history, we reproduce textually.

Case Presented by the Governor That the Religious Fathers Should Give Their Opinion Upon.

"Don Juan de Oñate, Governor and Captain General, and Adelantado of the Provinces of New Mexico, asks what is required, for the justification of a just war, to be done (by the person waging it,) with regard to the conquered and their possessions."

"Answer of the Commissary and the Religious."

"The question and answer contain two points: In the first place, what is required for a war to be just. And the answer is: Authority from a prince that recognizes no superior, as the Roman Pontiff, the Emperor and Kings of Castile, who enjoy the privilege of an Empire in not recognizing a superior in what is temporal, and others; both they, by their person or by whoever has their power to that effect, because a private person cannot declare war, for it is necessary to call out people for that purpose, and this is an act belonging to the prince alone, and he can demand justice before his superior.

"In the second place it is required that there be a just cause for the aforesaid war, which may be one of four causes: For defending the innocent who suffer injustice, to the defense of whom princes are obliged to come, whenever they are able to do so; for the restoration of goods unjustly taken; for punishing delinquents and culprits against the laws, it they are their subjects, or against the laws of nature,

if they are not; and the last and principal one is, for the establishment and preservation of peace, for this is the principal end for which war is ordained.

"The third requisite for the entire justification of war is a just and upright intention in those who fight, and it will be just if the fighting is done on account of any of the four causes we have just mentioned; and not for ambition of commanding, nor for mortal vengeance, nor through coveteousness of the goods of others.

"The second point of the question is: What may persons do, who wage said just war, with the conquered and their possessions? To which is answered that the said conquered and their possessions are at the mercy of the conqueror, in the form and manner required by the just cause of the war, for, if it was waged for the detention of innocent persons he can proceed till he sets them free and puts them in safety, and he can satisfy them and satisfy himself of the damages they have suffered and of those injuries they have undergone by this very fact, similarly to Moses in his defense of the Hebrews who were ill-treated by the Egyptians.

"If the cause of the war is the restoration of possessions (property) it can be satisfied by giving and taking (as much for as much) in the same species of possessions or goods or the value according to justice; and if it be desired to employ the authority of a minister of divine justice as a judge of human justice; such minister and judge can as such, further extend his hand to the goods of the conquered setting and fixing a penalty and punishing his offense without any duty of restitution, similarly to the judge, who hangs someone because he stole some maravedies, or reales.

"If the cause of the war is the punishment of delinquent and guilty persons they and their goods remain at his, the conqueror's, will and mercy in accordance with the laws of his kingdom and republic, if they are subjects, and if they are not, he can reduce them to live according to divine and natural law through all the ways and means he may deem convenient in accordance with justice and reason, trampling all obstacles of whatever nature that to this end he may encounter, if they are such as would obstruct the just effect he pretends.

"And, finally, if the cause of war is universal peace or the peace of his kingdom and republic he can with very much more justice wage the aforesaid war, and destroy all inconveniences that might obstruct the aforesaid peace until it is gained, and once gained, he must not wage it further, for the act of war is not an act pertaining to election and will, but to just occasion and necessity; and in this manner he must demand peace before he commences (war) if he wages war only for its sake (peace's); and if he wages it for other causes than the ones already mentioned he can repeat and take the due satisfaction abstaining himself from damaging the innocent, for these are always blameless in all right, as they have committed no trespass, and abstaining as much as possible from causing death to men; first, because that course is most odious in the sight of God, so much so that he would not receive a temple or mansion from the just David because he had been a homicide. Second, because of the manifest condemnation of the body and soul that is caused by death in the opposers who therein fight unjustly; many might be converted and justified, in the course of time, if they did not die there; since that is true after the necessity or manifest danger of death cease; or if victory is otherwise impossible, or by just decree of a competent judge; in such cases those who kill are not to blame, because as ministers of divine justice they execute, but rather those who die because, as guilty they deserved it; and this is my opinion excepting another one better. Fray Alonzo Martinez, apostolic commissary."

"This was also the sentiment of all the fathers who all signed it."*

Expedition Against the Acomas.

The opinion of the Fathers being heralded, the preparations were made for the campaign. Captain Vicente Zaldivar was chosen commandant of the expedition. In the choice of Don Vicente, Oñate showed very good judgment, for Don Vicente, being a man of great valor and a very famous captain, and as he was a brother of Don Juan, it was fitting that he rather than any one else, should avenge the death of

* Villagrá's "Hist. de la Nuevo Méjico."

his brother. Captain Vicente Zaldivar left San Gabriel on January 12th, 1599, accompanied by Captains Zubia, Romero, Aguilar, Farfán, Villagrá, Márquez, Juan Cortéz, and Juan Velarde, with 70 soldiers, all well mounted. They arrived at Acoma on the 21st of the month. The Spaniards encamped near the Peñol (rock). As soon as he had set things in the order which the critical condition required, Zaldivar sent a message by a sergeant to the Indians demanding their surrender and asking them to come down and be punished for the murders they had committed. The Indians laughed and scorned the messenger telling him to say to Don Vicente that they would take his life and the lives of those of his troops too, if they dare penetrate the entrances to the pueblo. The answer of the Indians inflamed the spirits of the Spaniards to the pitch of effecting the surrender of the pueblo or of perishing in the combat. The orders were therefore, given for the assault on the next day, the 22nd of January, Saint Vincent's Day—a thing they accomplished at peep of day.

Assault—Surrender of the Pueblo.

After the most obstinate battle and great losses suffered by the Spaniards, and the horrible massacre of Indians (600 of them having died) the few remaining Indians came down to surrender themselves unconditionally on the 24th of the month. The act of surrendering being over, the Indians inquired after that valiant rider with the gray beard, who, on a brisk, white steed and accompanied by a handsome queen, was helping the Spaniards. The Spaniards considered that a miracle had been performed saying that the rider the Indians saw must have been Santiago (St. James) and the queen, the Virgin, an apparition which they did not see. Villagrá gives us in graphic phrases an account of the signal victory of the Spanish Arms and of the heroic defense of their pueblo made by the Indians. Villagrá speaks:

"Tired from the exhausting journey, let us have
Christ's blest, unconquered ensign hoisted here.
Let tears be repressed, for they leave wounds
Upon afflicted souls. And thou, great king,
Most August Phillip, who a listening ear
Hast lent to my uncultured muse, I do
Beseech thee not to grow impatient, no!

For here to the promised post I'm come
Trusting, grand sovereign, in the excellence
Of thine unbounded grandeur, and that as
The father of the warlike exercise
Thou wilt vouchsafe to open for me a most
Serene post, by whose life-inspiring power
Strengthened, I may my sails risk to the wind
Returning to the frightful conflagration
Whose blaze, vibrating savagely, forth belched
Its lightning bolts with sparks and cinder mixed,
Enveloping the lofty houses in
Their awe-inspiring and consuming flames,
See here, my Lord, high roofs, and walls and lofts,
And dwellings that break in a thousand portions
Open, and crumbling swift roll on the ground
In sudden crash, and, like a living fire
Deep in the scorched earth do bury all
The wretched dullness, leaving not a trace
Of anything that's not devoured, consumed,
See, too, my Lord, the many corpses that
In their despair fall from the summit of
The wall, and torn by rocks lie on the earth
Outstretched in the minutest fragments of
Flesh and bone. The savages, both men
And women, who roast with their little ones,
Most piteously lament their misery
And fate. The sergeant to compassion's moved
Before that harvest woeful, grim of death.
As when a skillful pilot's wont to exert
Himself amid the storm and tempest of
The ocean, leaping to and fro, and for
The common safety strives, commanding crew
And passengers with anxious shouts; and then
All join and rush in fervid haste to aid
Themselves and save the slender vessel from
The wrath of angry wave and raging wind
Which toss it 'mid a thousand watery mountains
So he (the sergeant) urging Chumpo and
Other barbarians who wished for peace
Assures and promises upon his faith
As honored knight that he will spare the lives
Of all if they but do abstain from that
Most dreadful butchery and cruel strife
Which they—unhappy wretches—called upon
Themselves. No sooner had the poor old man's
Ears caught the words of that chivalrous youth
Than, clamoring in loud wild voices with
The few barbarians attending him,

He did persuade them and exhort by signs
And earnest pleadings of a father to
Desist and not to sacrifice themselves
To a much horrid death; for he had pledged
His knighted word to spare their lives and give
Them noble treatment—not in doubtful terms
But certainly without suspicion and
Without disguise, and free from vile intent
As after ligthing's shock has passed, we see
Our neighbors in suspense, with death's pale hue
Upon their cheeks, their throbbing hearts within
Their breasts in palpitation, they came out
Mistrustful still, to see and ascertain
The wreck caused by the fight already passed:
In similar manner many others in
Dull, timorous solemn pace approached
Quite careful not to step upon the bloody
Corpses of friends, the loyal shield of those
Grim walls that with their blood were bathed and dyed.
So, too, sad, trembling, and afflicted hemmed
In on both sides they nearer came and nearer
Caressing the Castillian band and all
Their kin with palled features, yet with signs
Of cordial pleasure beaming on their faces.
On seeing them reduced, and now withdrawn
From that fierce, mortal struggle which they had
Invited, they appeared as do the fields
Of wheat that nod and bend before
The furious blowing of the mighty winds
Whose heavy gusts rush fiercely through their stalks
And crush them in the ground: Ev'n so
Six hundred warriors conquered and disarmed
Surrendered, and within the town, with their
Wives and their children prostrate, gave their arms
And altogether placed themselves without
Condition at the hands and mercy of
The sergeant in most quiet stillness, moved
By the good Chumpo who had promised all
Their lives, and there and then gave it to them
And I doubt that we could without his help
Have taken that numancia which, though now
Lost and unhappy, was determined to
Rather remain deserted and unpeopled
Than ever to surrender that small force."

The decisive route of the Indians of Acoma was a most severe lesson for all the pueblos of New Mexico, resulting in

the complete pacification of all the Indians. The Spaniards, however, did not doubt that the bloody strife with the Acoma Indians was anything else than the fruit of the cruel conduct of Coronado and Cárdenas towards the Indians of Tiguex, about which the reader has already been informed in the first book of this work, and that the hatred thus begotten in the hearts of the Indians was yet yielding fruit without the hopes that in future times a general uprising might be avoided, an uprising that perhaps, might annihilate the Spaniards as it happened, in the year 1680, concerning which a detailed account is given in another part of this work. The seeds of hatred were also taking root in the Spanish encampment; the officers and soldiers were giving inhuman treatment to Indians obliging them to perform work beyond their strength, depriving them of the necessaries of life and using them as beasts of burden. The priests opposed all these abuses censuring and upbraiding the Spaniards without excluding Oñate himself, whence the friction between the priests and the military followed, a friction which became afterward a historical scandal from which the exposure of the cruel and criminal conduct of Oñate and his soldiers towards the Indians was made by Father Fr. Escalona from New Mexico in 1601, as will be seen in the next chapter. Concerning that matter, and concerning the other voyages that Oñate made we shall treat in the chapter following.

CHAPTER III.

Oñate Reports His Operations and Asks for Aid to Continue the Conquest—Sends Emissaries to Spain and Mexico—Disagreements Between the Colonists is Strained to the Danger Point—Oñate's Voyage to Quivira—Fatal Outcome of Disagreements—The Priests Expose the Distressing Situation—The King Grants Oñate and his People the Title of Hijosdalgos—Oñate Crowns his Voyage of Conquest With a Prosperous Trip to the Gulf of California and the Founding of the City of Santa Fe.

1599—1605.

The reaction of the glorious victory of Don Vicente Zaldivar and his handful of heroes over the warlike Acomas was most favorable for the Spaniards, and as for the Indians, it was a genuine blessing. The mere thought of the bloody struggle that met the sight of the seventy nine Spaniards (seventy soldiers and nine officers) in the assault, capture, and surrender of Acoma whose natural fortress (El Peñol) even in our days seems impregnable, would have been sufficient motive to dishearten a well-disciplined army fully provided with the most efficient accoutrements of war in our age, and that without taking into account the fact that the pueblo was defended by 6000 warriors. The heroism displayed by Zaldivar and his comrades, each one a real hero, in such an uneven contest has no paralell in the history of the conquest of the American Continent. With such an efficacious lesson as the Acomas received during the three days and two nights (the 22, 23, and 24th of January 1599 supra) that the celebrated battle lasted, the authority of the Spanish Government was recognized and feared by all the provinces of New Mexico. From that date all the said provinces entered into an era of material, moral, and religious development. The Franciscan Fathers divided the provinces into districts and to each district a priest was sent. The priests, ever the sincere and loyal friends of the natives began at once to

establish industrial schools in all the districts (see Father Benavides account to the King of Spain marked "appendix first" at the end of this work.) In those schools the priests taught reading, writing, agriculture, music, carpentry and other arts necessary for the complement of the civilization of the Indians. Oñate's occupation, in the meanwhile, consisted only in the search of glory and wealth. His public and private conduct became daily more reprehensible, and as the priests continually warned and upbraided him, he very naturally came to the point of hating them from which resulted the most untoward contradictions which finally ended in the withdrawal of almost all the priests and a great number of colonists to Santa Bárbara (post) and the re-awakening in the Indians of the hatred and distrust which the cruelty of Coronado and Cárdenas (ante book first) had infused in them. That hatred of the Indians against the Spaniards became deep-seated in their hearts till the year 1680, when it burst forth causing the expulsion of the Spaniards, concerning that we will speak in another chapter. Let us now return to Oñate.

Zaldivar, Villagra, Farfán and Pinero go to Spain and Mexico as Emissaries.

Filled with sanguine anticipations, Oñate thought it now the opportune moment to give the viceroy an account of the conquest and pacification of New Mexico and to solicit from him material aid and protection for the continuance of the discovery of other lands. He at once set himself to the task of preparing a long and detailed letter descriptive of his voyage and of its happy results. The letter was taken to Spain by Don Vicente Zaldivar, and to Mexico by Captains Villagrá, Farfán and Pinero, who set out on their long journey on the 2nd of March, 1599. Oñate demanded no less than 500 men and the accoutrements of war necessary to carry to a successful termination the conquest and colonization of the unknown countries which he called "new worlds, pacific and larger than those given the emperor by the good Marquez." Those "new worlds" were the Provinces of the Gran Quivira. With Villagrá and his companions went the Fathers Fr. Martinez and Fr. Salazar, accompanied by the

Alférez Casas and an escort of soldiers, with instructions to ask for and bring more priests from Mexico. Both petitions were granted. From Mexico came Father Escalona, as superior, and six priests whose names are not mentioned by either Villagrá or Oñate, and from Spain, the viceroy of Mexico received a decree ordering him to supply Oñate with all he wanted and to furnish him, as far as possible, with troops, priests, funds, and any other thing Oñate might be in need of.

Disagreements Between the Colonists—Unhappy Outcome—Exposure Made by the Fathers.

The departure of the emissaries and the priests of which we spoke in the foregoing chapter diminished the number of troops and colonists at San Gabriel, only 100 men being left with Oñate, a small number to be sure, to follow up his voyages of discovery and conquest, wherefore Oñate contented himself with waiting for the arrival of reinforcements which arrived the next year, 1600, employing his time in the interim, making trips to the neighboring mountains in search of minerals. His insatiable thirst for gold did not allow him to think of the welfare of the colony; he absolutely forgot it, causing thus great suffering among the Spaniards. The priests, the colonists and their families, and even the Indians themselves lacked all things necessary for the support of life, but Oñate did not pay any attention to their needs nor did he strive to give orders to relieve the critical situation of his people and the Indians. The priests never ceased to warn Oñate not to be so cruel with the Indians, whom he illtreated, taking from them their food and clothing and whatever belonged to them, in order to divide it between himself and his troops. All the efforts of the priests to give an impulse to agriculture and the development of the arts and occupations, their using all the means at their command to insure the prosperity of the colony, and for the purpose of continuing the settlement of other places were disregarded by Oñate, for he was so enthused with the falsehoods that Jusepe (the Indian who escaped from the expedition of Humaña, ante) told him about the Quivira, that his restlessness almost bordered on delirium as he did not

mind anything else, coming, at last, to the final resolve of undertaking the trip, against the entreaties of the priests, leaving them exposed to die of hunger or be killed by the Indians who would doubtless rise in insurrection the moment the soldiers were removed.

Oñate Sets Out for Quivira—Battle Fought.

At the beginning of June 1601, Oñate commenced his journey taking along two priests, Father Velasco and Father Vergara, Jusepe, and eigbty soldiers. Concerning the precise route he took, little or nothing is known, as neither Torquemada, nor Posadas (Villagrá does not speak about this journey) neither do the old historians which the author of this work has been able to examine, give with precision the path followed by Oñate. Modern historiographers, among them Davis, Prince and Salpointe, are inclined to believe that he followed the identical route followed by Coronado in the year 1541 (ante, Book First). However that may be, the author of this work prefers to adhere to what, regarding that voyage, Torquemado and Posada tell us for the reason that, as they were Franciscan priests, the author has no doubt that they based their accounts in documents which went to the archives of the order of Saint Francis from the hands of the Fathers, Velasco and Vergara. Nothing worthy of mention happened in the voyage except a battle between the Spaniards and the Escanjaque Indians, neighbors to the Indians of Quivira in the precise place where years before, Humaña and his comrades had been defeated. (Ante Book First.) The battle would never have taken place, had it not been provoked by singular coincidence. The Indians of Quivira, on that occasion were at war with the Escanjaques. The Quiviras abandoned, on the arrival of the Spaniards at Quivira, their pueblos and placed themselves under the protection of Oñate. The Escanjaques took possession of the abandoned pueblos and were commencing to destroy them when Father Velasco attempted to interfere in order to prevent their destruction. The Escanjaques assaulted the priest and the Spaniards rushed to his defense thus precipitating one of the most disastrous battles of those times. The battle lasted an entire day, and the mortality of the

Indians was such (1000 of them died) according to Posada, supra, that the Spaniards gave the place the name of "El llano de la Matanza," (The plain of the Massacre). As Oñate did not find at Quivira the wealth he anticipated to meet with, he set out on his return trip arriving at San Gabriel about the middle of October, very much disgusted with the result of his voyage, a disgust which was changed into wrath when he heard that many colonists and some priests had gone back to Santa Bárbara, and that the father commissary Fr. de Escalona had sent charges against him to his superiors.

Charges Against Oñate—Drastic Measures Taken by Him to Avenge Himself.

The charges which Father Escalona proffered against Oñate, recite in a pathetic and convincing language, the causes which brought about the abandonment of the colony by the soldiers and colonists which Oñate had left there. The author having been unable to find in any of the histories of New Mexico, except in Torquemada's, copies of said charges resolved to lay before the reader, in the hope that it will be appreciated, the integral reproduction of so valuable a historical document. The letter of statements follows:

"Letter of Statements." *

"Jesus be in the saintly soul of Y. P. (your Paternity) and let him give and grant what this, the least of your children, desires. As the occasion has come of writing, from these provinces of New Mexico, and of giving an account to the Lord Viceroy and his audience of what has happened in this land, it is right that we should give it also to Y. P. for the duty is none the less. The reason for writing and sending messengers to the Lord Viceroy is, our father, to explain to him how all the people, or most of them, of this New Mexico are leaving, and going out of it, constrained, as they are by the great need in which they find themselves at present, on account of hunger and nakedness; by reason of the Indians having been so drained (of what they had) they are dying of

* From Torquemada's "Indiana Vol. I. 671—and from Posadas Not. 216 et seq.

hunger because the governor and his captains have plundered their pueblos and taken from them all their corn which they had stored for six months, till they left them so destitute of grain, and in such necessity that, through sheer hunger, they mix cinders with I know not what wild seedlets, and that is what they eat; and if God had not provided that some private persons had planted a little irrigation wheat we should all have died.

"It being now manifest that the year is precarious, and that we have had no rain in a long time, wherefore not many crops have been raised, and as in many of these pueblos no grain is harvested; and as the governor has refused to plant a community piece of land so that his captains and soldiers might have something to eat and that all Spaniards and Indians might not perish, those of this place have agreed by common consent to go to peaceable lands, and go as far as Santa Bárbara, and there wait for what the Lord Viceroy shall command them to do whether to go over somewhere else, or to return here helping them with some kind of succor or allow them to go and settle at Yndeje, which, is, they say, a paradise and rich in silver, or to go to the Valle del Aguila (Eagle's Valley) to discover the South Sea, and see if by that route, (which is the place where the ships of China come to inspect this land) they can better their condition with what (those ships) they bring from China.

"Seeing, then, that all the laymen are leaving on account of what I have already referred, it became my imperative duty to allow the religious who were here, to go with them, for they asked (that leave) so earnestly that Y. P. will be able to see by their petition which they presented to me for that purpose with so many reasons and motives, which are strong enough to convince whoever considers them aright; and they do not go with the intent of leaving and abandoning this land altogether, but only constrained by necessity; for the laymen go to Santa Bárbara to wait for his Majesty's order, and also the religious, to what they may be commanded. That this place may not be left altogether desolate, I remain here with the Royal Alférez and a few other Spaniards awaiting for the orders that may be sent to us, for which we shall wait four or five months, the time the answer of those who

are going there for it, may delay (in coming) and to take the messages which touching this matter we send to his Lordship and Y. P. although we are in danger of loosing our lives on account of our number being so small and not having any fortress where we might intrench ourselves, nor wheat, nor corn to eat. And if within that time no advice comes to us, we shall go to the place where the army is going to, which is the point of Santa Bárbara; wherefore I beseech Y. P. to send me your advice; and in behalf of all of us who here remain we ask you to beg it of his Lordship, the Lord Viceroy; for otherwise it would seem that we are altogether abandoned and left in the land. We remain here, and hope to receive news from the governor, and from those who went with him, and of the Father, Fr. Francisco Velasco, and of our brother Fray Pedro de Vergara who went with him; for I should have gone on that voyage (as I wrote to you), but I confess that seeing things in this land so out of order and against Christianity, I did not dare make the journey; because I saw, that as it is, in matters we have here at present, it has been, and will be the same where they have gone and wherever they go. And these things I wanted told by some one else and not myself, for even if there were no famine, they are enough for the religious to go back or else live crucified.

"The Fathers Fray Francisco de San Miguel, Fray Francisco de Zamora, Fray Lope Izquierdo and Fray Gaston de Peralta, are the ones who are going now and I remain so as to go last; they go as chaplains of the army and accompanying them on the road.

"What I request from Y. P. is, that if no religious are to come back here, to order me what God may best inspire Y. P. with; for until now almost nothing is discovered of whatever is said to exist here, and this is the reason to go forward to the north, or east or south; for from that City of Mexico down to this point where we are, we have walked 400 leagues, and stock has been brought, and other things with great trouble, and to leave it now all to be lost seems a very hard thing (to do); and, in my view, it would displease the King if we should leave here against our conscience, especially, some baptized souls both of adults and children; nor would it even

befit any other who should sustain him in justice and doctrine giving him the possession of these pueblos. Y. P. will pardon the prolixity, which, in order to give account from lands so far off of what there is in them, especially when it is a matter of honor, conscience and the salvation of souls, all cannot be said in a few words. May our Lord God lead you, as it may please best his divine majesty, and let Him guard Y. P. From this convent of San Gabriel of New Mexico, on the first of October, one thousand six hundred and one years. Your least child and subject of Y. P.

FRAY JUAN ESCALONA."

From what the reader has read in the statements of Fr. Escalona, he must have been convinced that the defenseless Indians could not expect anything from the soldiers and colonists, and that only the priests took any interest in aleviating their painful situation. The struggle between the priests and Oñate, and his soldiers, because of the defense of the poor Indians by the former, and because of the great efforts of the latter to reduce them to a most shameless slavery was being accentuated more and more every day till it reached the point where they were unable to stand so much injustice. The tyranny of Oñate was not confined now to the Indians only, but he also attempted to treat the priests with equal despotism, but as at that period, the ecclesiastical laws were obeyed more than the military, Oñate was unable to satiate his vengeance on the priests.

To punish the deserters, Oñate declared them traitors and sentenced to death those who should not come back. He sent Don Vicente Zaldivar to Mexico and to Spain to inform the Viceroy and King of what occurred. At Santa Bárbara, Zaldivar was able, by means of cruelty and threats to induce some of the colonists to return to New Mexico, but not all returned, Oñate being thus left with his desires of punishing them unsatisfied.

The priests did not cease from exposing Oñate and his soldiers on account of the bad treatment they gave the Indians, and so, Oñate was again denounced by Father Fr. Francisco de San Miguel who, in a letter written at Santa

Bárbara on the 29th of February, 1602, when he learned of the object of Zaldivar's visit to Mexico, wrote to his superior the following:

"Letter."

"Jesus give to Y. P. strength and his Divine Grace. It is fifteen days since I wrote to Y. P. giving an account of our arrival at this point of Santa Bárbara, and twelve days after we arrived, the aide de camp of Don Juan Oñate, the Governor, reached here also in pursuit of these captains and poor people who are here, the governor having already sentenced them to have their heads chopped off, and to visit on them great cruelties on account of the great services they have rendered both to God and to his majesty, in spending their property, and serving personally they, and their wives, and children, and servants, for all did this, and went, by turns, in this Tragico—comedy, the men serving the governor as companions; the women in cooking his meals, the children entertaining him; and the servants and rest of the people in serving him; and even the friars in adoring him; and the case is to the point (to say) that we already did not find place nor hour for the security of our lives, property, and honor. Sometimes (when I was superior) he commanded me to take some religious from their posts, and places where they were (without any other pretext than his pleasure) with the understanding that if I didn't do it, he would do it; and it is certain that those who have been in that land have given proof of their religion; and this is certain that the land of itself is not very habitable; and being there governed by the one who now governs, it is not possible to live in it; and for these and millions of other reasons, it was not only fitting but necessary to get out of it, and this for the relief of the natives, the governor, and the Spaniards that remain there, because he cannot give sustenance but to very few people with the ordinary he now has; and the governor who in order not to fall from his state goes about with a thousand lies, tricks, and dissemblings, and sending souls to hell by the thousands and doing things that are not worthy to be heard by Christians with false and treacherous

appearances; and so, blessed is he who can separate himself from such deals, because, although it may not be proper for us to deal with him publicly, there is no reason why Y. P. should not be advised of it.

"The governor has made some sallies, all at the expense of the religious and the natives as a condition *sine qua non*; for he could not otherwise have made any, because he is very poor, and in all of them he has made horrible massacres of Indians, and great butcheries and shedding of human blood, thefts and plunders, which he has made: I pray to God to grant him the grace to do pennance for all his misdeeds in this life. These poor people are afflicted; and the aide de camp carries in his informations a thousand lies and a thousand false oaths, for those who are in New Mexico are so oppressed that they cannot do but what the governor commands, or what they know to be his pleasure, and in the end everything will have to come to light, and the truth will be known; and because Fathers Zamora and Lugo, who are trustworthy witnesses, have gone there, information can be taken from them concerning everything. I don't say any more in this, etc. Santa Bárbara, the 29th of February, in the year 1602."

In Mexico, Zaldivar made the greatest efforts to contradict the charges of the Fathers against his uncle (the reader will recollect that Oñate was Zaldivar's uncle) in order to fix more firmly his prestige as conqueror. Viceroy Monterey, however, did not feel inclined to grant all that was asked for Oñate, and he so told the King in a report which Zaldivar himself carried to Spain. In Spain, Zaldivar seems to have had better success, for he obtained from the King the appointment of his uncle as Adelantado, and also a decree declaring Oñate and all those who had taken a part in the conquest with him as hijosdalgos (a title which is equivalent to that of a nobleman,) as will be seen by the decree which we give below. After the return of Zaldivar, Oñate received reinforcements and other succors which he and the other Spaniards needed badly. At the same time other Franciscan Fathers came the next year, 1604, at the beginning of the year. The decree referred to follows:

Royal Decree Which Acknowledges the Capitulation of That Province and the Prerogatives of Its Settlers.

Don Felipe, by the grace of God, King of Castile, of León etc. Whereas the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, in virtue of a decree "of the King, my lord, who in glory be, took contract and capitulation" with Don Juan de Oñate, concerning the discovery, pacification and people of New Mexico, which lies in New Spain; and, among other things, granted him what is contained in one of the chapters of the instructions about new discoveries and settlements of the Indies which is of the following tenor:

"To those who bound themselves to make the said settlements, and had it peopled, and fulfilled their contract: In order to honor their persons and their descendants, and that from them, as first settlers, laudable remembrance may remain; we make them hijosdalgos of well known mansion, them and their legitimate descendants, in order that in the pueblo they may settle and any other part of the Indies, they be hijosdalgos and persons of noble lineage and well known mansion; and as such may be known, had, and held, and enjoy all honors and pre-eminences; and that they may do all things that all hijosdalgos and knights of the kingdoms of Castile, according to the statutes, laws and customs of Spain, may and should do, etc., etc. The general (rules) follow and it closes. 'I wish and it is my will that it have the force of law as if it were done and promulgated in the courts: Let it be heralded in all parts and places that may be fit to. Given at San Lorenzo on the 8th day of July in the year 1602.—I, the King.—Attorney Laguna.—Attorney Armenteras.—Dr. Eugenio de Salazar.—Attorney Banavente de Benavides.—Attorney Luis Salcedo.—' By command of the King.—Juan de Ibarra.—Registered.—Gabriel de Ochoa.—By the Chancellor: Sebastian de la Vega.—Note:—The auto (act) of obedience is made by the royal agreement of Mexico, dated the 20th of June, 1604. It is recorded in the books of that audience folio 305 of the one that begins in 1601. The copy of the original royal decrees from 1570 to 1624, pages 49." *

*Pino; Not. Historicas.

Oñate Visits the South Sea—End of His Administration.

Oñate delayed a long while before he could raise his spirits above the languor which had taken possession of his soul, both on account of his disappointment in the discovery of Quivira's fabulous riches, and because of the ruin and desolation, he found at San Gabriel on his return from his fruitless voyage. He determined once more to try his fortune by giving a happy climax to his discoveries realizing there by the ideal which should immortalize his name; the discovery of the South Sea. Oñate's valor was equal if not superior, to that of his predecessors. His was the resourceful faculty of finding, even in difficult circumstances, adequate expedients for the purpose of emerging with success from any emergency. He saw that by recapturing the good will and support of the priests all the obtacles in his way would be removed. He therefore, addressed himself to the New Commissary, Fr. Francisco de Escóbar, successor to Fr. de Velasco, who had succeeded Fr. Escalona, soliciting the support which he desired from the priests. Father Escóbar had come to New Mexico with six more religious, after Zaldivar had returned from Spain, the primitive spirit of concord and harmony between Oñate and the Franciscan priest having at that date been renewed, according to Torquemada, who says:

"Six religious went over, with Father Francisco Escóbar as their commissary, as well as of those who were there. The commission went to Father Fr. Francisco de Velasco who was there for one year—a man of approved life and versed in letters, on account of causes that concurred (for that purpose): and the commission went to the new commissary who was going from here to so comply, taking people who went as helpmates to do what he might see fit both as to garrison and as an entry. He complied very well, and the Viceroy and the Order of Franciscans were freed from the uneasiness caused by the disagreement and bad arrangement of that Entry."*

* Oñate was not aware of the fact that Melchor Diaz had already discovered the Gulf of California as the reader has read in chap. 5, Book 1 of this work—THE AUTHOR.

Having received the instructions given him by their superiors, Fr. Escóbar did not hesitate to accede to entreaties of Oñate offering himself as one of his companions. The spontaneous, frank and friendly co-operation of Father Fr. Escóbar filled Oñate's heart with a feeling of deep gratitude towards the priests, and a sincere regret of having treated them with disrespect and rigor in past occasions giving proof of his sincerity by approving the dispositions made by Father Escóbar. Without loss of time the preparations were begun, everything being in complete readiness by the 7th day of October (1604), a day when he set out on the journey with thirty soldiers and the Fathers Fr. Francisco Escóbar, and Fr. San Buena Ventura. On his way, Oñate visited the Pueblos of the provinces of Moqui, Acoma, and Zuñi following the same route that had been followed, by Don Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas, Capt. Melgosa, Juan Gaberas and the twelve soldiers sent by Coronado thirty years before for the purpose of discovering the Colorado River. Along his way Oñate crossed the little "Colorado River" or "Coloradito," Oñate himself having been the man who gave said river that name on account of the reddish color of its water. In like manner Oñate gave the name of "Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza" to the river we know today by the name of the "Rio Colorado Grande."

After several journeys and many sufferings, and after having traveled through many nations of barbarous Indians, Oñate arrived on the 23rd of January in the year 1605 to the Rio Colorado to which he gave the name already mentioned. He camped there until the 25th, following, on that day, the course of the river downwards to its mouth on the Gulf of California. He found a bay so ample that, according to Oñate "1000 vessels could anchor on it." As the day of his arrival there was St. Paul's day, Oñate, at the suggestion of Father Escòbar, gave the bay the name of "Puerto de la Conversion de San Pablo." *

The best and most authentic narrative of this voyage is given to us by Father Fray Alonzo de Paredes Posadas, in an account given to the King in the year 1685 about the

* Bct. Ariz. and N. Mex. 136.

happenings in New Mexico. Referring to the voyage of which we have been treating Father Posadas, says:

Date of the Founding of Santa Fe Correctly Given.

"The villa of Santa Fe, center of New Mexico, is at 37 degrees in a straight line south, having the sea on the west, at a distance of 200 leagues. It was discovered in the year 1605 by the Adelantado Juan de Oñate, carrying with him some soldiers and religious of my seraphic religion, and as president, the preacher, Fr. Francisco Escalon, and as guide of his journey a river which they call the Colorado Grande, which has its source in the mountains and sierras, which are on the northern part of that villa, at 28 degrees, having its torrents (course) directly to the west, and flows into the sea by the bay, that is in the interior, which they call California, by whose banks Indians of many nations visited the Adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate, among whom, two of them who said they were neighbors of Teguayo, and seeing him eat on a silver service, informed him that in their land there was a great deal of that metal."*

Oñate became satisfied with the discovery of the gulf, returning next to San Gabriel, and reaching that point August 25, 1605, after having suffered such hunger that they had to eat the flesh of their horses. What Oñate did in New Mexico after 1605 or who was his successor is not known with certainty.

All the historians agree that between the years 1605 and 1608 (a year in which it is well proved) he ceased to be governor, his successor being, according to Bancroft, Don Pedro de Peralta.† The author of this work is of the opinion that Oñate acted as governor until the year 1608, reaching that conclusion after a mature examination of the works of Ventacur, Shea, Gregg, Davis, Prince, Bancroft, Pino, Escudero, Salpointe, Barreiro and others; and that, with the co-operation of the priests (the real conquerors), Oñate dedicated those two last years of his administration to the development of the industries and the arts. The author has

*"Ralación" of Father Posadas to the King of Spain.
†Bacft. Ariz. & New Mex. 157.

reached this conclusion basing his belief upon what Barreiro says on that matter, whose opinion, in the judgment of this author, adjusts itself better with the reasonable solution of the enigmatical question. The attorney, Don Antonio Barriero, was assessor of New Mexico in the year 1831, and it is reasonable to suppose that, as he was a man of letters, when he wrote his "Ojeadasobre Nuevo Méjico," printed in Puebla in the year 1832, he had at his command trustworthy data for his important work. Speaking of Don Juan Oñate, Barreiro says:

"And owing to the good procedure of Don Juan Oñate, in order to encourage him in this purpose, His Majesty the King, Philip II (who is in glory) honored him on February 7th 1602, with the title of Adelantado of these provinces (he being Governor and Captain General in them) for himself, his son, or heir. And in the year 1608 His Majesty provided another governor with a salary of two thousand ducats and he resides at the Villa of Santa Fe, capital of this Kingdom."*

The Villa of Santa Fé Again.

It is equally certain, as said (ante chapt. 5) that Oñate was the founder of Santa Fé. Upon that point there is no disagreement among the authors referred to although there is some in regard to the precise date of its foundation. This author believes that that happened immediately after Oñate's return from the Gulf of California in April 1605, for we have already seen that, before that voyage took place, the Spaniards already talked of building the "City of San Francisco." There is, then, no doubt that Oñate founded the villa of Santa Fé between the year 1605 and 1606 if Fr. Posadas is correct (ante). As Barreiro also has told it to us, (ante) Santa Fe was already mentioned as the place of his residence in 1608.† Here ends the second book of this work.

*Barreiro's Ojeada, p. 7.

†NOTE—There are persons who in newspaper articles affirm that Santa Fé was founded in 1540 or 1543, by Fray Juan de Padilla. These writers, evidently, never saw the history of the voyage of Coronado written by Coronado himself and by Cárdenas. The reader will recollect to have read in the foregoing chapters of this work the account itself of Coronado and that of Cárdenas in both of which is established

In the next book we shall treat of all that occurred between the years 1608 and 1703.

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the fact beyond all conjecture that Tiguex was situated on the western bank of the Rio Grande in the neighborhood of the Town of Bernalillo, with the only difference that Bernalillo is on the eastern bank of said river. This is confirmed by the account of Cárdenas in regard to the efforts the Indians made, when besieged, to escape—a thing they could not accomplish because the Rio Grande was wholly closed with ice, those of the Indians who attempted to cross the river by breaking the ice having been drowned. The same is equally proved by what Fr. Posadas and Barreiro said in the paragraphs preceding this page, the paragraph about the Villa of Santa Fé, in which it is affirmed that Oñate's successor (Peralta) came in 1608 to reside in Santa Fé. See also Fr. Benavides' relation on location of Tiguex, already given to the reader (ante).—THE AUTHOR.

BOOK III.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY IS GIVEN OF ALL THE EVENTS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1608 AND 1703.

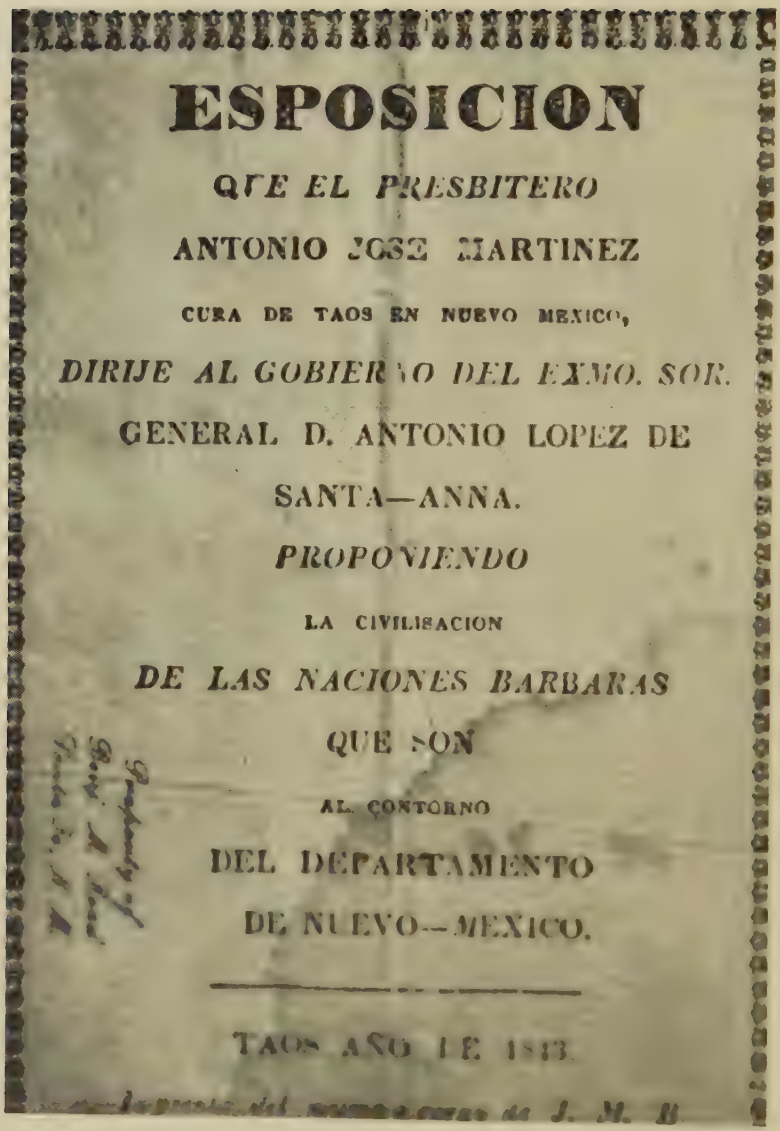
CHAPTER 1.

The New Governor Don Pedro Peralta Assumes the Reins of Government—Fr. Alonzo Peinado Arrives as Commissary, of the Franciscans, and as Successor to Father Fr. Escóbar—Fr. Estevan Perea Succeeds Fr. Alonzo Peinado—Not Known Whether or Not Don Pedro Peralta Governed Until 1626—Nor is it Known Who Were His Successors—New Difficulties Arise Between Political and Religious Authorities—Father Fr. Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron Relieves Fr. Estevan Perea—Indian Conversions Continue—The Spanish Settlements Increase—New Mexico is Elevated to the Dignity of Custodia, and is Assigned to Father Benavides as First Custodio—New Mexico Gets Another Governor—History of New Mexico by Fr. Benavides—Names of the Governors.

1608–1703.

We have already seen that in 1608, Don Pedro Peralta came to New Mexico as successor to Oñate, but nothing is known respecting the whereabouts of Oñate thereafter, although some authors have ventured conjectural opinions about it; but, as in matters of history, only facts should be set down, the author of this work has not been desirous of amusing the reader with mere stories or unfounded suppositions. Let us then leave Oñate in the place where, for the last time, he appears as a real figure in the pages of history, drawing the veil over those remote and confused epochs.

The Franciscan Fathers had converted about 8000 Indians between the years 1598 and 1608 or an average of eight hundred Indians a year, and were teaching reading and writing to a goodly number of them when the new Governor Peralta, and the new Commissary, Father Peinado, came. With Father Peinado nine fathers came, the number of missionaries in-



ESPOSICION

QUE EL PRESBITERO

ANTONIO JOSE MARTINEZ

CURA DE TAOS EN NUEVO MEXICO,

DIRIJE AL GOBIERNO DEL EXMO. SOR.

GENERAL D. ANTONIO LOPEZ DE

SANTA—ANNA.

PROPONIENDO

LA CIVILISACION

DE LAS NACIONES BARBARAS

QUE SON

AL CONTORNO

DEL DEPARTAMENTO

DE NUEVO—MEXICO.

TAOS AÑO DE 1843.

"EXPOSICION" of Rev. A. S. Martinez to President Santa Ana recommending the passage of a law to place the tribes of wild Indians in New Mexico in reservations and under control of the central government. Printed in Taos, N. M., in 1843, in the first and only printing press in New Mexico, which had been brought in 1835 by Father Martinez from Old Mexico. This priceless document contains 14 pages, in pamphlet form, of 6x7½ inches. Same is in my possession. THE AUTHOR.

creasing with their arrival and with the missionaries, the number of conversions, so that by the year 1617 the number of Indian converts reached up to fourteen thousand and the number of churches and convents was eleven. The number of settlers diminished more and more every year. In 1617 only 47 men among soldiers and settlers with their respective families could be counted, a circumstance which corroborates, with clear evidence, the great benefit redounding in favor of the Indians from the benevolent conduct of the priests.

The success of the Fathers in the christianization and pacification of the Indians was not contemplated fondly by the military; almost daily difficulties arose between the two factions, reaching in 1620 to the extreme of a serious outbreak between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The difficulties came to a close by the excommunication of the governor through a decree in form of an anathema pronounced against him by Fr. Alonzo Peinado. The cruelty and oppression with which the governor treated the Indians had sown throughout all the pueblos in secret, a deadly hatred against the Spaniards, a hatred, which even against the priests was commencing to take root. The Governor on his part charged the Fathers with their being the original cause of the dissatisfaction that was noted in the spirit of the Indians, claiming, at the same time, that his was the power of making the appointments of the Indians who should govern the pueblos; the priests denied that the governor had any such authority and declared that the Indians ought to be given, exclusively, the power to appoint their own officials as they had done it to that date. The accriminations and recriminations of both bands were finally carried over to the superior authority at Mexico, resulting from it a severe reprimand to the governor by the viceroy, and to Father Peinado by the Father Superior of the order of Franciscan Fathers, and the removal of both.

A New Governor, and New Commissary are sent over.

The superior ecclesiastical authority thought that, in behalf of peace, the condition of the missions in New Mexico demanded a radical change, and the political authority was of the same opinion with respect to civil government there

also; consequently both jurisdictions were changed. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction sent Father Gerónimo Zárate Salmeron, the wise preacher and erudite historian, who remained from 1621 to 1626 in the province of Jémes almost exclusively; he baptized during those five or six years, according to his own narrative, 6,566 Indians, and wrote in the Indian language a work entitled "Doctrina"* which he put to print in Mexico, the year he was relieved from the charge of commissary, because the province of New Mexico had been erected into a "Custodia" under the name and title of "Custodia de la conversión de San Pablo," and father Fr. Benavides had come to govern it on that same year with 20 additional fathers.

New Governor.

Peralta acted as governor to the close of the year 1620, that is, at least, what can be stated as a certainty, since history does not give the name of the other governor between the years 1608 and 1620. It is known with certainty that in the beginning of the year 1621 there came as Governor Don Felipe Zotylo who governed the province to the year 1629, in which he was succeeded by Don Manuel de Silva. Between Fr. Benavides and Governor Zotylo the most complete harmony reigned with marked benefit for the Indians and Spaniards who dedicated themselves with energy to the prosecution of the industries which their limited means allowed them to develop. Agriculture was made more general; all the Indian pueblos engaged completely in the cultivation of their lands, the raising of stock, and in the apprenticeship of the arts and occupations, everything breathed tranquility, progress, and good fellowship. The Spanish colonies were in lack of artificers, farming implements and many other things necessary for their development. The mining industry had become one of the principal occupations but there was a lack of operatives. The ecclesiastical branch was also quite decimated, for by the year 1626 only nineteen of the religious profession had remained, embracing priests and friars (lay brothers). In that year Father Benavides

*Zárate Salmeron's "Relaciones."

was called to Mexico, and there he gave an account of the condition of his missions, stating that by that date more than 86,000 Indians had been baptized, and that forty three temples had been built. Father Benavides did not return to New Mexico, having been sent to Spain by his superiors, that he might give in person an account to the King of what he knew about New Mexico, but father Tomás Manso with thirty more priests came in his stead.

Fr. Benavides in Spain.

At the beginning of the year 1630 Father Fr. Alonzo Benavides went to Spain to make a report in person before the King of what he had given, in the shape of a narrative in 1826, to his superior. He was introduced to the King by Fr. Juan de Santander, Commissary General of the Indies. The account given by Fr. Benavides to the King, even if it lacks much to be desired, is of an incalculable historical value, because it is the first and only history written and published 32 years after the conquest by Oñate, and because it was, like that of Villagrá, written by a writer who, from his own experience and personal observation knew what he was saying. Despite the fact that it was printed in Madrid in 1630, and reprinted in Mexico in 1889, none of the authors who have written about New Mexico had the opportunity of reading and consulting it. Salpointe refers to it but says that what he knows about it is from the translation of a work written in French; a work not based on exact knowledge, since it asserts that Benavides did not go to Spain, but that he sent his narrative to Father Santander. The other authors state the same thing except Bancroft who, with admirable candor, admits never to have seen so important a work, and is however, the one who gives the most correct conclusions, about its contents. The author of this work was able, after very long and expensive researches, to find it, and because he considers it of great value to history, has had it reproduced as the first appendix to this work, thus giving to future generations one of the main fountain heads whence proceeds the true history of New Mexico, recommending to the reader at the same time, that the appendix be read with the care and attention the consideration of such a meritorious work demands.

The author of this work considers himself duty bound to make a comment or two on said memorial of Father Benavides, by giving to his readers one or two of the points which Father Benavides elucidates, that he may thus understand better said memorial (appendix first) and to better appreciate its merits. The historical picture drawn by Fr. de Benavides could not be more interesting if the almost insuperable obstacles that had to be overcome are taken into account.

According to Fr. Benavides, there were in the year 1630 fifty religious persons scattered among the Pueblo Indians and the savage tribes; more than seventy thousand had already been converted to Christianity in the ninety pueblos known in New Mexico, these pueblos were formed in groups and divided in 25 missions with a school and church to each pueblo. For the support of the political, military and ecclesiastical governments an annual tribute was collected from the people which consisted of a part of what was harvested and a part of the increase of stock, cattle and sheep. The most important Spanish colony was the Villa of Santa Fé, the seat of government, with a population of 250 Spaniards and their respective families.

Concerning Quivira, Father Benavides gives us a description of its riches, inhabitants, latitude and topography. The most pathetic part of the narrative is the vivid picture he gives of the labors and sufferings of the priests, himself among them, who were always ready to sacrifice their own lives, if by doing so, they could redeem but a single soul, as many of them did, sealing with their blood, as real martyrs, the truth of the holy doctrine of the crucified God. From what we are going to reproduce the reader will be convinced that the religious, *and they alone*, were the true conquerors and benefactors of the Indians. Let us hear Father Benavides:

"It may well be inferred from all that is said above, how lucid are the toils and pilgrimages of my Father St. Francis, in the service of God our Lord, for not only have they destroyed the empire of Satan and saved those souls which he (the devil) so undisputedly enjoyed, but have demolished idolatry and the worship to the devil, the Lord God Creator of all things is alone adored; and where nothing appeared but dens of idolatry, today the religious have done so much and

with such care, that in order to accomplish that, they despoil themselves of what your Majesty gives them for their sustenance and raiment. Their continuous occupation is that of Martha and Maria; recurring, like Martha, to active life, curing the sick and feeding the poor and needy; causing the fields to be planted, and growing stock, and, together with this, breaking lands for the Indians who do not live in settlements, and after building them a house and the entire pueblo, and plowed and sown their lands, and given them all that is necessary for those first months they bring them to live there like reasonable beings, where they are taught to recite the Christian doctrine, and are taught good customs; in like manner they teach the boys how to read and write and sing, and the Lord is to be praised at seeing, in so short a time, so many chapels with organ singing; in the same way they are taught all the occupations for human utility, such as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, blacksmithing and other things in learning which they are very skilfull; and this depends on the solicitude and care of the religious, for should he be missed, all this harmony and all the political life in which they are trained in our style would cease. Neither do they (the religious) fail, like Mary, in contemplative life which is the monastic state that they have professed; for with the many exterior occupations in the administrations of the sacraments they have no rest in going from pueblo to pueblo, and there is not a religious who has not four or five pueblos under his charge; they so live, that they seem to be in a community, for matins never fail at midnight and the other hours, and high mass always in time; and the convents are in so great a harmony that they look more like sanctuaries than the houses of single friars; and with such continuous occupations, fastings never fail, practicing even the lents of the blessed, and many other spiritual exercises with which they greatly edify both the Spaniards and Indians who respect them as if they were angels. I have wished to touch, *en pass ant*, upon this matter, refraining from stating, many other things which I might say, with the sole purpose that your Majesty may know the quality and virtue of those, your chaplains, who with such gratitude, love and good will recommend your Majesty to God in that secluded spot, and in that primitive

church where Our Lord works so many wonders and to which your Majesty must render favor and assistance, both, on account of the duty imposed upon your Majesty by the church in the bull of Alexander VI when, in the name of God, he gave you these kingdoms only for the care and nourishing there needed by our holy Catholic faith and for the conversion of so many souls, as well as, on account of the many mercies which God our Lord grants your Majesty there in giving you so many riches as we have discovered in the province of the Piros, (Socorro county), as I have said, and in this kingdom of Quivira and Aixaos; and all that is needed to enjoy all that by the monarchy is to people the ports through which such riches may be taken out, and that there be some to work them out; for certain it is that the plates of silver will not come out of the mines ready made, but money must be expended to take them home. It is sufficient that God our Lord show unto our eyes the rich metals and the ports through which we may enjoy them." *

Nothing sensational, or of sufficient importance occurred for several years after. The colonies of Spaniards increased in the course of years. The industries, the arts and occupations expanded and developed in proportion to the growth of the population. In spite, however, of the alluring perspective, the flame of vengeance blazed at the bottom of the hearts of the Indians. From generation to generation the cruelties of the Spanish generals were transmitted among them—commencing from the shocking sacrifice made by Cárdenas and Coronado in 1540 in the province of Tiguex (ante Book I) and bursting, subsequently, in the sombre uprising of 1680 concerning which we shall treat in the next chapter.

Governors from 1629 to 1680.

It is proper that the reader know the names of the governors in whose hands were the reins of government between the years 1629, when Don Felipe Zotylo left the post, to 1679 when Otermin became the incumbent. Zotylo was succeeded by Manuel Silva, and Silva by Don Fernando de Arguello (1640). Don Luis de Rosas assassinated in 1642 succeeded

* See appendix first of this work.

Arguello (1641-2) Valdez came next, and after him Pacheco de Heredia in (1644). In 1645 Arguello became again governor. Luis de Guzman to 1650; Ugarte and La Concha in 1650; Don Juan de Samaniego in 1653; Don Enrique Avila y Pacheco, in 1653; Don Bernardo Lopez de Mendizábal, in 1660; Diego de Peñaloza Briceño from 1661 to 1664. Peñaloza was followed by Governors Fernando de Villa Nueva, Juan de Medrano and Don Juan Miranda, but the respective dates of their administrations have never been learned with certainty that being the reason why so little can be said about them. Juan Francisco Treviño from 1675 to 1679; Antonio de Otermin from 1679 to 1683. Otermin acted as governor a little over a year, although, in fact, he was governor until the year 1683. As it was during his administration (in the year 1680) that the historic uprising occurred, which gave, as a sequel, the expulsion of the Spaniards, and the total loss of the results acquired by Oñate and his successors. This chapter closes with what the reader has already read regarding the more salient events between the years 1608 and 1640, in order to begin the next one with the narration of other events, and the account of the retreat of Otermin.

CHAPTER II.

Murder of Fathers Arvide and Letrado and Poisoning of Father Porras —Assassination of Governor Rosas—Peñaloza and the Priests—Voyage of Peñaloza to Mexico—He is punished for Blaspheming—His Voyage to France and England—Betrays his Sovereign—Uprising of the Indians.

1640-1680.

In the year 1632 Father Fray Arvide was given missions in the province of Zuñi, and Fathers Letrado and Porras in the province of Moqui, places in which the Franciscans had several convents and some schools, the fathers referred to being in charge of them. At that period the discontent among the Indians had become general but the Spaniards suspected nothing. The insubordination of the Indians became more acute on account of the scandals which continually occurred in the settlements of the Spaniards, between the ecclesiastical and political tribunals. When the Indians saw that the strife between the priests and the government was an every day occurrence, they began to treat the priests and officials with indifference and contempt, which caused the priests to reprimand them without obtaining the results desired. Thus it was that because the priests attempted to upbraid the Indians, Fathers Arvide and Letrado were murdered in the vicinity of the pueblo of Zuñi towards the close of 1632; and at the beginning of the year following, the Indians of Moqui poisoned Father Porras. The civil authorities allowed the guilty Indians to go without punishment not even taking notice of the deaths of the said fathers, nor of the others who had been previously assassinated by the Indians in other places, from which indifference resulted, ten years later, a serious break between Governor Rosas and the priests—a break which ended first in the assassination of Rosas, and culminated in the general uprising of the Indians in 1680, causing the exit of the Spaniards, as will be shown in the next chapter.

Death of Governor Luis Rosas.

Criminations and recriminations between the Governor and the priests were the order of the day in detriment of the Spanish and Indian settlements. The governor accused the fathers of having constituted themselves as ecclesiastical judges, arrogating to themselves extraordinary powers; of being themselves the cause of the general discontent among the Indians, and of being the initiators of the sedition that was being generally diffused. From so perilous a situation the result was the tragic death of Governor Rosas in 1642. We call it a tragic death because it was such, in fact, but it is known that the crime was not consummated through motives directly or indirectly related with the difficulties between the priests and Rosas, but rather on account of the immoral conduct of Rosas,* which the priests held up to the light in Mexico, when they were charged with being the promoters of the troubles and unrest in New Mexico. The author believes it improper because the event was of a private character and highly scandalous, to give it in detail and that it will be best for history not to have its pages stained by consigning in them incidents of such a nature.

Administration of Peñaloza.

The successors of Governor Luis Rosas were Valdez, Heredia Argüello, (re-appointed as we have said before) Ugarte, Concha, Samaniego, Pacheco and Mendizábal, all of them having governed alternately, from 1642 to 1660, to the end of the year and date on which Peñaloza assumed the government. Concerning the events that happened between the epochs of 1640 and 1660, history tells us nothing, from which the author gathers that nothing happened of serious moment, for otherwise, the historians of those times would have recorded it in history. Let us see about Peñaloza:

That personage was sent to New Mexico as successor to Mendizábal, who had been obliged to resign the post of Governor because the father Custodio of New Mexico had proffered, and proved, serious charges against him towards the close of 1660. Peñaloza assumed the command in the

* Bancroft Ariz., & New Mex. 167.

year 1661 and acted as such until 1664, crowning his administration with a great scandal. He was an enemy of truth, hated justice and despised virtue. He was a hyprocite, a coward, a traitor, and consequently a liar, as Bancroft calls him.* During the three years and few months of his administration he did nothing to justify an impartial writer in uttering a single word to his credit. The first thing he did was to constitute himself a real dictator; he ignored the rights of the church; imposed upon the Indians unbearable punishments, collecting from them exhorbitant contributions, and obliging them to work in the mines without just compensation. The Father Custodio did not approve of the conduct of Peñaloza. He sent to Mexico specified charges against him, which resulted not only in his removal, but in being called to Mexico in 1665 where he was tried and the charges against him proved. He was sentenced to be carried about the streets of the City of Mexico with uncovered head and a burning taper in his hands. So it is narrated by the historians Robles, Alaman and Zamacois.†

Treachery of Peñaloza.

From Mexico Peñaloza started for France and England in 1671, with the intention of organizing an army to possess himself of New Mexico. He used as incentives of persuasion the legends he had composed about the Grand Quivira and its fabulous riches, for which purpose he had stolen from the Archives at Santa Fé, the copy of the notes which Oñate had made about his voyage to Quivira (ante) and by changing dates and names he had it published in French and English, himself appearing as the hero of that famous voyage.‡ He completely failed in his criminal attempts, being sunk in extreme poverty, and died as the most miserable of criminals in the year 1687, in England among the poor and helpless.

Peñaloza was succeeded by Don Fernando de Villanueva

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* Bancroft Arizona and New Mexico.

† Bancroft Arizona and New Mexico.

‡ Prince affirms in his "History of New Mexico" that Peñaloza did in effect make that voyage to Quivira; but that assertion is a historical error which Prince did not find out until long after he had published his said work. So he stated it to me.—THE AUTHOR.

who came in the year 1664. Villanueva was succeeded by Medrano, and Medrano by Miranda, the three governors covering alternately the period between the years 1664 and 1679. The events which during those fifteen years are recorded in history are nothing but revolts, mutinies, and uprisings, on a small scale but as they form part of history it is necessary to briefly relate them. Before going any further the attention of the reader is called to what we said in another part of this work respecting the error of some writers who affirm that the true uprising of 1680, occurred in 1644, numbering among them, Pino, Barriero, Fr. Frejes and others. Had not the author of this work found (in the work of Villagrá) the narration of Governor Otermin, he might, perhaps, have fallen in the same error. But that error will now be corrected, even if the mendacious voyage of Peñaloza to La Quivira has been published as a real fact.

The Mutinies and Revolts—Governor Otermin's Over Confident Father Ayeta Goes to Mexico.

About the years 1645 and 1646 forty Indians charged with murder and other crimes were tried, whipped and hanged. Serious difficulties subsequently occurred between the Spaniards and the Jemes Indians who were aided by the Apaches (as Otermin says) in which the death of a Spaniard was the result, on account of which twenty nine Indians were punished with imprisonment. Complete information concerning all that was happening in New Mexico having previously reached the King, the latter ordered the Viceroy to examine the situation with precaution, and to make a correct, strict and impartial investigation of the accusations and recriminations of all the complainants. In 1672 war broke out between the Apaches and the Zuñi Indians because of the destruction of several pueblos by the Apaches. In 1675, four Indians were punished with death, forty three others were punished publicly, and as many others placed under arrest for the murder of several priests and colonists. The situation grew daily more alarming. All the pueblos were greatly alarmed. The nomadic tribes on the other hand had threatened the annihilation of the Spaniards. In 1676 the Apaches rose in open war rushing all of a sudden upon the

Spanish settlements. The Spaniards for the lack of weapons, endured many sufferings, many of them losing their lives, and, in addition, many of the churches and small settlements were destroyed by the warlike savages. While matters were thus going from bad to worse in New Mexico, Father Francisco Ayeta, Custodio of New Mexico, had gone to Mexico in quest of succor and protection, all of which he obtained, but it was of no use because he could not return to New Mexico at the opportune moment. In 1679 * Governor Don Antonio de Otermin arrived, a little before the revolution broke out, and finding matters in such a deplorable state set in at once with energy to the task of re-establishing peace, a thing in which he was able to succeed, but only for a very short time, as will be seen.

General Uprising and Expulsion of the Spaniards—Popé Heads the Rebellion—1680.

A year after the coming of Governor Otermin the cry for a general uprising was given by the Indians, the chief being the Indian Popé, native of the Pueblo of San Juan, but residing at the Pueblo of Taos. For many years Popé and the chiefs of the other pueblos, except the Pueblo of Pecos who had declined to take part in the insurrection, had been plotting together the conspiracy which had for its object the expulsion of the Spaniards.

Concerning the infernal machinations of Popé and the other conspirators, Otermin had no direct knowledge until it was impossible to offer effectual resistance. Such was the absolute secret the Indians kept about it. The plan was formed in such a manner that, at the hour and day agreed upon, all the pueblos had to strike the blow all over the country by killing all the Spaniards, without regard to persons, sexes, and ages, including the priests and families. In spite of all that there were not wanting friendly Indians, who secretly came and informed the Spaniards of what was being plotted against them, but the Spaniards, depending on Popé's false

* Many authors say that Otermin came in 1676, but that is an error, as we have already said.—The Author.

friendship, did not believe the report. The Pecos Indians through their chief, Juan Ye, gave Otermin opportune advice, but Otermin would not believe them either. Ye himself offered Father Velasco, who was in charge of that pueblo, an escort of Indians to take him to a place beyond danger, but the good priest answered that he preferred to die like a martyr, than to abandon the souls which God had entrusted to his care. Popé exercised an almost superhuman influence on the other Indians; he had told them that he and the devil were in pact in the uprising, and that, soon after the expulsion of the Spaniards, he would organize a great empire. Popé's captains were Catiti, of Santo Domingo, Tupatú, (who afterwards became a loyal friend of De Vargas, as will be seen in another part of this work), of Picuris; Jaca (who secretly hated Popè), of Taos. The thirteenth day of August was the day fixed to commence the awful butchery. In July, notice was given to all the pueblos of what had been agreed, so that all should fall upon the incautious Spaniards at the same hour. There remained yet in Taos a friend to the Spaniards. It was the very same Jaca, governor of the pueblo.

Jaca sent a flying courier to Otermin appraising him to save his life and the lives of the other Spaniards, and advising him that at the Pueblo of Tesuque were two Indians who had gone to the provinces of Los Tanos and Queres with instructions from Popé to carry into effect the conspiracy. It was then that Otermin realized the seriousness of the situation, and, at the moment, caused the two Indians at Tesuque to be imprisoned, the said Indians confessed the whole plan. Otermin at once sent couriers to all the settlements and to all the priests of what was being plotted so they all should concentrate at Santa Fé. Popé learned that the conspiracy had been discovered and hastened the day of its execution giving orders to strike the blow on August 10th, (1680), before daybreak. So it was done, causing the death of a great number of priests and colonists, the departure of Otermin and the other Spaniards and some families, and the destruction of all that had been done and gained since the coming of Oñate.

Assault—Heroism of the Spaniards—Siege of the City—Otermin is Wounded—Departure From the City.

In addition to the confession of the two Indians of Tesuque, and, with a view that what had been told him should be confirmed, Otermin sent out a party under Captain Gómez to ascertain the truth. Gómez returned in great haste and informed the governor that, unfortunately, everything was certain, and that, from every direction, Indians were coming ready to fight. The next day Gomez's account was confirmed, with the arrival of nearly two thousand Indians, who, with their warlike demonstrations, left no room to doubt that their purpose was to kill the Spaniards. Otermin used much prudence and wonderful firmness during the interviews held, at the solicitation of the Indians, between Popé and himself, the whole affair ending with an ultimatum, which, in the form of crosses, one white and one black, the Indians sent to Otermin to choose from both, that he might thus select, either his death, or his salvation. They ordered him to keep either of the two crosses; if he kept the white one, he would be permitted to go out with his people without any damage; if he took the black one, it would be to them an indication of war. Otermin kept neither of them, but, as he saw the city was well besieged, and that, in order to get out of it, a desperate struggle was necessary, he resolved to force his way out, the next day, the 16th of August. He prearranged, the night before, everything necessary to take the dangerous step at break of day, the 16th. So it was done. At break of day, the Spaniards began their march, with their families, but as the Indians had sentries watching the movements of the Spaniards, at the first move of the latter, the cry of alarm was given, and the hordes of savages rushed immediately upon the troops and the rest of the people. Otermin had only 150 soldiers; but, despite the insignificant number, he and his handful of braves fought with an unheard of valor. The terrible and unequal contest lasted until very late, Otermin being obliged to order a retreat at sundown in order to give the troops time to recuperate, and gather the few dead and give them burial. On the side of the Indians the mortality was frightful. Otermin and the rest of the

people passed the night entrenched in the building which exists even to this day, and which is known by the pompous name of "Palacio" (the Palace). The total number of the Spaniards, including men, women and children, reached one thousand, whence it may be seen how clogged together they must have been within the building. There the Spaniards stayed, in that painful situation, for five days, courageously resisting the assaults of the maddened barbarians.

During those five days the Indians destroyed by fire the convent, the church and all the residence houses, and finally cut off the water that the Spaniards drank. Things had reached the point at which the duty was imposed upon the Spaniards to take the resolve of breaking the siege or to perish each and all. Otermin ordered Fathers Gómez, Duran and Farfán, to give the soldiers and the rest of the people their last exhortation and grant them absolution. The priests, always ready to die for their God and country, complied with the painful duty without a murmur, rather encouraging the combatants to shed their last drop of blood before surrendering. When the imposing ceremony ended, the army, was formed in battle array, composed of the one hundred soldiers that were still living, among them many wounded, with Otermin at the head, making the assault upon the Indians with such agility that after a most stubborn struggle of four hours the Spaniards were victorious leaving more than 300 hundred Indians dead upon the field of battle without any further loss on the part of the Spaniards than one dead soldier and several wounded, Governor Otermin being one of them, having received a wound on the breast. Forty Indians were made prisoners and immediately put to death. This happened on August 23rd, 1680.*

Encouraged by such a brilliant victory the Spaniards determined the same day (August 23) to undertake their departure for El Paso del Norte, almost all of them going on foot and carrying on their shoulders their provisions, and the few effects they were able to carry. They arrived at El Paso on December the 20th, 1680. What the Spaniards suffered in their long journey we shall treat in the next chapter, in which the reader will be given almost textually the words of Otermin.

* See "Appendix third to Villagrá." Vol. 2.

CHAPTER III.

Uprising of the Indians and Departure of Otermin—Direction Towards Paso del Norte—What Follows was Taken From Otermin's Narrative Found Published as Appendix 3rd to Volume 2 of Villagrá, Page 11 et Seq.

1680.

On August 23 in the year 1680, as the army was stopping at the creek of San Marcos, (some 20 or 25 miles South of Santa Fé) the soldiers brought in an Indian called Antonio whom they had taken prisoner. Evidently, this Indian was a spy, at least the Spaniards thought so. Otermin swore him that he might tell under oath all he knew about the uprising, he said: "that he was caught, at a cornfield, where he attempted to hide himself, by Ambrosio Carabajal and that his having escaped from Casas Reales (Royal Palace) was due to his judging that the Spaniards were about to perish with the Lord Governor and Captain General, and in case they were not vanquished by the Indians they would take him as witness to another country, and he did not want to go out of this land; and that on that night he had not found a single person known to him among the uprisen (insurrectos), and the next day went to the villa (Santa Fé) because he had heard that the Lord Governor and all his people were coming, and having arrived at the villa he found within and without the Casas Reales (Royal Palace) a great number of Indians who were plundering Casas Reales, taking much of the property which had been left by the Spaniards, and that he also noticed and saw Indians of all nations of which quite a number were from Taos and Picuris, and that he had heard an Indian from Tesuque called Roque, who told him that he having seen a great number of Indians dead in the Plaza of the Villa, in the houses, streets and surroundings, that the said uprisen had said: "We are even with the Spaniards in the persons we have killed of them and those which the Spaniards have killed from us; it matters not that they go, for we shall live now as

we like, and will settle on this villa (town of Santa Fé) and wherever we may see fit;" and that the said Indian also told him that all the rebellious people were planning to get together in a narrow passage in the road by the Rio del Norte and near the house of Cristóbal Anaya, and rush upon the Spaniards and the Indians who had gone with them to see if they could do them up; that this witness saw in the houses of the Villa and in Casas Reales, Nicolás de la Cruz, whom they call "Yonva" who came there on horseback, and that he was in the Villa with the rest; that said affair was not finished on that day, and this witness came to the house and cornfields of his master where he was caught; that he neither knew nor saw anything more than what he has said, that it is true, according to the oath he made, which he affirmed and ratified upon this statement being read to him. He didn't know his age, nor how to sign his name. (He must be over 60 years a little more or less to judge from his appearance) "Signed by his Lordship, with the Alcalde, Juan Lucero de Godoy. The chief sergeant, Luis de Quintana. By and before me clerk of the government and of war. *Don Antonio de Otermin*, (Sig.) *Juan Lucero de Godoy*, (Sig.). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, Clerk of the Government and War."

Bodies of Murdered Fathers Found.

The next day, the 24th, the army continued its march. At Santo Domingo they found the dead bodies of Fathers Fr. Juan de Talaban, Fr. Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, and Fr. José Móntes de Oca, who had been murdered the night before. They buried them and gathering the sacerdotal vestments, continued their march, picking up the corpses of the murdered Spaniards who lived in the lower country. At all settlements where the army passed they had to stop to bury the dead bodies they found of men, women and children. Between the place called "Paraje" (near Bernalillo), an Indian joined the army from the nation Tanos (Galisteo). That Indian, also, was interrogated by Otermin, after having taken the oath, concerning the uprising. The Indian said: "That this witness was in the service of Captain José Nieto, because he was born and raised at his (Nieto's) house and that a few days before he had heard that two Tegua Indians,

natives of the pueblo of Tesuque, had arrived at the pueblo of San Cristóbal, sent out there by the Tegua Indians, telling them to rise up, that all the other pueblos were already agreed upon that, and that at this time the order was divulged among the captains of the Teguas, and also that on that night advice was sent by the Indians of San Cristóbal to those of San Lorenzo to inform them of the uprising; that Father Custodio advised the master of this witness and the other Spaniards who gathered together at said pueblo of ....., and that while this witness was hoeing a corn field the next day at the farm of his master, which is about a league from the pueblo of Galisteo, he saw coming towards the place where this witness was, an Indian called Bartolomé, head singer of the pueblo of Galisteo, who arrived there crying and told him: "What are you doing here? For the Indians want to kill the Custodio, and the padres, and the Spaniards, and have said that the Indian who shall kill a Spaniard will have an Indian woman for a wife; and whoever shall kill four shall have four wives, and he who shall kill ten or more shall have as many women; and they have said that they have to kill all the servants of the Spaniards and all who speak the Castilian; and they have also commanded to take away from all of them their rosaries and to burn them; begone, begone, for perhaps you will have the luck to arrive where the Spaniards are and you might escape with your wife and the orphan you have." And being asked for what reason they had caused the uprising, he said: "That the said singer told him that because they were exhausted by the work they had to do for the Spaniards and the religious, and because they did not let them plant nor do other things they were in need of, and because they ill treated them they had insurrected; that afterwards he had learned from another companion that in the pueblo of Galisteo the Father Custodio, Fr. Domingo de Vera, had been murdered, and that at the camp, in sight of the pueblo, the Fathers Fr. Fernando de Velasco and Fr. Manuel Tinoco, minister guardian of Pecos and San Marcos, had also been killed; and that he saw that the said Indians took possession of the stock and things of the convent, and that in like manner said Indians

killed Captain José Nieto, Juan de Lesba, and Nicolás Leyba, and robbed them of their belongings, killed their wives and children, reserving for themselves three of the said women; that after this the Indians from the pueblos of Tegua, Pecos and San Marcos went to fight at the Villa, and because they (the Spaniards) had killed six Tegua Indians from Galisteo, and many returned wounded, with broken arms and legs and other wounds, the Indians of the pueblo got angry and killed the said three women, called Lucia, Maria and Juana; and that in the same manner he learned how they had killed another damsel called Dorotea, a daughter of the aide de camp, Pedro de Leyva, and that the said singer had told him also that from the Teguas they had brought an order and also from the Indians of Taos, Picuris and Yutas saying that the Indian or pueblo who would not rise up in revolt would be destroyed by them, and that for this reason, and he being a Christian, he had come by the road of Santo Domingo to overtake the governor and the people that came marching with his Lordship, and at the sight of the encampment the Indians of Santo Domingo came out on horseback and took from him his wife and the Indian woman, and he escaped in order to meet the Spaniards who were coming in the rearguard, and would favor him; that what he has said is the truth of what he learned and saw according to his oath, which he affirmed and ratified, this his statement being read to him. He declared he knew not his age nor how to sign. (He must be, according to his appearance, thirty years, a little more or less). Signed by his Lordship. *I attest: Don Antonio de Otermin* (Sig.) Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, Clerk of Government and War."

Otermin went on to the pueblo of Isleta meeting with an Indian on the road (who was also made prisoner by the Spaniards): This Indian told the Spaniards that the religious of Zandia, Jemez, and Isleta and all the Spaniards of those pueblos and their surrounding had congregated at Isleta and from there set out for El Paso del Norte. Otermin detained the Indian in order to interrogate him afterwards and sent an escort to overtake those who had marched out of Isleta, according to what the Indian had said, that they might wait

for the army. At San Cristóbal the army overtook those who had left Isleta, and thence all of them together continued the march.

At the stopping place which Otermin called "Lamilla," (known today by the name of "Alamillo," in the county of Socorro,—the Author), Otermin had the Indian brought before him to be questioned, who after being sworn, declared: "That he was Don Pedro Gamboa, or Namboa, native of the Pueblo of Alameda, a widower, and his age over 80 years;" being asked why the Indians had risen in revolt refusing obedience to His Majesty, and failing in their duties as Christians, he said: "that since long ago, because the Spaniards punished the wizards and idolaters, the nations of the Teguas, Taos, Picuris, Pecos, and Jemez consulted about uprising and killing the Spaniards and religious and that, until the present time, they had been arranging the execution of the plan;" being asked what he knew, saw and heard in the meeting and consultations held by the Indians, and what had been said among them, and for what reason the Indians of the Pueblo of Zandia had burned the church, and outraged the images, he said: "That he had never been in any meeting, nor does he know any more; that what he had heard is that the Indians do not want any religious or Spaniards and that because he is so old he stayed in the corn field. That he learned from the Indians who came from the other land that they had killed the Spaniards and had stolen all their properties and plundered their houses;" and when asked if he knew anything about the Spaniards who are together at the Pueblo of Isleta, he said: "That it is true that, some days ago, they had gathered in said Pueblo of Isleta, and that the Spaniards, have been going out of the kingdom, taking along their properties, and that they (the Indians) did not fight with them (the Spaniards), because all the people had gone with the rest to fight at the Villa (Santa Fé) and to finish up the governor and captain general and his people and he declared that the feeling all the Indians have in their hearts against the Spaniards is very great, since this kingdom was discovered, because the Spaniards and the religious have been removing their idols, witcheries, and idolatries; for those ancient things have been inherited from

their old ancestors, from generation to generation and he had heard this feeling expressed since he came to the use of his reason; that what he has said is the truth and what he knows, according to the oath he has made, which he affirmed and ratified the same having been read and interpreted to him through the interpreter of Captain Montaño, who signed it with his Lordship because the Indian did not know how to write." "Before me the acting clerk *Don Antonio de Otermin.* (Sig) Before me: Francisco Xavier, clerk of Government and War."*

* See Villagrá's app. 3, pp 19-20.

CHAPTER IV.

First Voyage of De Vargas, 1692.

The reader is informed before hand that the narrative we shall give with reference to what occured between the years 1680, the year of the expulsion of Otermin, and 1692 when De Vargas made his first voyage to New Mexico, is taken, more or less textually from the narrative given and published by Don Carlos de Sigúenza y Góngora, in the year 1693, or one year after the first entry of De Vargas into New Mexico, which narrative was published in Mexico, that year, under the title of "Mercurio Volante."

Two reasons induced the author of this work to give intact, the narrative of said voyage of De Vargas to-wit: First, he considered it so correct that, to add to, or subtract from it, would be a blunder; and second, that the only way of preserving so precious an account of the most brilliant episode in the history of New Mexico for the coming generations, is to perpetuate it in history for, in our own epoch, the work referred to "el Mercurio Volante," can no longer be found, how much more difficult, then, will it be to find it some years hence? Before beginning the story of De Vargas' voyage it is indispensable that we become acquainted with what took place between the years 1680 and 1692 so as to close the gap between these two dates without breaking the thread of our history.

Otermin's Second Entry.

With the desire of returning to New Mexico to reconquer the territory, Otermin made, in 1681, a voyage with nearly 200 soldiers, coming as far as the Pueblos of Isleta and Cochiti, without obtaining anything more, according to Sigúenza, than the "imprisonment of some of the Indians who had outshone in the uprising." With that voyage Otermin's endeavors came to an end. He was succeeded by Don Domingo Gironza Petris de Cruzat, who made seventeen campaigns from El Paso del Norte to the pueblos of New Mexico "without

results, except a few insignificant victories, and the entailing of much damage to the properties of the Indians," who sought the hiding places of the sierras whenever they felt the approach or arrival of the Spaniards.

Reneros Succeeds Cruzat—Battle of Zia.

Cruzat was succeeded by Don Pedro Reneros de Posada, who, in 1687, in his last campaign "desolated the small Pueblo of Santa Ana." The next year, 1687, Cruzat succeeded Posada, and again undertook a bitter war against the rebellious Indians. Since his departure from Paso del Norte to his arrival at the Pueblo of Zia, Cruzat fought his way continually, at times with the Apaches, and at other times with the pueblo Indians, with victory always on his side. In the battle fought, August 1st, 1689, at Zia, Cruzat met most determined and stubborn resistance. He was there opposed by a great number of Indians from all the province. The battle lasted an entire day "leaving by evening no less than 600 Indians dead in the combat, and many others who were burned alive." (Sigúenza) Thence Cruzat returned to El Paso, where he learned that his successor, Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de León, would soon arrive to relieve him.

De Vargas' Celebrated Voyage—1692.

After many delays in selecting the person to whom the reconquest might be entrusted the Viceroy, the Count of Galva chose very judiciously the very famous General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de León. This General commenced immediately after his appointment, to recruit together the necessary number of people and to gather ammunitions of war and food provisions at El Paso, the place in which a re-inforcement of Spanish troops was to join him. As the troops did not arrive on the day they were expected, De Vargas did not care to wait for them any longer because autumn had now set in. Let us allow Vargas, through Sigúenza to give us his own narrative:

"Having waited until Aug. 21, 1692, for a troop of fifty Spanish auxiliaries, who according to this arrangement, had to come from the Presidios (garrisons) of Parral, in order to enroll the small number of people with which the entry was being

made, Don Diego, impatient at such delay and accompanied by only a squad of the company of El Paso and three religious, Fr. Corvero, Fr. Núñez, and Fr. Alonza, started from this place, the same day to incorporate himself with the main body of the camp which, with the baggage and live stock was already traveling under Captain Roque de Madrid, since the 16th of the month through lands of the enemy. At six o'clock of the 24th he overtook them and marching with caution and the spies which were needed in that country without coming in sight of any living thing, the camp took lodgment on the 9th of September, in a village absolutely ruined in which, 'I do not know what Mexia had at his stockranch.' This point seemed to him fit for disengaging himself of some portion of the equipage, and for making thenceforth the marches without so much hindrance; and fortifying it, with all diligence by means of stockades, Captain Rafael Tellez with 14 Spaniards and 50 Indians was ordered to remain there. At three o'clock the next day, with only 40 Spaniards and 50 Indians, all men of resolution and well armed, the General left his ranch of Mexia to strike a day break blow to the pueblo of Cochiti, distant 18 leagues from that point. At three o'clock in the morning our men found themselves at the suburbs of the pueblo, unhindered by the distance, which seemed greater on account of the roughness of the road, nor (delayed) by reason of having crossed twice the Rio del Norte which was almost unfordable. Although the grain fields that were near it (the pueblo) gave the impression that Indians were there, it was discovered after a little search that the pueblo was deserted. That the night vigil might not be fruitless, the general, inferring that the inhabitants of Cochiti might have retired to the pueblo of Santo Domingo, distant the one from the other about three leagues, he and his men, after changing horses, appeared before that pueblo a little after sunrise. What was formerly the plaza was found well fortified, and most of the dwellings completely ruined without any indication of having had recent dwellers. It had not been known that from the time when governor Don Domingo Jironza destroyed Zia and caused a great deal more damage when he routed the ten nations, the

inhabitants of these pueblos had withdrawn to the mountain ridges or the general would have passed along without arriving at them."

Precipitate March of De Vargas to Santa Fé—Singular and Unexpected Success in its Surrender—September 14, 1692.

The narrative follows:

"The distance from here (Santo Domingo) to the Villa of Santa Fé, capital of all this kingdom, is only ten leagues; the presumption that the rebels were there well fortified was sufficient for not investing, or even coming in sight of it late in the day, the valiant general, not unnerved by the very insignificant number of persons he had with him, and undaunted by the possibility of getting succors, determined to fall upon it by daybreak. He proposed this decision to his men who applauded it; and, as in order to succeed in resolutions of that character, there are no better means than to put them into execution at the very instant they are conceived, he set out thence at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the eleventh. He found the road almost blotted out through abandonment, and after traveling only three leagues, necessity obliged him to camp for the night at the foot of a sierra. They traveled three leagues the next day, and they halted at Cieneguilla, a dilapidated pueblo, and despatching some Spanish scouts, and some friendly Indians to watch the hillocks, in the direction of the villa, it was not possible to see nor to capture any of the rebels although fresh tracks of their horses were found.

"At sundown, after a short but Christian exhortation to his troops the general mounted his horse, and the army marched in silence and with vigilance until eleven o'clock when the thickness of the woods and the darkness of the night prevented any further progress. At two in the morning the march was resumed and by the shelter of a deserted farmhouse, where they had stopped, Fr. Francisco Corvera, absolved all those in the camp, and offered to God and his most holy mother a devout prayer, and the orders of what was to be done being intimated by the general, we took the road to the Villa (Santa Fé) which was now near.

Santa Fé is Reached.

"It must have been four o'clock in the morning of the 13th of September when they came in sight of the villa and at this hour they, the Indians, doubtless had sentries for they had already sounded the alarm. The whole place was found walled and with intrenchments, and especially the place used by them as a fortress, *which was the ancient palace of the governors;* and raising a frightful yell in order to give themselves courage the wall was crowned, on every part with an infinite multitude of Indians. While they were employed in this, and in bringing thick beams and logs and large stones to prevent our men from getting near to them, the water was cut off to them, which was carried in through a ditch. Having accomplished this, which was no small thing, a trumpeteer was sent to assure them of pardon and to offer them great conveniences if they would give themselves up; they all answered in one voice; and with derisions repeatedly thanked the Spaniards for coming into their houses, like madmen, saying without much trouble, we would all perish, therein.

"By this time divers troops of Indians were noticed over the mountain ridge some on horseback, and others on foot, but all armed, who, had not come from the neighboring pueblos on business, but to the aid of the Villa which shows that they had had notice of its being in danger. Some of our squads went to oppose them, and without any remarkable outbreak some of them were made prisoners, and among the prisoners (notable luck) was their Governor whose name was Domingo. When brought before the General, the latter, by means of caresses and good reasoning, captured his good will, so that he (Domingo) entered the Villa, and assured his people that it was not the purpose of the Spaniards to punish them, but only to bring them back to the fold of the Catholic Church, from which their apostacy held them apart, and also to the obedience, which through their uprising, they had denied to the crown of Spain.

"They gave him no answer, except that they would all die first, rather than do such a thing, and that, since he, forgetful of what he owed to his country, had already made friends with the Spaniards, their enemies, he should go to them and die

with them. He returned to us very much disgusted with such an answer; and, hereupon, we consumed the day in setting in position a battery of two small pieces of artillery, and in again sending them warnings that they might avoid death, and the plunder of the Villa. But, God softening their obstinate hearts, they suddenly proposed, fear-stricken at the determined resolve of our men, that if we withdrew our artillery and the armed men, they would come forward to treat with the General on what would be useful to them.

"They were answered that in as much as they were besieged and deprived of water, their demand was not proper, and especially when our movement had not been undertaken simply as a threat; and to trust to the benignity with which pardon was promised to them, and that, if they came foward without arms to give obedience, as they should, whatever they should ask would be granted to them without reluctance. A great portion of the evening was spent in such demands, and finally one of them came out. As those who were on the wall beheld the tenderness and love with which the General received him, they began to imitate him in increased numbers, and all were equally ingratiated; the same treatment was extended to those who were doing duty as sentries in the thickets and hills, these also came to offer themselves in surrender and all disarmed.

"It was then about six o'clock in the evening, and, although it did not appear reasonable to raise the siege, it was thought less inconvenient to do so, and select a near by spot in which to establish quarters for our security on that night, than disperse in different places the scanty force that we had; and telling the Indians that this was done, in their behalf, it was executed as said, but with sentries and night patrols on every side.

"The next day dawned, being the 14th on which the Catholic church celebrates the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, and having come out of the Villa, a good throng of the principal Indians, with demonstrations of peace, greeted the General, and the Religious and those who were there, with courteous words; and as they added that he (the General) could enter into it (the Villa) when he pleased, it did not seem convenient to the General to delay long in doing that. He

arrived at the gate that is on the wall (which is a single one) and found it fastened on all sides with iron bars followed by a gangway with various loopholes which looked like a fort or halfmoon for greater defense.

De Vargas Takes Peaceful Possession of Santa Fé.

"They proposed here tenaciously and with obstinacy, but also obsequiously and submissively, that, in order that their people might not become restless, the General and the Rev. Father President with six soldiers, and without hand guns should enter. "That is nothing," said the intrepid General. "Who will not risk himself in order to obtain with perpetual glory an illustrious name?" And calling upon the most Holy Mary with devout efficacy he stepped forward. He arrived with the Father President and the six soldiers to a great square where the Indians had just planted a beautiful cross. When the noise of the great crowd that was there had subsided, he proposed to them, in the Castilian language which many of them understood well, that: Our Monarch and Lord Charles II, their legitimate King, having forgotten the apostacy with which they had renounced the Catholic religion; the sacrilege whereby they had deprived the Religious of their lives; desecrated the temples, broken the images and contaminated the sacred vessels; of the cowardice with which they had knifed the Spaniards without sparing the women and tender children; of the barbarity with which they had burned the farms of the latter and ruined the pueblos; of the consequences that had followed from such abominations; he (His Majesty) had sent him with full authority, to pardon them without any other condition than their return to the fold of the Holy Church which would receive them as a pious mother if they solicited pardon with penance and tears and with the understanding that they should swear obedience to his Catholic Majesty as their legitimate King.

"With pleasure they conceded both demands, the General then commanded the Royal Ensign, who was at his side, to unfurl his standard. The General then said in ringing and intelligible tones: "The Villa of Santa Fé, Capital of the Kingdom of New Mexico, I now take possession of, and with

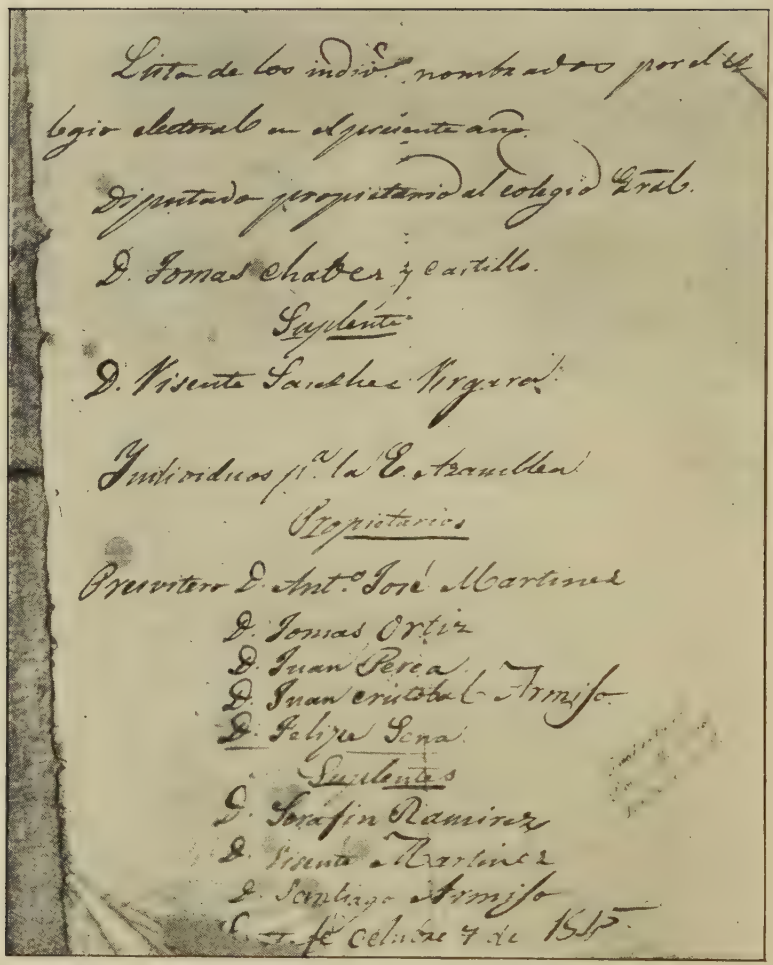
her, her provinces and all the pueblos, for the Catholic Majesty of the King, Our Lord Charles II, long live him for the protection of all his vassals and of his dominions many long years." "Long live, long live, long live, that we may all serve him, as we ought," the rest answered and prostrating themselves before the Holy Cross, and the Father President sang the Te Deum Laudamus.

"From this moment they threw open the gate of the Villa without any mistrust, and constructed a tent of branches of trees in the plaza for the ceremony of their absolution from their apostacy, as well as to give them mass, and to baptise their little ones; and after listening to the elegant sermon full of fervor preached by the religious Chaplain, they obtained the absolution and the baptism of their little children with manifest jubilee; and they attended mass not only without restlessness, but with devotion, and the same happened the next day, the 17th of the month, when another mass was said."

Indian Chief Tupatú Meets Vargas.

"While this was happening in the Villa of Santa Fé there was at the pueblo of San Juan which is not very far from here, Don Luis Tupatú, an Indian of mature age, whose qualities and valor, after the death of Alonzo Catiti and of Popé, gained for him the government of the whole kingdom, without any opposition from anyone. Whether it was the fear, which took general hold of them all, or any other motive, that held him quiet, I am not able to say, because I am ignorant of it; but by reflecting upon what he subsequently spoke, I am persuaded that he was guided by prudence.

"With the presumption that he had not come to Santa Fé, for fear that his life might be taken away, the General sent him as passport and assurance one rosary of his; Don Luis' answer to the embassy was courteous assuring them that he had heard with complacency of the arrival of the Spaniards, that his having not gone out to welcome his lordship immediately, was not due to malevolence or timidity, but rather to follow the custom of being treated as was due his position, and that his committee permitting him, and if the neighbors at the Villa did not fail in the respect due him at the time of


Lista de los indivs. nombrados por el Colegio electoral en el presente año.

Diputado propietario del colegio Gral.

D. Tomas Chaves y Castillo.

Suplente

D. Vicente Sanchez Vergara.

Individuos p.a la Asamblea

Propietarios

Provisor D. Amt.o José Martinez

D. Tomas Ortiz

D. Juan Pena

D. Juan Cristobal Armijo

D. Felipe Sena

Suplentes

D. Serafin Ramirez

D. Vicente Martinez

D. Santiago Armijo

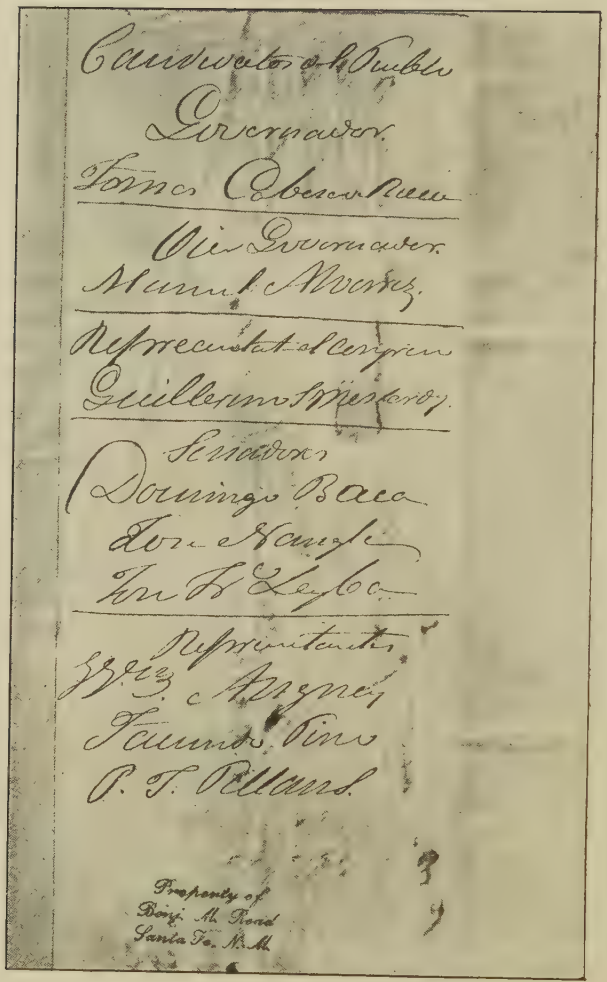
Sta. Fé Octubre 7 de 1845.

The above is a list of officials elected by the electoral college in Santa Fé on the 7th of October, 1845. The first two names are the ones elected as the regular diputado (delegate) and his proxy. The five names following are of those elected as the regular members of the Departmental Assembly and the last three were elected as proxies. The original is in the possession of the Author of this work.

visiting them, he would come to the presence of the General to obey his orders and to help him with a firm friendship in whatever he might employ him.

"With the assurance that the General would be pleased to have him come when it should be his pleasure, he came the next day, the neighbors of the Villa having gone out to receive him after the usage of war, Don Luis arrived accompanied by 200 Indian soldiers well prepared. He came mounted on a fine horse, had a fire-lock, powder and ammunition, and on the forehead a nacarine shell like a crown and was dressed after the Spanish fashion, but with deer skins. At a distance of seventy steps from the General's tent he halted, and the guard of 200 Indians formed into a square, and after dismounting he stepped forward with gravity, and making three bows, he bent the knee to Don Diego, who was outside, and kissed his hand. Don Diego returned all this with an embrace, and this first visit was confined to the customary salutations, Don Luis showing in his countenance his pleasure. After having presented the General gifts of marine wolf skins, *daitas* and buffalo robes, and receiving (in return) a reward of a fine horse, which he accepted appreciatively, he took leave to return the next day.

"So he did, and, without bringing to mind past occurrences, they discussed together the present condition of the Kingdom. It was there learned not only about the hostilities carried on by the Apaches, ever since the Spaniards had gone, against all in general, but also of the refusal of the nations of Pecos, Queres, Taos, and Jémes to obey him, and that wishing to chastise their unfaithfulness he was inclined to think that the Spaniards should go with him to those pueblos. He was answered that not only those but all the pueblos would be visited; with the understanding that, if in any part they (the inhabitants) did not act as those in la Villa, the obstinate would be proceeded against, with fire and blood that to those who had been faithful to Don Luis up to that time every attention would be shown, and that if they became submissive, as they should, to what he should order them, he would take them along with himself. On giving (Don Luis) assurance of the confidence in which he (the General,) might rest concerning his proceedings, the General



State ballot of 1851.

replied that if they did not yield he would kill them all, and that he might be convinced how, independently of alien aid, he desired to reduce the whole kingdom to what was just, he would go ahead with only the Spaniards and friendly Indians that accompanied him.

"To such resolution Don Luis answered without emotion, but with mildness; and asked the General for 6 days time to provision and prepare his men, for the purpose of accompanying him with his leave and pleasure, on the journeys, he was to make. He came with three hundred Indian warriors very well armed at the time he promised; and leaving at the Villa the proper orders, the General marched the camp off on the 21st of Sept. 1692, at day break. On this same day, the company of 50 Spaniards from El Parral arrived at sun down, and the next day they reached Galisteo where they joined the main body, and both, with the followers of Don Luis, came before the pueblo of Pecos by sunrise on the 23rd of September.

"There dwelt in this pueblo from what we judged by the number of its dwelling houses, about two thousand families; but they had already abandoned it. This, notwithstanding, and the Indian auxiliaries being aware of their whereabouts, some of our Indians with a few Spaniards were sent to the neighboring sierra, their hiding place, which is very rough. Quite a quantity of skins and other objects were found in the pueblo, and some of the Indians found near by were made prisoners without any resistance from them. The General treated them all with great kindness, and, hanging a rosary by the neck of one of them, he sent him speedily to call the fugitives, assuring them that, if they came down unarmed, they would obtain pardon for all they had done; but neither this one, nor three others who were sent afterwards on the same errand ever returned, and, if any of them returned, it was but to say that he could not find his comrades where he had left them. The camp stayed five days at that place, and from there the campaign was carried through the province without a single death on either side and with thirty-six Indians captured.

"It being apparent to the General that the time was being spent there without any benefit, and having received import-

ant news from the Captain of the Tegua Indians, who came to offer his services, (the news) was to the effect that the Pecos Indians were going to place themselves under the protection of the Apaches as they, themselves, had told it to him, setting the prisoners at liberty and exhorting them to persuade their comrades to give themselves up, the General, on the 27th of September, returned to the villa, where the Indians received him amid feastings and rejoicings. Here he remained until the next Monday, the twenty-ninth, without noticing or suspecting any untoward movement in its inhabitants.

De Vargas Prosecutes his Voyage of Peaceful Conquests Northward—Surrender of all the Pueblos North of Santa Fé.

"With a larger body of Spanish and Indian troops, and with more efficient military apparatus than what we had before, the General now started in a northerly direction and entered the pueblo of Tesuque the same day. On the 30th, he was at the pueblos of Cuyamungué, Nambé and Jacona, the 1st of October, at Pojoaque and San Ildefonzo; on the second, at Santa Clara and San Juan; on the fourth, at San Lázaro and San Cristóval; from there we went to Picuris, and in all of them Don Luis Tupatú, commanded the Indians to give the Governor, the religious and all the camp solemn receptions. All who lived in the pueblos came out of them, all with crosses, and along the roads the most curious arches of cypresses and flowers were to be seen. These apostates reconciled themselves with the church, asked for baptism for their children with great anxiety, and their requests were granted after which we took new possession of them all, for and in the name of the Catholic Majesty, our Monarch and Lord, Charles II; all this was done amid great and general rejoicing and festive dances.

"It snowed on this night, and the storm continued the next day; the General mistrusted that the road which is dangerous might be closed, (by the snow) and be prevented from attacking those of Taos, set out on the sixth, at eleven o'clock, to shorten the journey by half a day in order to insure the day break attack; but his efforts, much to his regret, were frustrated, for on reaching the pueblo at four in

the morning of the seventh, there was not, at that hour, a single person at the pueblo. By tracks that could be traced on the snow the friendly Indians conjectured as to where they might be, and marching toward the mountain range that was near by, an Indian was noticed who issued out of it; the General stepped ahead to receive him, and, having embraced him, caused him to be asked the reason which had moved his comrades to retire to the mountain; and from him it was learned that the fear they entertained for him (the General) had been the cause.

"He caused a rosary to be placed on his neck, and assuring him that he had come only to pardon them and to lead them back to their obligations as Christians, which they had denied in the uprising, he made him return, with this embassy, to the mountain range. The Indian ran with much speed, and, in a little while, another came (quite fluent in the Castilian language) with whom the same acts were performed, and, by persuasions, doubtless, of these emissaries, the fugitives, came back in troops. This they did until the next day; then all being gathered together in the square of their pueblo, the same was done unto them as in other places, and were left in their home grateful and glad.

The Jemes, Queres, Pecos and Apache Indians Prepare their Uprising —De Vargas Receives the News and Returns to Santa Fé—He Undertakes a Campaign Against the Rebels and Subdues Them Without Bloodshed.

"In proof of the truth of their reduction, and as an evident confirmation of their friendship, these Taos Indians sent immediately to the General, the news that the Jemes, Queres and Pecos, with the help of the Apaches and that of the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, were ready to attack him in ambushes on his departure from the kingdom. This news obliged him to withdraw to the Villa, both to inform the Most Excellent Lord, the Count of Galve, and viceroy of New Spain of what had happened until then, as well as to rehabilitate himself with people and provisions in order to go ahead, confident that his success would be insured only by the diligence and promptness of his determinations.

"Having prepared, as best he could, what he judged necessary, he set out from the Villa on October 17th. He was accompanied not only by Don Luis Tupatú, but by Don Lorenzo, brother of Tupatú and a good corps of brave Indian warriors, and coming in sight of the Pueblo of Pecos on the same day the surrender of the inhabitants was obtained without any resistance. This was brought about by the thirty-six prisoners who had been given full liberty, who told the others how kindly they had been treated, being well satisfied of the truth, which they all praised, and relying on the promises of the General, they came back to the church with the knowledge of their errors and gave obedience with humility to whom they owed it, consenting to be baptized, those who had not been.

"With the Jemes we did not succeed so easily, because, persisting in their obstinacy and perfidy, they, not only had with them and in their own quarters many Apaches, but they had solicited aid from Captain Malacate of the Queres; and, although the later prudently dissuaded them from such a purpose, they yet persisted in their evil intention, and in order to succeed they came out of their pueblo, all armed, to fight our men. Their infantry extended along the ridges of the hill, and both this as well as some of their cavalry troops that were approaching, scattered dust upon the eyes of those of us who marched impatiently, as not being able to avenge such contempt. The reason of this toleration which seems excessive was the fact that the general placed the death penalty on any one who should transgress orders in anything to the injury of the rebels, even if they should, for that matter, offer the most grave motives.

"There is no doubt that, on account of this, and on account of so many prudent measures he (the general) took in his entry, he justly deserved an eulogy. He dissembled the shameless tactics of the rebels because he recognized the fact that they did it to force him to an open rupture with them, and as it seemed best to him to show them magnanimity and serenity amid so many dangers, that they might hold him as invincible, he obtained, with the admiration and fright of the barbarous rebels what he had in his mind. Such was the fear that captured their hearts, by means of the contempt

with which he, the General, looked upon them, that, while they declared that they feasted the Spaniards with the dust they cast on their eyes, they, however, admitted them into their pueblo, and, to all appearances, without any displeasure, and, to effect their surrender, the very same things were done there as at the other pueblos. He went from here to the nation of the Queres and without meeting any opposition, divers pueblos went back to the Catholic church and to the royal crown.

"The time employed in this expedition reached to October the 29th, when he (the General) arrived at the pueblo of Mexia where he had left Captain Rafael Tellez in charge of the baggage. The reason that compelled the general to make this digression was to rid himself of 76 Indians he had freed from captivity, and to disband the war Indians that had accompanied him from the beginning; for, with those of Don Luis Tupatú, who proved themselves most loyal, he had an over surplus of people. To all these, and to all the Spaniards who were there, and desired to return, he added a squad of eight soldiers, and, recommending to them part of the beasts of burden and transportation vehicles, he sent to El Paso.

"He had before summoned a council of war of all the corporals to determine with them whether the campaign should be prosecuted until it was concluded, or, if what had been done, was sufficient until the next year. They all inclined to the latter expedient, both because the horses were quite worn out, and because also of the bitter colds and snows which were now setting in, and to which was added the dryness of the land which they had yet to tread, together with the fact that those who occupied it, were the most obstinate among all the apostate rebels. Don Diego assured them that they were right; and, notwithstanding the unanimity of the votes, he performed the contrary. He based himself first, on the patronage which he had so manifestly experienced from the Most Holy Virgin, in whose name and under whose protection, he had undertaken this campaign; secondly, on the good luck with which he had obtained until then, without any remarkable danger, what seemed impossible; and thirdly, on the horror which his name inspired on account of his daring and violent resolutions, even among the stubborn.

After the Reduction of the Pueblos Above Noted De Vargas Continues His Voyage to Acoma, Zuñi and Moqui and Other Pueblos of the West With Similar Results—The Narrative Follows:

"Relying upon these hopes, and accompanied by 89 Spanish soldiers and by the troops of the Indian auxiliaries commanded by Don Luis, he left this place on the 30th of October and by the 3rd of November, he found himself at the foot of the inexpugnable "Peñol" of Acoma; the confidence in the Peñol's inaccessibility imparted boldness to the Queres who dwelt on it, so as not to heed the pardon and friendship the General offered them and there was no way until next day, of succeeding in that most difficult ascent through those brushes. The first one to undertake it was the General with nine Spaniards. The Indians, frightened at such a heroic action, submitted peaceably to his obedience, and leaving them in joyful reconciliation with the church, and with sufficient proofs of a true friendship, he continued the march.

"He arrived at the "Peñol" (Big Rock), on November 11th., which was as inexpugnable as the first, where on account of the hostilities of the Apaches against the Zuñis who lived in their vicinity, having reduced five pueblos to one alone, they had retired for better security. No difficulty was met in ascending it, but rather a good deal of kindness and courtesy from the Indians who expected the General and his men outside the pueblo, and not one of those (pueblos) which till then had already been reduced to obedience, showed more politeness and attention than here, and in it alone were found samples of its primitive Christianity.

"These consisted in keeping, with some show of reverence what was found in a compartment of the house of an Indian woman. By its door (smaller than the smallest postern of a window) the General entered and found in an altar modestly adorned, where two tallow candles burned, the effigie of Christ Our Lord crucified, a canvass with the picture of St. John the Baptist, his Precursor; some sacred vessels; the chalice, some missals, all of which articles were covered with remnants of ornaments. Such a finding impressed the General and some of the corporals, who had also entered, with notable devotion and tenderness, and in giving

proof of this gratitude they gave many embraces to the Captains of those Indians; he also gave them assurance of special kindness in the future and instructed them to take care of said articles. From here he returned to Aloná, a pueblo without people, to enter into the province of Moqui and there end the journey; recognizing, beforehand how exhausted were the horses on account of the few pastures, and continued traveling, and many soldiers being devoid of strength on account of the arduous work they had done which overcame them all; making out of these, who were twenty five in number, a company with the greater part of the beasts of burden and transports, he entrusted them to Capt. Tellez. He commanded him to prepare himself for any emergency, in that place, and reserved for those who were to go with him (who were 63, counting the corporals) what seemed to him to be necessary.

"From here to the Pueblo of Aguatubi, which is the first of the province of Moqui there are forty leagues, and only three watering places in all of them; the same were traveled with untold suffering from the fifteenth to the nineteenth of November; their hardships were softened, by the General finding himself almost suddenly among 800 Moquis, all armed; and as the horses of our men were coming very slowly and almost without breath for lack of water, so much so that on this account, hardly 25 men accompanied him; it may thus be seen that this day had been of all those in the journey the one of greater peril; for the Moquis, imitating the Jemes in throwing up dust, and exceeding them in discordant noise and yells, they went as far as to take away the arms from some of our men without any resistance because the General with most righteous precept had commanded it.

"The Captain of that pueblo whose name was Miguel, traveled by the General's side and had come out as leader of his men. He told him (recognizing that he could understand Spanish) to reduce his men to what was just, and that as his coming to that province was only for peaceful purposes they should receive and behave with him, in a different manner. As they did not heed this proposal nor what Don Luis told them, to quiet them, our men at a distance of a league from the pueblo, stopped three or four times, so that

those who came behind might come up with them, and not being able to accomplish this, as we desired, we proceeded forward until we were within musket shot, or a little more, from the first houses.

Terrible Harangue of De Vargas Against the Belicose Rebels—Most Singular Coincidence of the Reprimand with a Thunder Clap and fall of a Lightning Bolt from Heaven—The Insurgents are Terrorized and Surrender Unconditionally.

"The General halted here, and, compelling those who outshone in their audacity and shamelessness to come there: 'Ah, Indians' he told them, 'Ah Dogs of the worst breed that the Sun doth warm! Think ye, that my forbearance has been the effect of fear at your multitude and arms? It is pity on you that has detained me from killing you, for at a single signal from me you would have all perished! Whom am I speaking to? Hold ye yet your arms in your hands, when you see me irritated? How is it that, being Christians, but so wicked, that, false to your baptismal promises, you profaned the church, destroyed the images, killed the Religious, and offered up yourselves in sacrifice to the devil for your greater damage; how is it that you do not cast yourselves down with humility upon that ground and adore the true mother of your God, and mine, who, in the image that ennobles this Royal Standard, come to invite you with pardon that you may go to Heaven? Kneel down, kneel down without delay, lest with the fire of my indignation I consume you all!'

"They (the Indians) were less horrified with the peal of a lightning bolt that together with these words, fell (near them) and, without knowing what to say they laid down their arms and placed their knees on the ground adoring the most Holy Mary on that image and repeatedly striking their breasts. This was followed by the whole pueblo, and entering into what they used as a plaza, whose gate could admit but one man at a time, and this by entering sideways, possession was taken of it for our King and Lord; and informing them that he would return the next day to reconcile them, accompanied by many troops of Indians, the General went out thence to a watering place that was nearby. As it

was very cold, he commanded them to haul in some wood to build a fire, but noticing they manifested a disposition to dissemble, he threatened that with their own arms and even with themselves the fire would be built; they feared that such would be the case, and, in a short while, they brought much of it, and the night was passed with the usual precaution of sentries and patrol guards.

De Vargas Becomes God-Father.

"On the morning of the next day which was the twentieth, the entry was made and the reconciliation with the church was effected as also the baptizing of the little ones. Captain Miguel asked the General to be the god-father of his grandchildren, a favor which the General granted and was highly appreciated by Captain Miguel, who thereupon again requested the General to honor him as his guest. After having feasted him and the Religious, and the military corporals as best he could he accompanied them to the headquarters at the watering place where they repaired early to pass the night.

"He, Miguel, came to him, (the General) before sunrise, and after having greeted the General kissing the hands and cassock of the Father President, he began to sob, and burst into tears. While the General endeavored to dry them and to know the cause, (of his sorrow) he answered in Castilian: Your Lordship might well have recognized the ease with which the great number of my men could have routed you, and be convinced that at a single signal of mine they would have done it. My death will now follow, because I did not allow them such pleasure which they wanted; but what I have heard, although it will not be impossible for me to remind them of what I have done for them so they may not ill-treat me, is, how shall I be able to rid myself from those of Gualpi, whose Captain called Antonio will execute upon your Lordship and myself what I failed to do?

"Appreciating this news in its just value, the General answered him with firmess and courage: Do not fear he said and come next day mounted and place yourself on my side so you may see prodigies. He did so and with only five well armed squads of Spaniards and the Indians of Don Luis Tupatú, without any baggage he set out on the 22nd

towards that pueblo, which was three leagues distant. He found Captian Antonio and many others, without any preparation of arms, on the road, and with them very many others. Their whoops and yells were horrifying, and their shamlessness reached the utmost, the authority, which Don Luis had among them, being insufficient to reduce them to quietness. And to the representation which the latter and the General made to them with mildness, they answered that they had no jurisdiction except over those who were without arms; that they (the General and Don Luis) should deal with the others who were strangers. And, although he (Antonio) with this answer only manifested his unapproving intent and double dealing, the General, without employing other weapons than those of scorn and contempt for his foul dealings continued marching without any mistrust and entered as far as the public square of the pueblo where he strengthened himself. A cross was placed there, and after convincing them with convincing reasons as to what they should do they reconciled themselves with God and swore obedience to their Lord and King.

"On baptizing his little ones Captain Antonio, also, invited the General as his co-father, (god-father of a child) and obtaining his consent, called him to dinner; and, although the confusion reigning among his (Antonio's domestics) should have dissuaded him, Captain Miguel co-operating to the same purpose, trusting to good luck, and guarding against carelessness with the utmost caution, the General accepted the invitation, and accompanied by the Religious and some corporals, entered the house. The feast consisted of broiled eggs and some water-melons; and thanking him with a pleasant countenance, he went over to the pueblo of Moxonavi not far away where both our men and the Indians did the same as in Gualpi without failing in anything. The only thing extra found in the town was three of the captains with crosses in their hands before which, in order to set them an example, the General knelt three times. The numerous concourse of people found there asked (after giving up their arms) for absolution, and their obedience being accepted, the General went on forward.

"The Pueblo of Jongopavi was reached after a brief while, and without any persons remaining in their houses, they all

went out to receive the General and all his people, with manifest gladness and courteous pleasure; what had been done in the other pueblo was briefly done there also, and as the country run over during all that day lacked water, fourteen leagues being traveled both ways, he returned to the watering place of Aguatuvi, though very late. No pueblo now remained but that of Oraibe, and as the road to reach it was extremely dry and the distance great it was thought fit not to visit it; but an embassy was sent to it to which they answered humbly; and as there was now nothing more to do in this province, taking leave of the captains of all the pueblos, that were there present, and exhorting them to obedience, which they again had promised, he left this place on the 24th to return to El Paso. *

Return of De Vargas and his Men to El Paso del Norte—November 30, 1692.

"By courier sent on the 15th by Captain Raphael Tellez from Aloná, it was learned on the 25th that he was camping there in the neighborhood of the enemy, the Apaches; the General departed immediately with thirty men, to render him assistance, and by the night of the 26th they were together. On the 28th, the post was improved by the arrival of the whole body of the camp, and contracting with a Genizaro Indian to lead them by a shorter but unpeopled road to El Paso, on the 30th of November, the General left that point on that same day, although night had already set in. An Indian courier from Caquimá arrived giving notice that the enemy, the Apaches, were coming, in pursuit of our

* The description, which the reader has just read, of De Vargas' first entry sets at rest the numberless erroneous stories told by other historians, not wilfully, of course, but simply because none of them had seen De Vargas' own reports, which are that he fought a terrific battle and taking possession of Santa Fe on the 16th of December, 1692, and that the "Rosario Chapel" commemorates the victory of De Vargas over the Pueblo Indians in 1692. The reader has read the full description of that most celebrated journey from the very lips of De Vargas, and can readily see the inaccuracy of such assertions. The battle referred to took place on the 29th of December, 1693, as will be seen further on—as to the Rosario Chapel commemorating any such event there is no authority for such an assertion.—THE AUTHOR.

camp. From there the march was made with greater care; but nevertheless, the night of the 2nd of December, the enemy struck our rear guard, and, cutting a portion of the horses, retired with them. The Pueblo of Socorro was reached after 10 days' march. On the eleventh which was the next day (all the rivers being frozen) Cenecú was reached, distant sixty leagues from El Paso, where, after having traveled, in going and returning, more than six hundred leagues, they entered with the general applause of the neighbors and without any ill luck, on the 20th of December."*

Such were the results of this wonderful campaign, in which, without the expenditure of an ounce of powder, or the unsheathing of a sword, and (what is more worthy of praise and esteem) without the cost of a cent to the Royal Exchequer, innumerable peoples were brought into the fold of the Catholic Church, and an entire kingdom was restored to the King, Don Carlos II. No Spaniard was found in the whole province, for all those who had been there, at the time of its uprising, (except those who took refuge at Isleta or lived at the Villa) had perished. Seventy-four Mestizos and Genizaros obtained their liberty, who were found living from among the many who remained in captivity, and two thousand, two hundred and fourteen little ones were baptized to them. This fact is worthy of being known by all through this "Mercurio," says Sigúenza, so that if the Governor and Captain General, Don Diego de Vargas Zapata y Lujan Ponce de León, in need be of maintaining constantly what he achieved with his resolution, by reason of the eulogies which will be heaped on him on that account, he may undertake henceforth even greater things.† With this most important narrative this chapter closes. In the next we shall give the history of the second entry of De Vargas (from De Vargas' own diary) and of the other events which occurred between the years 1693 and 1704.

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* The foregoing report of De Vargas' first entry was translated almost literally to preserve its originality.--AUTHOR.

†App. 4th, Villagrá p. 5.

CHAPTER V.

Second Entry of De Vargas—First Taking of Santa Fé—The Faithful Juan Yé Discovers the Conspiracy—Terrible Struggle—Final Taking of the Villa—The Faithful Pecos Indians—Fr. Farfán Asks for Help—The Distribution and Cultivation of the Lands is Commenced—New Uprisings—Surrender of the Apaches—Letter to Father Farfán—The Hostile Encounters Follow—Diplomacy of De Vargas Towards the Rebels—Arrival of Fr. Farfán and His Colonists—Campaign Against the Teguas—Founding of Santa Cruz de la Cañada—Another Uprising—Death of Seven Priests and Twenty Soldiers—New Governor—Charges Against De Vargas.

1693-1704.

The first thing that De Vargas did after his arrival at El Paso was to send to the Viceroy a full account (the one read by the reader in the foregoing chapter) of the voyage, giving details of his success, as happy as it was unexpected in the pacification and reconquest of New Mexico and asking permission to repeople the province. The account of De Vargas was well received by the Viceroy and his advisors. The Viceroy immediately gave orders for the enlistment of all the families who desired to come to New Mexico, sixty-six and a half families presenting themselves in a short time who believed they could find better luck by venturing to live in unknown lands and inhabited by warlike Indians. The persons composing the aggregate of said families reached the number of 235. As the Viceroy was desirous of hastening the second entry, he wrote De Vargas a letter dated the 4th day of September, 1693, telling him that, in a very short time, the families with provisions and other necessaries for the establishment of colonies, would arrive at El Paso. De Vargas in the meanwhile had not lost his time, having gathered, through the agency of his captains, twenty-seven

families at Zacatecas, Sombrerte, Fresnillo, and other points.*

When De Vargas read the Viceroy's letter he made its contents known by means of a proclamation dated the 20th of September 1693, ordering his soldiers and people to make, without delay, the preparations to undertake the journey. The stir caused by the proclamation resulted in the enlistment of 100 soldiers and 70 families making the number, *in toto*, of 800 individuals in troops, men, colonists, priests, women and children. Among the colonists came artificers and mechanics of all trades and well provided with livestock, implements and tools for the work in the shops, the cultivation of lands, and labor in the mines, but with few food provisions. On the 12th day of October, 1693, De Vargas reviewed his army and colonists, and finding everything in perfect condition, gave the order to march the next day without waiting for the re-enforcements of troops sent him by the Viceroy, as we have said.

The Journey as Undertaken.

At sunrise, October 13, 1693, an order having been left by De Vargas for the advance of those that were coming from Mexico, the great caravan set out on its march with its distinguished General at its head. De Vargas was accompanied by seventeen Franciscan priests whose names were: Fr. Salvador de San Antonio, Custiodio, (Superior); Fr. Juan de Zavaleta, Fr. Francisco Jesús Maria, Fr. Juan de Alpuente, Fr. Juan Muños de Castro, Fr. Juan Diaz, Fr. Antonio Carbonela, Fr. Francisco Corvera, Fr. Gerónimo Prieto, Fr. Juan Antonio del Corral, Fr. Antonio Vohomondo, Fr. Antonio Obregón, Fr. José Maria, Fr. Buenaventura Contreras, Fr. José Narváez, Fr. Valverde, and Fr. Diego Zeinos.

The scarcity of provisions was felt at the seventeenth journey; the caravan being unable to travel much every day, the distance covered between the 13th day of October and the 4th day of November, was not what it should have been. Hunger and fatigue were now causing havoc among

*Diary of De Vargas now in the archives at Washington, D. C., of which the author has a copy.

NOTE—The foregoing report of De Vargas' first entry was translated almost literally to preserve its originality.—AUTHOR.

the colonists, especially among the children and the women, thirty of them had already perished between those two dates. The slow marches, and the inconveniences which the Spaniards had, of necessity to experience, on account of the people coming in three great divisions were the principal causes of the deaths and sufferings. To remedy the sad state of things among his people, De Vargas decided, when he had reached the vicinity of Socorro, to march on the vanguard accompanied only by his troops and officers at a quick step, with the object of obtaining provisions for the colonists and their families, ordering the colonists before leaving them, to hasten their steps as much as possible, until they arrived at the pueblo of Santo Domingo where he would wait for them. He then pushed ahead on the 4th of November, reaching in a few days the Provinces of Tutuhaco (Isleta), Tiguex, Jemes, and Tanos, having been well received in all the pueblos, except at the Pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and Jemes, where it was hinted to him, that supported by the Tanos and the Teguas (of Pojoaque and Nambe etc.,) they were prepared to fight with the Spaniards.

De Vargas was able to collect a sufficient quantity of corn from the friendly pueblos of San Felipe, Cia, Santa Ana and Pecos, which he at once sent to the colonists. The friendly pueblos, San Felipe, Cia, Santa Ana, and Pecos, contributed not only with food provisions, but each pueblo offered its contingent of warriors to help De Vargas subdue the rebels. A re-enforcement of 200 men had already overtaken the colonists, so that when the succors, which De Vargas sent them, reached there, they were already traveling with ease. They arrived at Santo Domingo at the beginning of December 1693; here De Vargas was waiting for them. From Santo Domingo he set out for Santa Fé on the 15th of December, reaching said Villa the day following, without meeting any resistance whatsoever.

First Taking of Santa Fé—December 16-1693.

On the 16th of December, De Vargas entered the Villa carrying along with him, the Father Custodio, and a few soldiers and the banner or standard which he had used before. In the center of the Plaza he had the Tanos Indians assembled,

the said Indians, being in possession as lords of the Villa, and, after making them plant a cross, formal possession was again taken of the province with religious ceremonies. The description of that solemn act is given to us by DeVargas in these words:

"December 16th, 1693"—"Entry Into This Town of Santa Fé, by Said Governor and Captain General.

"On the 16th day of the month of December, date and year above, I, the said Governor and Captain General, about the eleventh hour of said day, made my entry into this town of Santa Fé, and coming in sight of the walled village where the Teguas and Tanos reside, with the squadron on the march and in company of the very illustrious corporation of this the said town and kingdom, its sheriff, color-bearing alderman, the captain, Don Bernardino Duran de Chavez, carrying the standard referred to in these acts and under which this land was conquered, we arrived at the square where we found the said natives congregated, the women apart from the men, all unarmed and abstaining from any hostile demonstration, but instead behaving themselves with great composure, and on proffering to them our greeting, saying "Praise to Him," several times, they answered "forever;" and seeing the approach on foot of the very reverend Father Custodian, Friar Salvador de San Antonio and in his train the fifteen monks, priests and reverend father missionaires and the lay brothers of our Father, St. Francis, chanting on their march divers psalms, I got down from my horse and my example was followed by the said corporation, corporals and officers of war and by the ensign of the royal standard in company with the said high sheriff and color-bearing alderman, all having gone out with the purpose of receiving the said reverend Fathers, who, in union with their reverend Father Custodian, came singing in processional order, and then I made due obeisance as I was passing on my way to the entrance of said village and town and the same thing was done by my followers, and in the middle of the square a cross had been raised, where all present knelt down and sang divers psalms and prayers including the Te Deum, and in conclusion the Litany of Our Lady, and the said very reverend Father Cus-

todian, attuning his voice, sang with such joy and fervor that almost everyone without exception was deeply moved by the happiness of hearing in such place the praises of our Lord God and his Most Holy Mother. And after he had sung the hymn three times, I offered my congratulations to said very reverend Father and the rest, telling them that notwithstanding that last year at the time of my happy conquest I had given possession to the very reverend Father, President Friar Francisco Corvero, who was one of the Fathers who came at the time as chaplains to said army, which said reverend Father President had witnessed and accepted, and in this manner and in the name of this order and in favor of his sacred religion would do it again and would grant it to him anew with great pleasure, considering the great resignation with which all, together with their very reverend Father, do so heartily and freely agree to employ themselves in the administration of the holy sacraments in this said newly conquered kingdom; to which the said reverend Father answered, tendering his thanks for himself and all his Order, and that by the use of said grant, invested and given by me, the said Governor and Captain General, they had enough for the maintenance of their rights, much more than when they entered immediately in the administration of the missions above mentioned; and then I spoke to said corporation and told them I restored to them the possession of their town, and that likewise they ought and should give me, the said Governor and Captain General, testimonials of having taken the same, entering again therein, and of the pacification of said Indians and their submission to the Divine and Humane Majesty; in the same manner, to the said natives in the plaza of said village, I told and repeated what our Lord the King had sent me as to the news I gave his Royal Majesty of their surrender last year, with orders that that this kingdom should be repeopled; that with the information I had given of my having pardoned them and of their obedience which was the cause of said pardon, all his displeasure had vanished and he would call them again his children, and for that reason he had sent many priests in order that they might be Christians as they were, and that likewise he sent me with the soldiers they saw, for the purpose

of defending them against their enemies; that I came not to ask anything of them, but only for two things: That they should be Christians as they ought, hearing mass and saying their prayers, and their sons and women attending to the catechism as the Spaniards did; and the second was that they might be safe from the Apaches and friendly with all and that this was my sole object in coming and not to ask or take away anything; and the said very reverend Custodian assured them of my good heart and the good intentions which animated the Spaniards, which were not as they had supposed; that is that I, the said Governor and Captain General, had come to kill them as they said, he would not have come, and so they should give no credit to anything but what I and their reverend Father told them; besides I ordered them that if they had among them any bad and malicious Indian they should tie him up and bring him to me to ascertain the truth about what he said, and in case of falsehood I would order his instant execution, and that in this way we could live as brothers and be very happy, and after this talk we went away again, leaving them their village, to seek a more protected site, the soil being covered with snow, and only about mid-day I found in the outflows and slopes a table land and mountain susceptible of some repair, and therein I, the said Governor and Captain General, established my camp, despising the dwelling place, a tower house, which had been repaired for my occupation, having in the same a fire place, which a resident told me belonged to said house and as such to himself; to which I replied he might repair to the same, and in testimony whereof, regarding said entry, I signed my name in company with the very illustrious corporation and war officers, likewise the two secretaries who were present therein in said town. Dated *ut supra.*"

"Seal DIEGO DE VARGAS ZAPATA LUJAN PONCE DE LEÓN.

"Lorenzo de Madrid—Fernando de Chavez—J. de Leyba—Lazaro de Mezquia—Roque Madrid—Joseph Miera—Xavier de Ortega. Secretary of the Town Corporation,

"JUAN DE ALMASAN.

"Before me: ANTONIO DE VALVERDE,

"Secretary of Governor and of War."

"I attest the above: Antonio Rael de Aguilar, one of the Secretaries of Government and War of the Governor and Captain General."

Faithful Juan Yé Discovers The Conspiracy.

For several days the Spaniards remained encamped in the place indicated, but De Vargas did not cease to make recognizances in all directions for two reasons: (1) To find out if there was in all the pueblos sufficient corn for the subsistence of the Indians and the Spaniards; and (2) to sound the Indians in the matter of again rendering obedience to him. While De Vargas was thus maturing plans that would lead to a prompt, pacific, and permanent conquest of the Tanos Indians, the Picuris and Teguas were plotting clandestinely another uprising. De Vargas daily visited the Villa, but did not notice anything to indicate rebellion on the part of the Tanos. In one of those visits it became necessary to inspect the chapel of San Miguel (until our days used by the Christian Brothers of St. Michael's College) which had been almost totally destroyed by the Indians in 1680 when Otermin left; and after he had given the proper orders for needed repairs, he met Juan Yé, the Governor of Pecos, the loyal friend of the Spaniards who, just as he had done with Otermin thirteen years before, revealed to De Vargas the secret of the conspiracy that was being hatched by the said pueblos to destroy the Spaniards. When the captains of De Vargas, Roque Madrid, José Arias, Antonio Jorge, Lázaro de Misquio, Rafael Tellez Jirón, Juan de Dios Lucero de Godoy, Fernando Duran y Chavez, Diego Varela, Francisco de Anaya, Juan Ruiz, Alfonzo Raél de Aguilar, and Antonio Velarde, together with officers of the township, *became aware of the conspiracy that was being hatched against the Spaniards, and as they were suffering very much on account of the cold season of the year, they laid a petition before De Vargas urging him to dislodge the Tanos from the Villa, so the Spanish families might enter to dwell in the houses that had been constructed by Oñate and

*Of all those Captains there are yet in New Mexico thousands of descendants.—THE AUTHOR.

his colonists. The petition was based upon the imperative necessity imposed by the inclemency of the weather, and because sickness and death were spreading among the colonists more and more every day. De Vargas with that magnanimity of soul which so distinguished him from his predecessors, preferred to suffer the rigors of the cold season rather than force an outbreak, believing that the Tanos would gradually leave for their pueblo, Galisteo, but he soon discovered the perfidy and duplicity of said Indians. On the 27th of December, 1693, a blind Indian accompanied by another Indian friend, who was leading him, came to the tent of De Vargas and informed De Vargas that, in a day or two, the Teguas and Picuris Indians would arrive to unite with the Tanos, to drive out the Spaniards. De Vargas who was never caught napping redoubled his precautions; summoned a council of war, and, following the unanimous opinion of all his people and troops, prepared for the battle which was to seal forever the fate of the rebellious and traitorous Indians, and the insurance of the stable civilization of the province.

Terrible Strife—Final Taking of the Villa—The Faithful Pecos Indians.

On the next day, the twenty-eighth of December, the Indians gave their warhoop; walled all the entrances to the Villa (they had it already well walled all around), fortified themselves well in ramparts and filled the roofs with armed Indians. At the sight of these demonstrations, De Vargas raised his camp and placed it at the foot of the Villa walls in such a shape as to furnish the Spaniards a good camp and with the Villa well besieged. De Vargas sent on the 29th an emissary to the Governor and Chief of the Indians telling him that only by surrendering himself, and the other Indians would they escape death, which would be meted out to them if they insisted on their rebelliousness. Bolsas, the Chief, answered with defiance, insults and blasphemies. The army, which had been re-enforced by the 200 soldiers, of whom we have already spoken, was made aware of the answer sent back by Bolsas; where upon a live desire of exterminating the rebels burned within the Spaniards.

Without waiting any longer, the measures were quickly taken, which the crisis demanded. The order of assault was arranged, the respective divisions were placed, with their Captains at their heads in front of the altar, which had been improvised for the occasion; and, De Vargas kneeling in front, they all made, in a loud voice, an act of contrition, and received absolution from the priest who preached to them a tender and patriotic sermon. At the end of the imposing ceremony they rose up and forming in order of battle, they followed the Standard of their Sovereign upon which they placed the image of "Our Lady of Remedies," and rushed upon the Villa with the intrepidity of the Spanish soldiers of those times. A great number of friendly Indians from the Pueblo of Pecos were fighting on the side of the Spaniards, and as courageously as the most veteran soldiers; the battle was most obstinate; it lasted the entire day without either party showing any lessening of briskness or resolution. At noon when the battle was at its height the armies of the Teguas and Tanos came in sight on the hills which surrounded the city on the northwest side. The cavalry troop charged on them causing them a great slaughter and obliging those, who were left, to flee preciptiatedly. The obscurity of the night put a stop to the bloody fray, but the Spaniards "slept upon their arms," and at daybreak resumed the assault upon the Villa taking the Indians by surprise; they scaled the walls at the shout of "Santiago," and, with frightful celerity, rushed upon the rebels who ran to and fro so scared and in such disorder that they obstructed one another. When the Spaniards had taken the principal trenches, the locks of the gates were burst and the main body of the army entered following the General who had been the first one to set foot within the walls. Many Indians were able to escape, but a great number were left dead. Their governor hanged himself, before the Spaniards could capture him. Seventy Indian warriors were made prisoners, among them Chief "Bolsas," and they were all shot. The number of women and children captured was four hundred. De Vargas partitioned the women and children among the Spanish families, the gift being subject to the approval

of the King. De Vargas imposed upon the recipients of their captives duties of fathers towards their sons.* Granaries filled with corn and other provisions were found in the Villa, and also some head of cattle and sheep, with which the Spaniards could subsist for a long while, and continue the war against the rebel Indians of the provinces of Los Tanos and Teguas and their allies, against whom he had to wage war until he completely humiliated them in the Autumn of the year 1694.

Fr. Farfán Asks for Help—Cultivation of Lands Commenced—New Uprisings.

While the captains of DeVargas were out reconnoitering the condition of the land, and the pueblos by different ways, DeVargas was framing plans to insure the subsistence and prosperity of his army and colonists who were now domiciled at the Villa. He made a partition of the lands in the nearby places of the Villa in February 1694; he distributed corn seed to the camps for planting, and ordered the lands to be sown, giving the husbandmen a permanent escort that they might work without any danger of loosing their lives in the continued assaults from the Indians. While DeVargas was thus engaged in making repairs and in improving the condition of the colony, adverse and alarming reports were brought to him with respect to the operations of war, which the Taos, Picuris, and Tegua Indians, who had joined the Jemes and Queres, were making. At the root of the insurrection came the realization. On a sudden a large number of Indians from those pueblos appeared; they assaulted the colonists, and the escort they met on the sown fields but did no greater damage than to carry away some horses and mules. From that day on the incursions and depredations

* This noble and Christian act of De Vargas has been perverted by a great many historians who, never having seen the authentic authority, have fallen into the proverbial error of stating distorted facts. The latest writer, Mr. R. E. Twitchell, has reiterated the injustice by declaring thus: "Four hundred women and children were taken and sold into slavery" (Twitchell's Leading Facts on New Mexico History Vol. 1 p. 393). Thus has the character of one of the greatest and noblest of the conquistadores—certainly the cleanest and uprightest of them all—been besmirched.—THE AUTHOR.

of the Indians, became quite frequent until DeVargas was constrained to adopt their tactics, organizing campaigns of soldiers and colonists which often attacked the rebel pueblos and their allies, despoiling them of the stolen stock, making their children captives, and gathering all the corn they could.

Battle of the Mesa Prieta.

DeVargas was well convinced that if he did not undertake an active campaign in person, the uprising of 1680 would be repeated, but, as he was waiting for the re-enforcements which Father Farfán was bringing from Mexico he delayed the movement from day to day. The frequent robberies and murders, however, perpetrated by the Indians, compelled him at last to take that step without waiting for Father Farfán. In the mesa near and to the south of the Pueblo of San Ildefonzo (known as the "Mesa Prieta") the Teguas, Taos, Tanos, and Jemes Indians were entrenched. From there they sent daily parties to steal stock and kill Spaniards. In February, De Vargas reorganized an army of 100 men, and, carrying along two pieces of artillery, he attacked them on the tenth. The combat lasted almost the entire day without any favorable result and with the loss of 15 Indians, and on the side of the Spaniards 25 wounded. The next day De Vargas pushed the siege still closer, and, with new re-enforcements, brought by the soldiers who had, the day before taken the wounded to the Villa, re-attacked the impregnable mesa, in a battle of six hours, without being able to dislodge the rebels. The Indians, however, were unable to resist much longer, owing to the fact that provisions and drinking water were becoming scare, and for that reason the Indians made a desperate effort the next day to defeat the Spaniards, hundreds of them coming down; but only to be driven back by the Spaniards and obliged to take refuge on the rock with the rest. The siege thus lasted until the 19th, when, on account of scarcity of provisions and ammunitions of war, De Vargas abandoned the camp, and returned to Santa Fé, with the trophies he had captured, and leaving 40 Indians dead. The trophies consisted of more than 100 horses and mules, about 150 fanegas (a "fanega" is equal to three bushels) of corn. With that action the campaign against

the Teguas and their allies ended for a short time, but in the southeastern part of the territory the Indians of Cochiti, Jemes and their allies were hostile, and De Vargas proceeded against them without delay. With the aid of the friendly Queres he was enabled to disperse them, although hostilities did not cease with that campaign. De Vargas returned to Santa Fé about the middle of March to consult with the officials of his staff upon a final plan of campaign which he again undertook in April, as we shall say hereafter.

The Apaches Surrender—Letter of Fr. Farfán—De Vargas Gives Them an Interview.

On the 27th of March (1694), the Governor of Pecos, Juan Yé, and three Apaches came to Santa Fé to visit De Vargas, and the Apaches to render obedience. This event was of great comfort to the Spaniards.

The interview appears in De Vargas' diary (from which all that is narrated in this chapter is derived) in these words:

"At twenty-six days of the present month of March of the date and year (1694), Don Juan el de Yé arrived at this Villa of Santa Fé, bringing in his company three Apaches; and, being in my presence, in their language through Domingo de Herrera who acted as interpreter, said that they belonged to the outspread encampments of the Apache nation of the plains; that before the kingdom was lost, (1680), and the Spaniards went out on that account, they had their friendship with them, and in attention to it, they often came and went out in peace, seeing in their ransoms that not much use or interest accrued to the ones or the others, through the medium of the traffic and barter, and that having reached the Pueblo of Pecos, three tents of their said nation and encampment, and having received from the said Pecos information of the return of the Spaniards to this kingdom, they had come with pleasure to give me their obedience as their governor, to know me, and to ask my leave, that, by means of that security, they might return at once to inform the said people of their nation and encampment by the end of the season, which is by October, that they might believe that the return of said Spaniards was a certainty so they might see

in said Pueblo of Pecos, the said people they had left in said three tents; and I, the said Governor and Captain General, promised them ample protection, and I treated the said three Indians graciously, caressed them and gave them presents, and, for their satisfaction, I commanded the Aide-de-Camp, Lorenzo Madrid, with the said interpreter, and the Adjutant, Antonio Velarde and soldiers and neighbors, to accompany them to Pecos who, having arrived at said pueblo, were received by said natives and said Apaches who were very glad to see them,and they paid them liberally buffalo meat and deer skins which they were bringing along, saying that they were going immediately and that they would be back at the said time of October, the greater part of that encampment, at the said Pueblo of Pecos, where they would come down for the said ransom, as they did at the time of the said Spaniards, who went out, and that it may appear patent the said Governor and Captain General, and the said Aide-de-Camp, and Adjutant, signed it with me, together with my Secretary of Government and War.

"D. DIEGO DE VARGAS, etc. (Seal).

"LORENZO MADRID. (Seal).

"ANTONIO VELARDE. (Seal).

Before me:

ALPHONSO RAEL DE AGUILAR,
"Sec. of Gov. and War."

Letter from F. Farfán.

Three days after the alluded interview, De Vargas received a letter from Father Farfán asking succor for himself and the people who came with him. Bancroft says that De Vargas received Fr. Farfán's letter on the 23d of the month * of January (1694), but in that also he is in error. Archbishop Salpointe,† based probably on said authority of Bancroft, or of Prince, and the other English speaking authors affirm the same error i. e., that said letter of Fr. Farfán came to the hands of De Vargas in the month of January. It was not so.

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* Bancroft: "Ariz. and N. M." 206.

† Salpointe: "Soldiers of the Cross," 82.

Vargas himself gives us in his said diary the correct information, saying:

"In this Villa of Santa Fé at 30 days of the month of March, one thousand six hundred and ninety four, at the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon, the squad corporal, Diego Servin, arrived with a letter from Rev. Father Fray Francisco Farfán, General Procurator of the missions, and Custodio (Superior) of the conversion of San Pablo of our Father St. Francis of this said kingdom and province of New Mexico with letters addressed to me, their date at Tabalaopo, the 6th instant, (March), and year in which he states by it that he is coming in charge of the wagons and bringing the sixty six families and a half which the most excellent Lord Viceroy and Count of Galves, on the 16th of September, one thousand six hundred and ninety three, delivered to his charge as his Sindicate General at the court and city of Mexico and he tells me in said letter to send him immediate succors of provisions and mules for his prompt departure from El Paso del Rio del Norte, when he arrives there because he states he brings only a wagon load of flour and another of corn meal which will be hardly sufficient to last him during his stay at that place to make the necessary repairs to said wagons."

De Vargas had already shortly after his return from San Ildefonzo, sent to Father Farfán, of provisions to about one hundred fanegas of corn from the corn he had brought from San Ildefonso, of which we have already spoken. De Vargas, however, gave immediate answer to Father Farfán's letter, sending him at the same time, the corn the Father called for. De Vargas' letter reads thus: "My Rev. Father and Lord, answering your Paternity's letter with a pleasure equal to the esteem which my anxiety desires for you in these remote parts, I dispense with exaggeration when with the experience you have of them, it would be an inadvertence of mine to say to your Paternity how important it would have been that those families were already settled; for at the mere sight of their entry and the news about them which the frontier nations should have had, many good consequences should have followed. The accidents which your Paternity has had leave me sorrowful, and as you have

already reached that town of El Paso, I appreciate your efforts in the prompt execution of your desire to see this kingdom, a thing which, it is clear will cause you to come to the acknowledgement that it is necessary to take advantage of the time that we may profit thereby, employing the provisions on the road; as well as to insure the crossing of the river before the high water makes it impossible and also that I may be helped with those arms and ammunitions, so that these rebels may recognize the power of his Majesty, whom God guard; and our entry as well as the coming of the Spaniards may be insured, their Captains are saying that we come out to go back immediately, and so I request your Paternity not to delay in coming, remembering that Fr. Padre San Buenaventura leaves on the 2nd of April with his thirteen wagons, and has asked me to help him with fifteen mules in order to better facilitate said journey. He carries one hundred fanegas, of corn, measured and sacked, which he will deliver to your Paternity as provisions for those families, and it seems to me that your Paternity will be able to reach San Diego with said provisions and wagons."

De Vargas after making other suggestions of less importance closes his letter, saying:

"Your Paternity asks me to dispatch to you 100 mules which is impossible; even the fifteen I give, I do it to serve said father and that your Paternity may have said 100 fanegas of corn, which Father Buenaventura leaves with you, and together with the freights which his wagons may take from your Paternity for the conduction of those families from that Town of El Paso to this said Villa, and also because the mules I have have alone done all the work, both saddled by the war men in the repeated sallies to the rebel pueblos, as well as the transportation of their corn, and also in helping to guard the horses which only by such means was possible to keep them in such an excessive work. And so your Paternity will please excuse me, and help yourself the best you can with the mules which said father Fr. Buenaventura takes for you, and that you may be assured in all, and may have no doubt, I send Zervin with the wagons; for I promise myself that your Paternity will be shortly in these places, and

the time of your delay will affect me very much because of what you may need. Wishing with all sincerity that Our Lord may grant your Paternal Reverence many happy years. I thank you for the present you sent of rice and shrimp. Done in this Villa of Santa Fé, in its fort and garrison on the first of April, 1694.

"Your most attentive friend and servant who kisses your hands."

"D. DIEGO DE VARGAS ETC., (Seal)"

With the reading of De Vargas' letters, the reader will see the almost incredible sufferings which the colonists of New Mexico had to stand, and the constancy with which, though surrounded by enemies, and with the utmost shortage of ammunitions of war, food, provisions, and of men and arms, they persevered until they succeeded in finally subduing so many thousands of Indians, and in their pacification, and christianization. Truly those Spanish priests, colonists and military men were great men in the full meaning of the word. Let us now turn again our attention to the Villa of Santa Fé and the continual strifes of its brave defenders against the Indian rebels.

The Hostile Encounters Continue.

While De Vargas was receiving the obedience of the Apaches, the Jemes and Cochiti Indians were waging war, with the help of the Acoma, Moquis and Zuñis, against the Queres, Cias and Santa Anas. The Indians of the friendly pueblos sent a committee of Quere Indians to ask for aid, a thing which De Vargas granted them, and by going himself with quite a number of soldiers on April 12th in pursuit of the rebels who were well intrenched in the Mesa of Cieneguilla. On the 16th, he assaulted them and after an obstinate battle he dislodged them from their new pueblo with the loss of twenty rebel warriors, and the capture of three hundred women and children, 70 horses and about 1,000 head of sheep. The same day the Teguas had attacked the Spaniards at Santa Fé, but they were defeated by Captain Granillo, who was acting as commandant in the absence of De Vargas. At Cieneguilla the rebels, who had come to re-enforce

the conquered, assaulted De Vargas again causing the death of two soldiers and recovering 150 captives but were finally routed by the Spaniards. With such brilliant victories De Vargas thought that the rebels would not delay in submitting; he ordered the improvised pueblo where the conquered had lodged themselves, to be burned and returned to Santa Fé on the 27th of the month. Right after his arrival he made, on the 28th a second distribution of lands, and of the captives and animals captured, to the army, the priests and the colonists. On the 29th of the same month he resolved to send Indian emissaries to the Pueblos of Zuñi, Moqui, and to the other rebel pueblos. He did this by sending an emissary to each province. As the letters he sent to each Pueblo were identical, one of them is reproduced here, the one sent to Zuñi, for the better information of the reader. The letter follows:

"My Son, Co-Father, Governor and Captains of War of that Peñol of Zuñi: I desire very much to embrace you, as I have told my Co-Father Bentura who carries this (letter). You must all know my good heart, and that I love you as children of mine, and I advise you that the Lord Viceroy was highly pleased and sends me with the priests to this kingdom at once with the Spaniards and their wives and children, and many soldiers to defend you, and also that you be certain that there is only one God and the King and that only I shall command you. My Co-father Bentura has told me that the Apaches are your enemies, and also of the ambush played on you by the Moquis together with the Yutas and Apaches Coninos, and so it seems to me that as soon as I go to you, as I shall as soon as I may be able to leave this Villa, in order to see and meet your foes, and make them retire, so that after that they shall not have time and occasion to again attack you, as they have done, at the time you were planting in the fields, and they will not take away from you with ease the stock and horses you have, and they shall not kill you and your children and wives, and so it seems to me that this summer you can plant those lands and you can come and live in these deserted pueblos of the lower river, when you see fit, and in them you will be secured and well pleased because they are near to this Villa, and the Spaniards will buy from you what you may reap, and with the cloth they shall give you, you will

have enough to barter with the friendly Apaches for buffalo robes and thick elk skins which you need, and you shall advise me with the said Bentura of your resolution. I shall not endeavor to make you come down, but I simply tell you my opinion because I love you much, and may God grant you many years. Done at Santa Fé, today, Thursday, twenty-ninth of April, one thousand six hundred and ninety-four.

"Your Governor and Captain General who loves you much and desires to see you.

"Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de León."

(Seal).

The diplomatic efforts of De Vargas did not achieve the results which he desired. The uprisings continued to multiply. On every side the rebels harrassed the Spaniards and the friendly pueblos so that De Vargas and his handful of valiant soldiers had little or no rest. As the author says "valiant soldiers," he desires, as a homage to truth, and to do justice to the brave Indians, who, at all times and places, and under all circumstances, gave convincing proofs of their sincere loyalty fighting on the side of the Spaniards against the rebel and traitorous Indians, to say a few words in their favor. The author has not yet been able to find a single historian who dedicates a word of praise and admiration to those Indian heroes. De Vargas and his valiant and warlike soldiers would have, perhaps, paid in the end with their lives for the glory they were seeking, had not the Pueblos of Pecos, Cia, Santa Ana, San Felipe and the Queres been loyal to them. As Cortés, without the aid of his Indian friends, would never have subdued the noble hero Cuahutemoc, the greatest hero in the conquest of Mexico, the expedition of De Vargas would have ended in a fatal failure without the opportune and valuable aid of Juan Yé and his sympathizing Indians. It is but just, then, that history forget not the debt which civilization owes to those good Indians, perpetuating the memory of their exploits as has been done with the Castilian heroes we have alluded to. Blessed, then, be the memory of Juan Yé and the other Indians who, with a disinterested patriotism co-operated in achieving the civilization and christianization of New Mexico!

Battle Between Pueblo Indians—Remains of Fray Juan de Jesus Discovered.

On the north of Santa Fé, the Spaniards continued struggling, helped by the Pecos, against the Teguas who were found, as we have seen, together with many of the Picuris, Taos and Tanos, entrenched on the summit of the Peñol of San Ildefonso. In the southern part of the territory, the Jemes Indians and their allies gave no truce to the friendly Pueblos. In one of the battles fought in May, the Queres came out victorious, causing many losses to their enemies and capturing many of them. Among the captured prisoners were five who knew in which place the remains of Father Fray de Jesus had been buried at Jemes. These Indians were sent to De Vargas, who got one of them to promise to show the place where the remains of said father were buried and also to show where the ornaments, chalices and missal were to be found, in virtue of which promise, which was faithfully fulfilled, as will be seen further on, De Vargas spared his life, ordering the shooting of the other four, one of whom was also spared, through the intercession of the Governor of Pecos, Juan Yé.

Arrival of Fr. Farfán and His Colonists—Campaign Against the Teguas—Recovery of the Remains of Fr. Juan de Jesus—Remains Brought to Santa Fé—Second Battle of Mesa Prieta.

At the end of July (1694), Fr. Farfán and the colonists arrived at Santa Fé. De Vargas had already determined to make a settlement with those colonists, sending them to the place we know today by the name of "Santa Cruz de la Cañada," but he had to wait until the next year to gain time for the termination of the war, for that reason the colonists had to remain a long while in Santa Fé. De Vargas next undertook an active campaign against the pueblos of the north, but his first voyage was divested of any importance, because he found the pueblos of San Juan, Picuris, and Taos abandoned, wherefore he returned to Santa Fé for the purpose of attacking the Indians who were on the Peñol of San Ildefonso (Mesa Prieta). He started from Santa Fé to Jemes in August accompanied by the Fathers, Fr.

Alpuente, Antonio Obregón and Antonio Carbonel, and the Indian who had promised to show the grave of Fr. Juan de Jesus. The Jemes Indians had already promised obedience and submission. They unburied the remains, and the ornaments and other things were delivered to them; they brought the remains of said father to Santa Fé where burial was given to them in the church of the Spaniards on the 11th of said month. In the month of September De Vargas returned with 100 soldiers and 150 friendly Indians from the Pueblos Queres, Jemes, and Pecos and attacked the Teguas on the Mesa of San Ildenfonso. The battle was quite obstinate, but the Teguas were finally compelled to surrender. De Vargas promised not to execute those who had been captured, and to allow the vanquished Indians to bury their dead, at the pueblo, under the condition that they should submit to his authority and reoccupy the pueblo. This they promised and promptly complied. On the 8th of the month of September the Taos Indians surrendered to Captain Don Diego and were allowed to return to their pueblo after having sworn submission and obedience. In October De Vargas made a trip to San Juan and Picuris; he engaged the Indians of these pueblos at San Juan, where they had gathered, capturing 84 of them and some women and children, and made them all submit to his authority. In the same manner those of Cuyamungé, Pojoaque, Nambé, and Santa Clara were made to render obedience, so that with the surrender of Jemes and the pueblos of the north, the province was deemed pacified, whereupon steps were taken leading to the resettling of Santa Cruz and other points previously peopled by the colonists of Oñate.

Assignment of Priests to the Pueblos—Founding and Resettling of Santa Cruz and Other Points.

De Vargas and Father Juan Muñoz de Castro, who acted as Custodio, being now satisfied that the lives of the priests were no longer in danger in the pueblos, and having first obtained the promise from all the Indian Governors that they would never again rebel, De Vargas and said Custodio undertook the assignment of priests. To Fr. Corvera were assigned the pueblos of San Ildefonso and Jacona, with his

residence at the first one; to Fr. Jerónimo Prieto, those of San Juan and Santa Clara; and those of San Lorenzo and San Cristóbal, to Fr. Antonio Obregón. From San Cristóbal De Vargas returned to Santa Fé, going from there to the other pueblos, and leaving a priest for every two pueblos. Having made the assignation of the priests, De Vargas turned his attention to the establishment of the colonies.

Re-Founding of Santa Cruz—1695.

The first point repeopled was Santa Cruz de la Cañada, which was one of those that had been settled by the colonists of Oñate. The families which had come in June, 1694, with Fr. Farfán, *supra*, were assigned to that place. De Vargas accompanied the colonists, leaving with them Fr. Antonio Morena for the administration of their spiritual wants. After the repeopling of Santa Cruz, other families were sent to other points which had been previously occupied by the colonists of Oñate. De Vargas, after this, commenced to prepare a detailed report to the Viceroy of all he had done, which report he forwarded to the Viceroy on the 24th of November, 1695. At the same time, he asked to be re-appointed Governor and Captain General, for his first appointment was about to expire in the coming year, 1696.

Another Uprising- Death of Seven Priests and Twenty Soldiers—1696.

The colonists being now distributed, as aforesaid, the pueblos of Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Tanos, Teguas, Taos, Picuris and Queres, (which had been friends before) thought that no occasion so propitious could again present itself for the complete annihilation of the Spaniards. They agreed, and prepared, in secret, a rebellion which broke out on the 4th of June, 1696, dealing death in the most brutal and cowardly manner to the priests, and burning the churches and convents. On this occasion, however, they could not succeed. De Vargas lost no time in administering to them condign punishment, although he lost twenty soldiers. That was, for a long time afterwards, the last attempt of the Indians. A more serious struggle than the ones he used to have with the Indians was being initiated against De Vargas by the

officers of his own council, who were already beginning to murmur against him, blaming him for all the misfortunes and sufferings which had befallen the colony.

Cubero Made Governor—Charges Against DeVargas—His Trial and Vindication.

Before the report and petition of DeVargas reached the King, Don Pedro Rodriguez de Cubero had been appointed Governor and Captain General of New Mexico. Cubero came and assumed the Governorship of New Mexico on the 2nd of July, 1696. In the interim the difficulties between DeVargas and his council were growing more and more acute, until finally charges were formulated against DeVargas and presented to governor Cubero. Cubero treated DeVargas with more cruelty than that deserved by a depraved criminal; he imposed upon him a fine of $4,000, imprisoned him, and held him incomunicado for nearly three years. Father DeVargas who was on the occasion, Custodio, and a remote relative of DeVargas made a trip to Mexico and obtained under caution (bail) the liberty of De Vargas. De Vargas though refused to accept his liberty under such terms, and insisted on going to Mexico to defend himself from his enemies, a thing he obtained, after many sufferings, leaving for Mexico in July, 1700. In Mexico he not only refuted the charges of his enemies by proving his innocence with the clearest evidence, but after being exonerated, captured the sympathies of the audiencia, which, by unanimous vote, asked his re-appointment as Governor and Captain General of New Mexico. The members of the council at Santa Fé when they heard of the result of the trial retracted what they had said against DeVargas, blaming Governor Cubero for it. DeVargas did not abandon his efforts to be re-appointed, successor of Cubero when Cubero's term closed. We will now leave Cubero acting as governor, without giving the reader, for the time being any account of his administration which is done in another part hereof. Here ends the third book. In the book following which is the fourth and last of this work, we shall treat of all the events of historical importance from the years 1697 to the present 1912.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING ALL THE EVENTS FROM 1700 TO 1912 WITH SEVERAL APPENDIXES AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF PROMINENT PERSONS IN THE HISTORY OF NEW MEXICO WITH ENGRAVINGS, AND MENTIONING OTHER IMPORTANT THINGS.

CHAPTER I.

Administration of Don Pedro Rodriguez de Cubero—Arrival of DeVargas—His Administration Lasted a Short Time—Dies Four Weeks After His Arrival—Francisco Cuervo y Valdez—Foundation of Albuquerque—Chacon Succeeds Valdez—Governor Chacon and His Administration—Governor Mogollon and His Administration—Don Felix Martinez and His Administration—Epoch of Governor Antonio Velarde y Cosio—Public Schools are Established—Government of Bustamante—Trade With the French—French Colony—First Visit of a Bishop—Jesuit Fathers—Accusation Against Bustamante—Incumbency of Governors Mendoza, Don Manuel Portillo Urrizola—Godallos y Rabal—Capuchin—Martin del Valle—Antonio de Mendoza—Don Tomas Véllez Capuchin—Don Manuel Portillo Urrizola—Tomas Véllez Capuchin.

1697-1769.

As it is indicated in the title of this 4th book, that with it the history, which we have been writing concerning the events which form our history, will be closed we shall proceed with the narrative that starts this book, that is, with the more striking events and incidents which occurred during the incumbency of Don Pedro Rodriguez de Cubero, successor to DeVargas, and of the other Governors until the year 1912.

Administration of Don Pedro Rodriguez de Cubero.

Don Pedro Rodriguez de Cubero assumed the charge of government of the province of New Mexico in the year 1697,

remaining in office until 1704, when De Vargas returned to succeed him. One of the first things he did was to take a census of the number of Spanish inhabitants in the province, Santa Fé being then, practically, the province, the result being a population of 1,500 souls. There was that year, and had been the year before, a scarcity of crops causing among the people unaccountable sufferings. The continual incursions of the hostile Indians made the life of the colonists quite sorrowful; yet, there were not wanting speculators, who gobled up all the corn they could find among the friendly pueblos with the object of exporting it to Chihuahua and Durango instead of distributing it among the Spaniards, who were already perishing from hunger, on which account, Cubero had to resort to drastic measures and take by force all the corn the speculators had garnered, issuing, at the same time a decree whereby it was absolutely forbidden to buy and export grain without the consent of the governor.*

The Tanos Again Occupy their Pueblo to Which Cubero Gives the Name of "Galisteo," 1697—French Expedition, 1698—Cubero Designates the Pueblo of Los Queres by the Name of San José de la Laguna, 1699.

The hostile pueblos, who had given De Vargas so much trouble, continued unceasingly to give trouble to the Spaniards; but Cubero's efforts to pacify them were productive of better success. Thus it was that before the end of the year he had been able to subdue some of those pueblos to his authority, succeeded in getting the Tanos to abandon the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, and to resettle their own at "Galisteo," Cubero giving it that name. He also got the Queres, together with those of Cieneguilla, Santo Domingo and

* As the information in this and subsequent chapters is based on authentic documents which the author found in the archives at Santa Fé, years ago, and in the office of the Surveyor General of New Mexico, from of all which he made copies, the reader is informed that in order to avoid the repetition of the same authority at the foot of each historical event, whenever no reference is made to any other authority, it must be understood that what is here narrated, if it gives no reference to any other source, from whence the account may flow, has been drawn from the letters and documents to which the author alludes.—THE AUTHOR.

Cochiti to consolidate in a single pueblo twelve miles from Acoma, on the river which the Indians themselves called "Cubero" in honor of General Cubero. The said Indians did not remain long in that pueblo; the Queres alone remained, the others retiring to their old pueblos. Between the years 1698 and 1699 nothing important happened, excepting the information that an expedition composed of French from Louisiana had invaded the land of the Navajoes in pursuit of a party of said Indians who had stolen from them some horses and kidnapped some boys and girls, and that, penetrating to the center of the encampment, had had a great battle with them in which 4,000 (?) Navajoes had perished. That was in the year 1698. The next year Cubero made an inspection trip to the western part of the province finding the Queres settled in a new pueblo in the neighborhood of the one they had two years before constructed. They received him with tenderness by giving him proofs of the sincerity of their surrender, asking him to designate the new pueblo by the name of a saint, a thing Cubero gladly did giving the pueblo the name of *San José de La Laguna*, a name which that pueblo bears up to this date. From there Cubero followed, visiting the provinces of Acoma and Zuñi, and receiving at each pueblo of said provinces the obedience and submission of the inhabitants. There only remained the Moqui pueblos on the western part of the province which refused to submit to his authority, but they did it the next year. From the year 1700 to 1704 there were no events of extraordinary importance. At the the beginning of 1700 a party of Apaches visited Cubero carrying with them two French girls which they said they had purchased from the Navajoes; they delivered the girls saying that another French expedition of Frenchmen had attacked the Jumana nation in the plains, and had destroyed their pueblos.* In 1701, through the agency of Father Antonio Guerra, the Indians of Santa Clara were transferred to the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, and the incumbency of Cubero ended in another incident: towards the close of 1703 the Zunis again revolted, and had a difficulty with the Father and the escort of soldiers stationed in that

* Bancroft "New Mexico and Arizona," p. 222.

pueblo. It was not, however, a general uprising but rather a dispute between seven Indians and some soldiers, the outcome of which was the death of the seven Indians, and on the side of the Spaniards that of the soldiers Valdez, Palomino and Lucero, and Corporal Jiron. In order not to endanger the life of Father Garaecoche who administered the Pueblo of Zuñi at the time, Cubero caused the Father Custodio to recall him from said pueblo. As news reached Santa Fé towards the close of 1703 of the reappointment of De Vargas as Cubero's successor, Cubero tried to flee from the country before De Vargas reached Santa Fé, fearing that De Vargas would take vengeance on him for what he had done with De Vargas six years before. So he did, in fact, so that when De Vargas reached Santa Fé in November, 1703, he found the government in the hands of an officer of the council whose name is not given.

Arrival of De Vargas—His Administration is of Short Duration—Dies a Little After his Arrival—His last Will and Testament.—His Death and Burial.

On November the tenth, 1703, De Vargas arrived in Santa Fé coming again as Governor and Captain General of the province, and with the new title of "Marquis of the Nava of Brazinas," and immediately assumed charge of the government, causing the council officers who had before made charges against him to come before him and give him the satisfaction which his rank and high authority required. The councilors did not hesitate in making adequate apology blaming Cubero for all. In April of the next year, 1704, De Vargas set out on an inspection trip towards the South, but was taken ill near the Sierra of Sandia and was carried to Bernalillo where he expired on the 14th of that month. Here the author wishes to make a remark to the reader, and that is: That almost all historians with the exception of Bancroft, Pino, and Salpointe declare that between 1703 and 1704 the Duke of Alburquerque was governor of New Mexico. The assertion is a gross error, the duke of Alburquerque was never governor of New Mexico, but, certainly, Viceroy of Mexico.

Last Will and Testament of De Vargas.

(Taken from the Archives of New Mexico, No. 187) De Vargas was born in Madrid. At the time of his death De Vargas had no family except two sons called Don Juan and Don Alonzo both minors, and a negro slave, called Andrés, who was in the service of De Vargas from 1691 to the day of his death. In his testament these two sons and the slave are the only ones he mentions as his heirs. He commands in his testament that after his death the slave Andrés shall take his said sons to Mexico and that he must remain with them; he gives the slave his liberty if he complies with the recommendation and leaves him a horse mounting outfit, two mules, an arquebus and several articles of raiment. He commands that mass be said for the repose of his soul at Bernalillo; that his remains be transferred to Santa Fé and buried under the principal altar in the church of Santa Fé. He designates, appoints, and declares *Captain Juan Paiz Hurtado* to assume the command and charge of the government of the province, as his successor, and orders that immediately after his death, he, the said Hurtado, give advice to the Viceroy, the Duke of Alburquerque of his death for governmental purposes. De Vargas was succeeded by Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdez in 1705, Juan Paiz Hurtado governing in the interregnum until the coming of Valdez, in 1705. Juan Paiz Hurtado had been Lieutenant General under De Vargas.

Francisco Cuervo y Valdez.

On the 10th of March, 1705, Governor Francisco Cuervoy Valdez arrived in Santa Fé, and immediately assumed the reins of government acting as governor until July 31st, 1707. During his first year as governor nothing important happened except the submission of the province of Moquina which for so many years had resisted the Spaniards, and the renewal of friendly relations with the Zuñis, results both due to the effort of Father Garaecoeche who again established himself that year at Zuñi. That year also by reason of the prolonged drought, the crops were lost, the families and the army being exposed to great famine on account of the lack

of eatables to subsist upon, a circumstance which compelled the governor to ask help from the authorities at El Paso, but did not obtain anything. The Apaches, on account of unknown causes, pounced upon the governor that year, attacking him and his troops on one of his general inspection trips.

Founding of Alburquerque—Chacon Succeeds Valdez.

In the year 1706, Governor Cuervo took thirty families to the place we know today by the name of Albuquerque,* and founded the Villa of Alburquerque giving it that name in honor of the Duke of Alburquerque who was at the time Viceroy of Mexico. Said Duke never visited New Mexico, as other historians assure us. Cuervo reported to the Viceroy the same year the founding of said villa, but the Viceroy did not welcome the report of Cuervo; he censured him and ordered him to change the name of said Villa to that of San Felipe de Alburquerque, in honor of the soverign then ruling over the Spains. In August, 1707, the incumbency of Governor Cuervo ended, being succeeded on the first day of that month and year by Admiral Don José Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marquéz of La Peñuela, who governed until 1712.

Governor Chacon and his Government—Resettlement of Isleta.

Don José Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marquéz of La Peñuela, is not known in history, in general, but by the name of Chacon so that under that name we shall refer to him; and in order not to confound him with the other Governor Chacon, who governed New Mexico from 1789 to 1805, (post) we shall call the second Chacon by his full name, to-wit: Don Fernando Chacon. On the arrival of Governor Chacon to New Mexico, the Moquis and Zuñis were again disgusted and at the point of declaring war on the Spaniards. The governor sent immediately as emissaries of peace some of the principal Indians of the friendly pueblos to said provinces of Moqui and Zuñi, but his emissaries were dispatched

*The word "Alburquerque" is the correct word, and not Albuquerque as it is seen in geographies and books of History.—THE AUTHOR.

back by the said Moquis and Zuñis without being permitted to explain the object of their visit. The hostility, however, of the said Moquis and Zuñis resulted in nothing more than a complete indifference and rupture of friendly relations with the Spaniards. The nation of the Navajoe Indians, which, from the first year of the conquest, had caused the Spaniards so many grave damages, declared open war on the Spaniards during the incumbency of Chacon. Chacon towards the end of 1708, was engaged in repairing the Chapel of San Miguel, of which we have already spoken, when he received trustworthy information to the effect that a great party of Navajoes had stolen a great number of sheep stock, and killed many of the Indians of the friendly pueblos of Jemes and Cias. As soon as the repairing of said chapel was finished (in one of the joists which support the choir of said chapel the inscription is seen which said Marquéz of Peñuela caused to be engraved in said joist evidencing said rebuilding) Chacon undertook, in 1709, a campaign against the Navajoes, himself going at the head of the troop, and a great number of citizens who voluntarily followed him. They met the Navajoes, after a few journeys from the Capital, engaging them in a most obstinate battle from which the Spaniards came out victorious, reducing the Navajoes to complete obedience, and compelling them to sign a treaty of peace and to restore the animals they had stolen. The same year Fr. Juan de la Peña was at the head of the Franciscans in New Mexico. By his religious zeal he had gained the tender regard of the Indians of the province, and was more successful in the repeopling of deserted pueblos by fugitive Indians than the military authorities had been. He assembled with their families all the wandering Indians, congregated them at the Pueblo of Isleta, forming, thus, out of that deserted pueblo a new community which has become one of the few Indian communities which live today in the identical place, where the priests located them. Governor Chacon did not look with the complacency on the good results which Fr. de la Peña was achieving with his missions, on which account, a difficulty arose between him and Father Peña, a difficulty which ended in an accusation Father Peña brought against Chacon before the Viceroy, charging him with despot-

ism and cruelty against the Indians, charges which, upon due investigation, were confirmed by Father Peña, and by reason of which, Governor Chacon was censured and obliged to pay a fine of $2,000. Father Juan de la Peña died in the same year, his successor being Fr. Lopez de Haro, *ad interim*, Fr. Juan de Tagle becoming subsequently the *de jure* successor. Thus ended the administration of Governor José Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marquéz of La Peñuela, in the year 1712, a year in which Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon came in as governor and governed to the year 1715.

Governor Mogollon and His Administration—Battle With the Yutas.

Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon commenced to govern on the 5th day of October, 1712; during his incumbency almost all the nomadic tribes declared themselves at war against the Spaniards and against the Pueblo Indians. The Yuta nation showed itself the most warlike and dangerous, and against it were the forces, which Mogollon could assemble, concentrated, and, going out himself at the head of the campaign, engaged that nation in a decisive battle, completely subduing them. That happened in the year 1713.

Founding of San Lorenzo—Death of Father Delgado.

The next year Mogollon established a settlement of Spanish colonists at a place near Las Cruces, today the County of Doña Ana, to which he gave the name of "San Lorenzo." That same year the Indians of Acoma assassinated Father Carlos Delgado; the Navajoes again revolted, but were put down by Captain Serna who, with four hundred soldiers caused great slaughter of Indians. The next year, after a long conference between the colonists and the religious, Mogollon gave orders for the disarming of all the Indians of the pueblos, which order the religious opposed very emphatically contending that the Indians should be left with the neccessary arms for defending themselves from the continual invasions of the Yutas, Navajoes and Comanches. The superior authorities sustained the opinion of the Fathers for which reason Mogollon resigned, being succeeded on the 30th of October, 1715, by Governor Don Felix Martinez.

Don Felix Martinez—His Administration.

Besides being disgusted at the decision given by the Viceroy against him, Governor Mogollon had another and more powerful reason for resigning the office of governor. It was that his age no longer left him strength enough to attend properly to the weighty tasks of the Government. Don Felix Martinez, from what one can infer from his actions as an official, must have been a man of arrogant, wayward, and wrangling character, for hardly had he began to govern, when without any legitimate cause that can be thought of or known, he arrested, and threw into prison, Governor Mogollon. It is probable that on account of Martinez not being of the same class of decent as Mogollon, for Mogollon, was a native of Seville and of noble lineage, while Martinez had been a simple soldier of De Vargas, who to reward the good services he had rendered as a soldier, obtained for him from the King, his appointment as perpetual mayor of the Villa of Santa Fé; it is, probable, then, that through mere vanity he considered himself superior to Mogollon. Be that as it may, the conduct of Martinez reached the ears of the Viceroy, the Marqués of Valero, who ordered him to present himself in Mexico without delay sending as an *ad interim* Governor, Captain Antonio Velarde y Cosio who, at the time, was at El Paso. Before the arrival of Cosio at Santa Fé, Martinez was aware of nothing of what was going on, so that leaving Mogollon in jail at Santa Fé he started on a campaign against the Moqui Indians, who had the aid of the Tanos, with whom he had two great battles, coming out victorious from both, but without subduing the Indians. While Martinez was waging war against the Moquis, the Yutas attacked the Indians of Taos, the Teguas, and the Spaniards. Captain Serna rushed out to the aid of the Taos, and of the other Indians and Spaniards. Overtaking the Yutas at the Cerro of San Antonio, near Conejos, he engaged them causing them terrible slaughter and imprisoning many of them. Then it was that the order of the Viceroy arrived and Martinez left for Mexico, but before leaving he refused to deliver the government of the province to Governor Cosio, appointing Juan Paiz Hurtado

as Governor *ad interim*, and starting on the 20th of January to Mexico, taking Mogollon along with him, and attempting at the same time to take Cosio with him also, but Cosio refused to obey him sending a report to Mexico, concerning the insubordination of Martinez. Hurtado continued acting as governor until the month of December when a peremptory order reached him to deliver the government to Velarde y Cosio which he did in December of the same year, the date in which Velarde assumed the government acting as governor till the beginning of the year 1721.

Epoch of Governor Antonio Velarde y Cosio—Order for Establishment of Garrison at Guartelejo.

As soon as he assumed charge of the government, Velarde undertook an active campaign against the Yutas and Comanches, carrying with him one hundred and five soldiers and many friendly Indians, and traversing what is today the State of Colorado and part of the State of Kansas, but he could not overtake them, meeting only some of them who had been wounded in an encounter they had with the French. From there Velarde returned to New Mexico finding on his arrival an order directing him to establish a garrison in the place called "Cuartelejo" on the Napeste (Arkansas) river, an order which it was impossible for him to comply with owing to his lack of means and troops.

First Public Schools are Established.

In August of that year (1721) the Father Custdio summoned a meeting of all the priests at Santa Fé in order to treat about putting into practice the command of the King, which had just arrived from Mexico ordering them to establish public schools in all the pueblos as well as in the Spanish settlements. The result of the meeting was the establishment of schools in many pueblos, and in all the Spanish settlements, it being determined also that in each pueblo and colony the Indians and colonists should cultivate a milpa (corn field) for the benefit of the teacher. *No other important thing

*The authority for the establishment of these schools in New Mexico, the author has not found either in the archives nor in any history except in the work "The Soldiers of the Cross," of Archbishop

occurred during the incumbency of Velarde, his administration ending at the beginning of the year 1721, the year in which Don Juan Estrado y Austria arrived as Judge of the Audiencia to investigate the differences between Martinez and Mogollon and with authority to act as governor, while Velarde's successor Don Juan Domingo de Bustamante, who reached Santa Fé March 2nd, 1722 and governed to the year 1731, arrived.

Administration of Bustamante—Trade With the French—French Colony—First Visit of a Bishop—Jesuit Fathers—Accusation Against Bustamante.

When Bustamante assumed the duties of his administration (1722 supra) an illicit traffic had already been established between the Spaniards and the French, a traffic which had to be forbidden by the Spanish authorities, because under the pretext of the traffic, which was being carried on by smuggling, and which amounted to $12,000 a year, the French were intruding into Spanish territory, their arrogance overreaching itself so far as to establish in 1721 a temporary colony at Cuartelejo, on the Napeste (Arkansas) river, which they abandoned shortly after they had established it.

Bishop Crespo Visits New Mexico.

Bishop Benedicto Crespo visited New Mexico for the first time in the year 1722, having come to administer confirmation and to inform himself of the precise condition of things in New Mexico, and the better to fix his claim as Bishop of Durango, for, as such, he claimed authority over New Mexico.

The Jesuits Return to New Mexico—Cruzat Succeeds Bustamante—Michalena Succeeds Cruzat—Bishop Elizacoechea's Visit.

During the years 1730 and 1731, the Moqui province was again visited by Jesuit missionaries, this being the second time those fathers appeared in New Mexico, for they had already made, as we have said, a prior visit to the provinces

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Salpointe, page 96, he basing his authority in the ecclesiastical archives which are worthy to be considered as the highest authority in the matter.—THE AUTHOR.

of Moqui and Zuñi. The said missionary priests were named Francisco Archundi and José Narváez. They were well received, as had been their companions before, and they were able to administer the Moqui Indians with marked success, but as the Franciscans opposed the preaching of the Jesuits in territory that belonged to them, the Jesuits had again to abandon the territory. In that same year Governor Bustamante was accused of being himself the man who was promoting the illicit trade with the French, a censure against him resulting from the accusation. His administration ended on that year, and to succeed him Don Gervasio Cruzat Góngora was appointed. Góngora assumed the same year the charge of the government, and governed until the year 1736. During the administration of Cruzat nothing of any importance happened, save an order he issued instructing the alcaldes (justices of the peace) to interpose their legal authority for the suppression of the vices of immorality, gambling and vagrancy. Let us pass now to the consideration of his successor, Don Enrique de Olavide y Michalena, who governed from the beginning of 1736 to 1739. During the government of Michalena history records no events worthy of mention, except the pastoral visit, that New Mexico received for a second time, on this occasion being the Most Illustrious Bishop Elizacoechea, of Durango.

Incumbency of Governors Mendoza, Don Manuel Portillo Urrizola--Codallos y Rabal—Capuchin, Martin del Valle, Antonio de Mendoza y Capuchin.

Between the years 1739 and 1777, during which, time the governors named in the headlines of this paragraph governed respectively, there were no historical incidents which, in any manner, altered the monotony that, on account of the frequent depredations of the barbarous Indians, and the uprising of the rebel pueblos, had come to impose itself upon the spirit of the colonists, who no longer interested themselves in the material and industrial development of the province, because of their being continually exposed to lose their lives and property. The reaction occasioned by the said sad situation went so far as to completely paralyze the development of all the industries, with the exception of agriculture and stock raising,

these being the only industries to which the colonists could dedicate themselves, for the reason given. We will, however, give a short account of what happened in the epochs of said governors.

First Strangers to Visit New Mexico, 1713.

Don Gapar Domingo de Mendoza governed till the year 1713, and it was during his administration that the first strangers settled in New Mexico, at Taos. They were two Frenchmen called Jean d'Alay and Luis Marie, the first, a barber by profession, the second, a desperate criminal. Alay married a Spanish woman at Santa Fé, and their descendants are today known by the surname of Alarid. Marie, in obedience to his natural impulse, followed his criminal career and finally the gallows was his landing place.* According to Father Mota, New Mexico had in 1742 a population, without counting the soldiers, of 9,747 souls, and there were already 24 villages and villas inhabited by the Spaniards.

Codallos y Rabal—Third Visit of Jesuit Fathers to New Mexico—The Jesuits Again.

Governor Joaquin Codallos y Rabal governed from the year 1743 to the year 1749. In 1745, the Jesuit missionaries made again a visit to the province of Moqui, the missionaries being, on this occasion, Fathers Delgado, Irrigoyen and Juan José Toledo, who, with the previous leave of the proper authority in Mexico, and accompanied by 80 friendly Indians from Durango visited all the provinces of Moqui, but did not establish missions because they had no authority for doing that. They remained in the province converting a great number of Indians, and returned to Mexico in November of that year in obedience to an order from the Viceroy ordering them to suspend their apostolic labors. In the same year, 1745, the question broke out anew about the boundaries between New Mexico and the New Vizcay, on account of the jurisdiction which Governor Codallos claimed to have over the town of El Paso. The boundary question between New Mexico and New Vizcay had already been agitated before, in the year 1683;

* Bancroft. "New Mexico," p. 243 and notes.

that year Viceroy Manrique de la Cerda having declared by decree that El Paso belonged to the jurisdiction of the province of New Vizcay, the governor of New Mexico being then Don Domingo Jiron Cruzat Gironza, and of New Vizcay, Don Bartolomé de Estrada. It is reasonable to believe that Governor Codallos was not aware of the royal decree of 1683, when he attempted to exercise jurisdiction over El Paso, but, as soon as he was informed about it, he issued a decree at Santa Fé on February 21, 1745, declaring the boundaries in conformity with said decree of 1683, the question of boundaries between the two provinces remaining then definitely settled.

Don Tomás Velléz Capuchin—The Comanches Attack Galisteo—Routed in Fierce Battle.

Capuchin commenced to govern at the beginning of the year 1749, and governed until the year 1754, without having been able during his incumbency to do anything else but a long and energetic campaign which he made against the Comanches who had attacked the pueblo and settlements of Galisteo and made a great slaughter among the Tano Indians and the Spanish colonists of that neighborhood, and carried away as captives 40 persons, women and children. Capuchin at the head of 164 soldiers and about 200 friendly Indians went out in pursuit of the Comanches. He overtook them at El Llano Estado (Staked Plain) where they gave him battle in which the Indians were routed with a loss of 101 dead, 145 prisoners and the captives they were carrying were liberated. That same year Father Menchero was enabled to obtain the final submission of the Moqui province, its inhabitants, to the number of 10,000 demanding to be indoctrinated by a priest to be permanently settled in their province.

Don Francisco Antonio Martin del Valle—New Mexico is Visited by Bishop Tamarón.

Martin del Valle governed from 1754 to 1760, his administration commencing with measures that contravened the established order between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions thus placing himself in enmity with the Fathers, a condition which could but redound to the detriment of the

good government of the province, for without the ecclesiastical support the Indians did not respect civil authority. The first place where the friction was felt was at the province of Moqui, the Father Custudio had to make a trip to that province in order to induce the Indians to submit to the civil authority assuring them that the dispute between the two jurisdictions was to be settled in Mexico, and that, whatever the result might be, it behooved them to submit to both authorities as they had done until that date. The exhortation of the Father Custodio to the contrary notwithstanding, the Cacique refused to permit Father Rodriguez de la Torre to continue preaching and living in the pueblo. The priests then abandoned the province for fear of being assassinated.

Bishop Tamarón.

In July, 1760, New Mexico was again visited by a bishop, this time by the most Illustrious Lord Bishop Tamarón, of Durango. During his trip, Bishop Tamarón administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to 2,973 persons at El Paso, and to 11,271 in New Mexico. At the end of the year, Capuchin went to Mexico, and *Don Mateo Antonio de Mendoza* remained acting as governor *ad interim* but governed for a very short period only.

Don Manuel Portillo Urrizola—Capuchin Succeeds Urrizola—The Apaches Make an Assault on the Town of Taos, 1761—Urrizola Routs Them.

Urrizola governed for a little over a year. He took charge of the government at the beginning of the year 1761 having been succeeded at the end of that same year by Don Tomás Velléz Capuchin who came as governor for a second time. During Urrizola's epoch the Apaches attacked the town of Taos killing a great number of inhabitants and carrying away as captives 50 women. This was the only occasion Urrizola had of covering himself with glory by means of one the most brilliant exploits in the long series of wars which the government had continually been sustaining since the time it began to exist. Immediately upon the news reaching Santa Fé, in December, 1761, Urrizola left for Taos with 80 soldiers. He overtook the Apaches near the River San An-

tonio (at Conejos,) and taking them by surprise, he completely annihilated them, killing 400 Apaches and recovering the 50 women they had carried away, and also a great number of horses.

Tomás Velléz Capuchin—El Rio de la Plata—Captain Juan Maria Rivera Discovers Mines in Colorado.

Tomás Velléz Capuchin again took charge of the government in February, 1762, and governed until the year 1767, the year in which he was succeeded by Don Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta. During his long incumbency Capuchin did not experience any trouble from the rebel Indians, consequently he employed his time in developing the industries which, as has been observed, were found at an absolute standstill. He sent out an exploring party to explore the sierras to the northwest of the province which is today the southwest part of the State of Colorado, with the object of discovering minerals. The expedition was under the command of Captain Don Juan Maria Rivera who marched as far as the place where the rivers Gunnison and Uncompaghre join a larger river which Rivera called "Rio de la Plata," and to the sierra near it, which he likewise named "Sierra de la Plata," because he found there many and very rich silver mines. That was all Capuchin did during his second administration. With this comes to its end the first chapter of the Fourth Book.

CHAPTER II.

Administration of Mendinueta—Historical Inundation—Harmony Between the Civil and Religious Authorities—Treaty With the Comanches—Historical Account of Mendinueta—Other Events—Harmony Between the Church and the Government—A Priest Discovers the Salt Lake—The Form of Government is Changed—Trevol and Anza—Don Manuel Flon is Appointed But Does Not Assume the Government—Don Fernando de la Concha Comes—Repeopling of Abiquiú, Ojo Caliente, Chama, Santa Cruz and Embudo.

1767-1794.

As the author by an oversight, omitted the mention, in the preceeding chapter, of the fact that the points of Abiquiú, Ojo Caliente, Embudo, Chama, and Santa Cruz had been, before the first administration of Capuchin, abandoned by the Spanish colonists, by reason of the frequent incursions of the barbarous Indians, and also on account of the frequency with which they lost their crops, at times due to the drought, and most of the time because of those very invasions, mention is now made because it is an important event. A petition was made in April, 1750, to Governor Capuchin by several of the colonists who previously lived in said points, for the repeopling of the same. The petition was signed by José de Garraéz, in his own name, and as representative of his co-colonists. At that date Capuchin was at El Paso, the place where he received said petition. He considered it, and granted what the petitioners asked, with the condition following. Capuchin speaks:—"Let it be complied with, remembering what the most excellent Lord Viceroy commands by order, confirming it with the verdict of the Lord Auditor General of War, for its more punctual compliance and due obedience, so far as it may be possible: So I ordered and signed, I, Don Tomás Velléz Capuchin, Governor of New Mexico."

The permanent repeopling, then, of all those points dates from the year 1750, without having been again abandoned. The narrative now follows of the events that occurred during the administration of Don Fermin de Mendinueta.

Government of Mendinueta—Historical Inundation—Harmony between the Civil and Religious Authorities—Treaty with the Comanches—Historical Account of Mendinueta—Other Events.

In the year 1767, Santa Fé suffered a real calamity. There was a rising or swelling of the creek so great that neither the elder Indians of those times, nor the descendants of the Spaniards to our own day, according to tradition, ever saw its equal. The desolation was almost complete. Many persons perished, the buildings were destroyed and the river changed its course to the place known today in the city as "Water Street," and in Spanish from that day to the present date, by the name of "Rio Chiquito." Basing their calculations on the incomplete accounts which are found about the occurrence, as well as in the tradition that has come down from generation to generation, the historians reckon that the loss in live stock, buildings and other property was not below $200,000, and that the lives lost reached up to 50. After the inundation the colonists built up again the city; but not before the citizens and the soldiers had labored for a considerable time to turn the river back to its old bed where it has remained down to our times.

Harmony Between the Government and the Church.

The difficulties between the priests and the government, the reader must have observed, had become, from the early days of the conquest, a chronic disease which, with the invasions of the barbarous Indians, and the uprisings of the Pueblo Indians, kept the inhabitants of the province in perpetual agitation. Mendinueta, who, it may be said, was, with the exception of De Vargas, the best governor, appreciated the importance and value of friendship with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He established without delay friendly relations with the Father Custodio, from which resulted the

most complete concords between both powers, and the renewal of efforts between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, causing the province thus to again enter into an epoch of real development of its industries and wealth, notwithstanding that its condition was lamentable, viewed from a civic, economical, industrial and military standpoint, as Mendinueta quite plainly expresses it in his account to the King, which we shall presently give.

Treaty With the Comanches.

The year 1771 signalizes itself in the history of Mendinueta's administration for the consummation of the concord of which we spoke in the foregoing chapter, and also of a treaty with the warlike Comanche nation, which had become the scourge of New Mexico, Chihuahua and Sonora. The treaty of peace thus made by Mendinueta with the said Indians was respected and scrupulously observed by both the said Indians and the Spaniards, the province getting as a sequel great benefits, for the submission of the Comanches was followed by that of the other tribes of barbarian Indians. As soon as Mendinueta became satisfied that the effects of the treaty were going to be permanent, he issued a proclamation similar to the one issued every year by the President of the United States, and the Governors of the different States under the name of "Thanksgiving," and had it heralded in all the settlements and Indian pueblos, urging its faithful fulfillment, and also by sending a copy of the treaty to the Viceroy, who received the news with the highest pleasure giving the governor the most heartfelt congratulations, and ordering him to make a very minute, historical report of the Province of New Mexico, and requesting him to make such recommendations as in his opinion he considered necessary, a thing Mendinueta did the next year, giving such a detailed history that it may be deemed as important as the historical narrative made by Father Benavides, the year 1630, at Madrid, to the King of Spain (see appendix first of this work). Mendinuetas' historical report we give below, both because it is, as we have said, of great importance, and that it may be perpetuated in history.

Historical Account of Mendinueta—Important Statement Which Governor Mendinueta Makes to the Viceroy in the Year 1772, Concerning the Lamentable Condition of the Inhabitants of New Mexico and Their Lack of Civism. Taken from Hist. Doc. Mex. Vol. First, Third Series, Pages 720-728.

"Most Excellent Sir: On the 17th of February of the current year I received two letters from Your Excellency, the one dated September 28th, and the other October 19th of last year. By the first, Your Excellency is pleased to approve my efforts in regard to the Comanche nation, compelled by necessity; for which I offer Your Excellency repeated thanks, and, although in it you order me to report the state of this province, and what I may deem proper for its quietude, and attending to the fact that in your second letter you reiterate the same order to the effect that I make an exact statement of the actual state of this province, of the armed people it has for its defense, and the matters which they must attend to; the manner in which these inhabitants can obtain relief, and the correction and punishment that should be meted out to rebels who occasion so many damages, I, herewith, give to the two letters the most exact and due compliance.

"The internal area of this government from the town the Spaniards commonly called "Tomé" on the south, to the Pueblo of San Gerónimo of the Taos Indians on the north, comprises 56 leagues, and from the Pueblo of Our Lady of Los Angels of Pecos on the east, to Our Lady of Guadalupe of the Zuñis on the west, 70 leagues: In this considerable district, the inhabitants of this kingdom live, both Spaniards, and reasonable peoples, such as the Christian Indians, but with this difference, that the Indian pueblos are all formed in union, and for that reason are more defensible, but the towns of the Spaniards are not united so that to the dispersion of their houses the name of ranches or camp houses fit with more propriety, and not that of villas or places, and for this reason they are incapable of any defense, a thing which has been the motive for the depopulation of some weak frontier settlements without my having been able to protect them permanently with the squad of soldiers destined for their defense; and in others not having provided them with fire

arms and ammunitions, and the other expedients which I have essayed; and everything is made useless by the fear which has taken hold of their dwellers on seeing their situations without any defense and the numerous troops of enemies that combat them.

"No Spanish or Indian settlement can ever be called a center, but rather frontiers because they are at long distances, the ones from the others, and these distances consist of high sierras and thick woods facilitating the entry of enemies to nearly all of them unless an incessant care is taken to round up the land; and this rarely accomplishes the object desired which is, to see in time if the enemy is approaching.

"The Comanche nation invades, and is hostile, to these settlements from every quarter, and the Apache, from the west to the south; and although between the north and the west the Utes and Navajoes dwell, these two nations are not always at peace, and even if they are, that fact notwithstanding, the Comanches do not fail to harrass them from the side they inhabit; whence Your Excellency will understand that the interior of this government is surrounded by enemies, in such a way that in its whole extent there is not a secure spot to keep horses or any stock and in all parts thefts are occurring.

"From what is here expressed Your Excellency will become acquainted with the fact that, with 80 soldiers, which is all this garrison has, it is not possible to guard so many and so far apart settlements; nor, even, to give them succor in time, because the news of the incursion or theft reaches here after the occurrence has happened, with delay, not of hours, but of days most of the time; and, as these enemies, when they have done their deeds, whether favorable or adverse, march away with precipitate flight, they render useless any succor. As, in order to pursue them, it is indispensable that the soldiers be joined by some neighbors, and as these, having a few scattered riding outfits, waste most precious time in hunting them up, in this manner the opportunity of overtaking them slips off.

"The men who have offensive and defensive weapons both Spaniards and people of reason, with the exception of the guardsmen with accoutrements for horse-riding, scarcely

reach two hundred and fifty, but it is impossible for these to go out on a campaign without leaving the towns defenseless and exposed to total ruin. Nor is it possible for them to protect a helpless town, because the celerity, with which the enemies, who are provided with numerous horses, make their precipatate retreats, does not allow it; and it must be taken into account that, in order to go out on a campaign or pursue these enemies, it is necessary that each man carry at least from three to four horses, because, as these barbarians have no fixed homestead, they wander every way, having such an opportunity in the wide spread lands; and, in order to encounter it becomes necessary to wander by different directions in which much time and many victuals are consumed which it is indispensable to carry along. About an equal number of Christian Indians can come together and co-operate in these campaigns whose arms are arrows, and some, though few have fire arms, and although the Pueblos of Zuñi, Acoma and Laguna are numerous, they cannot be drawn out of their pueblos both on account of the great distances as because they do little in defending themselves from the Apaches.

"The attentions which Spanish and Indian neighbors have, besides the care of their scanty property in the fields and plantations, are many without going to the help of an invaded town, or to guard it when there are indications of the approach of the enemies; pursue those who steal when there is prospect of overtaking them, with due regard to the number of thieves and to the number of those who can be gathered in order to pursue them speedily; to provide themselves with riding outfits, to go out on a campaign when the governor deems it convenient, without any compensation; all this becomes necessary in order to engross the body of a well ordered troop which responds to the call for these operations.

"It seems to me, sir, that Your Excellency will understand from what I have related, the situation and state of this province, the weak forces for its defense, and the many calls to which they respond; for, although it abounds in men fit for war, the lack of arms, and a good deal more, that of

horses, renders them useless, considering that the war in this country cannot be made on foot.

"One of the opportune means that may be taken is to compel the neighbors of each settlement who, as I have said, live in a scattered manner, to get together and form towns with plazas and streets in such a way that a few men could defend them, from which it will follow that they would the more quickly join in their own defense, or be ready to give help to some other place. Towns arranged according to this plan would be respected by the enemy.

"The attainment of this end is impracticable to a governor because the rustic temper of these neighbors who are accustomed to live separated, the ones from the others, for not even parents and sons unite, and if I attempted to oblige them to congregate it would amount to making them my enemies, and the road to this court would be filled with complainants who, with apparent lamentations (as is their custom) they would try, by all means, to frustrate the object of the governor, esteeming more a life exposed to ruin, than to live under defense by being united.

"It is not a rash judgment in me to be persuaded of what I have above said, but an experience acquired in cases of what happened to my predecessors; for, unless force intervenes with them, persuasion is of no avail, and only a superior and strict command from Your Excellency will be capable to facilitate the union of these neighbors.

"I consider the formation of settlements, such as I have said, most useful for the defensive, and the offensive in that it intimidates the enemies and obliges them to have less arrogance, and more constraint. For the attainment of this, it would be proper to establish a garrison in the Valley of Taos, the situation of which, on account of being so deserted, and distant from this Capital, 25 leagues of bad land to the north, and having a pueblo of war accustomed Indians, and some neighbors (and many others who would return to their houses and labors at present abandoned through fear of the Comanches) would insure that frontier, and at the same time would protect the Pueblos of Abiquiú, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso and Picuris and all the settlements of Spaniards belong-

ing to the jurisdiction of Santa Cruz de la Cañada. And it would be quite difficult for the Comanches, who would insult or steal in the said pueblos and settlements, to return to their land, without having their retreat cut off by the auxiliaries of that garrison; and these frontiers, being secure by that garrison, they would be free from that care, in order to also use it in the protection of the other frontiers and in making war on the Apaches, and there would always be sufficient people to go out on campaigns against any other hostile nation.

"The prudent and superior intelligence of Your Excellency will supply the defects that may have escaped me, in the compliance of your command in your two quoted and esteemed letters, assuring you that all herewith explained is as much as the mediocrity of what my talent attains and that my good will ever desires to act with exactness in serving and pleasing Your Excellency whose life may God Our Lord prosper with long years.

Santa Fé of Nuevo Méjico and March 26 of 1772.

"Xmo. Sr. K. T. H. of Yours Excellency

Your most reverent and obliged servant,

PEDRO FERMIN DE MENDINUETA,

Exmo. Sr. D. ANTONIO DE BUCARELIG URISÚA."

Fathers Escalante and Dominguez Discover the Salt Lake, Utah, 1776 *—The Cliff Dwellings.

In the year 1776 under the government of Mendinueta the Franciscan Fathers attempted to discover a road or passage to California by the regions of the north (as General Fremont did in the last century.) They asked for a military escort to carry their enterprise into execution, but because Mendinueta was short of troops, he could give them only nine soldiers who under the command of Father Escalante, and accompanied by Father Francisco Atanacio Dominguez

* The authority upon which I rely to relate this daring effort of Fathers Escalante and Dominguez is found in their report made after their return to Santa Fé, which said report I had the opportunity of examining in the archives of New Mexico in Santa Fé. It is a Ms. found among others under the designation "Documentos Históricos." —THE AUTHOR.

set out from Santa Fé in a northly direction with the hope of finding a shorter route for California and the Gulf Coast. The said priests arrived at a very large lake to which they gave the name of Salt Lake, "Lago Salado," by which name it is known to this date. The city of Salt Lake, today the capital of the State of Utah, is built near it. From there they had to turn back, because Autumn was quite far advanced, the mountains covered with snow and therefor impassable. They came back on their return trip by the way of Arizona. They crossed the Rio Colorado Grande (Big Red River), by swimming, near the place where the city of Yuma* now stands, visiting on their return the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, and reaching Santa Fé in the month of December. By some writers it is claimed that Fathers Escalante and Dominguez visited the cliff dwellings in San Juan county, N. M., but I cannot agree with them because they do not give their authority for the statement and the Fathers do not say so in their report.

The Form of Government Is Changed—Mendinueta Leaves New Mexico.

In the year 1777 there was a political change, which, if it did not change the distressing situation in which New Mexico was plunged, it, at least, facilitated the means of more easily reaching the principal civil and military authorities. Until that date, as the reader may have observed, the Governor of New Mexico was, as the President of the United States actually is, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Civil Governor, and, at the same time, Captain General of the province, having, in addition, power to transact all official business with the Viceroy of Mexico directly, a policy which, on account of the long distance between Mexico and Santa Fé, caused much delay before the determinations of the King and Viceroy were known. The new order of things consolidated the Provinces of Durango, Sonora, Chihuahua and New Mexico into a single province, the four being denominated "Internal Provinces," and placing the

* The place is not known with certainty, but, as it is not apparent that they crossed the Gila River, it is reasonable to deduce that it was below the place of its confluence with the Red River.—THE AUTHOR.

government of all of them in the hands of a chief with the title of "Commandante General" who practically was another Viceroy, as he acted independently of the Viceroy, but was indirectly subject to his commands. That political change deprived the Governor of New Mexico of the rank of Captain General. The time fixed by law for the administration of each governor was coming to its close, and Mendinueta had to deliver the government to his successor, who was Don Juan Bautista de Anza; but, as Mendinueta had to leave before his successor arrived, he left Don Francisco Trevol Navarro acting as governor. He, Trevol, acted until the beginning of August, 1778. Mendinueta left Santa Fé in March, 1778, covered with glory, and leaving in history a luminous page in which his valuable services to New Mexico are most brilliantly reflected.

Trevol and Anza—Terrible Battle With the Comanches.

Don Francisco Trevol Navarro governed as governor, *ad interim*, until the end of August, 1778, date in which Don Juan Bautista de Anza assumed the charge as the legitimate successor of Mendinueta. Scarcely had Don Bautista de Anza assumed charge of the government when news reached him that the Comanches were again divided in different encampments, and that one of those encampments had as its chief, the most dreaded of the Comanche captains, whom the Spaniards knew quite well, for they had engaged him in battle a number of times, and whom they called "Cuerno Verde" (Green Horn); that that chief and his encampment had revolted again and were committing depredations. Governor de Anza set out in pursuit of him with a considerable body of men, and with a firm determination of administering Cuerno Verde and his band a severe castigation. The Spaniards met Cuerno Verde and his band after they had traveled 30 journeys to the northeast of Santa Fé, which, judging by the distance the expedition must have traveled each day, the place of encounter must have been on the Napeste (Arkansas) river, near the place occupied today by the city of Hutchison, in the state of Kansas. At the said point the Spaniards engaged Cuerno Verde and his band in bloody struggle, the result of which was the death of Cuerno Verde

and five of his most famous captains, and the capture of nearly 200 Comanches, many horses, and a great number of buffalo robes. The army under the command of Anza was composed of 989 men made up of citizens, which formed the greater part, soldiers and friendly Pueblo Indians. On his return to Santa Fé, Anza was informed that in the Province of Moqui, the Indians were dying of hunger because they had not had any crops that year nor the year before. On the strength of that information he made a trip to Moqui, carrying some provisions along, but before starting he wrote to the Commandant General, Knight of Croix, asking for help and provisions.

Provinces of Moqui and Oraibe Surrender—Famine.

The commandant sent provisions, and orders for the Spaniards to help the Moquis. Anza obtained the surrender of the Moqui province and of the pueblo of Oraibe which had always been the most obstinate in the matter of giving obedience to the Spanish authorities. In connection with the surrender of Oraibe an incident is recorded which can be well reckoned as an outburst of sublime patriotism; it is this: The Indians of said pueblo, together with the Indians of the Moqui province who had suffered for three consecutive years for want of crops, for during those three years not a drop of water fell, surrendered unconditionally to Governor Anza because they had no longer strength to fight. But the governor of the pueblo of Oraibe, when Anza advised him to surrender so as not to die of hunger, in spite of being so weak that he could scarcely speak, gave the Fathers and Anza this answer:

"As my nation is now destined to perish the few of us who are left, wish to die in our homes and in our faith. Those of my subjects, who may not want to follow me can do what they please; so far as I am concerned, I cannot repay you with anything for what you give me, and being unable to defend myself because my strength fails me I prefer to die rather than submit."*

*Anza's diary of the province of Moqui. The words of the Indian chief are not textual, but their equivalent is given in Spanish.—THE AUTHOR.

The chief died, and Anza and the priests were able to save the Indians by distributing, very meagerly, the provisions they had carried, and by taking out from each pueblo a number of families which they carried to other places where there was no famine. The loss to the Moqui province during those three years was 30,000 head of sheep and all their horses, their distressing situation being augmented by an invasion made on them by the Yutas and Navajoes and by pestilential epidemics such as small pox.

The Indians attributed that terrible drought, famine, invasion and epidemic to the work of Providence, as a condign punishment for the death of Father Garges whom they had killed four years before.

The events we have heretofore related are the most salient in the administration of Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza which lasted until June, 1789, the year in which his successor arrived. This was Don Fernando de la Concha of whom we shall speak in the next paragraph.

Don Manuel Flon is Appointed, But Does Not Assume the Government—Don Fernando de la Concha Comes.

Don Manuel Flon was sent directly by the King of Spain as governor of New Mexico in the year 1785, but he never assumed the charge of his administration, and not even visited the province of New Mexico. The reason of his failure is not shown by history, and all that can be gathered, from the examination of old documents, is that, because his wife was a sister to the Viceroy's wife, she interposed her influence with the Viceroy to give Flon a more remunerative post. Don Fernando de la Concha came to New Mexico in the year 1789, and governed the province till 1794. Nothing occurred, during his administration, that may be classified as a historical event, except his having obtained, through the agency of the priests, authority from the Pope and the King for founding a seminary in New Mexico, but he was not able to carry it into effect, by reason of having been unable to raise the funds to realize his ideal. With that event the administration of Don Fernando de la Concha closed with the year 1794, and was succeeded by Don Fernando Chacon who governed until the year 1805. We shall speak of him in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Interesting Events Happening Between the Years 1794 and 1814—Results of the Administration of Don Fernando Chacon—Father Ortega Visits New Mexico—Governor Alencaster, and Governor Manrique—Navajoes Declare War—First Entry of American Merchants—Election of Don Pedro Bautista Pino to the Spanish Congress—His "History," and his Interesting Speech in Spain in 1812.

1794-1814.

Don Fernando Chacon entered New Mexico as governor in the year 1794, finding the province in a state of peace, and its inhabitants employed in the development of the industries. That fact notwithstanding, the Indians, the Navajoes and Apaches, did not fail, every now and then, to repeat their incursions and thefts. Don Fernando Chacon was a descendant of the first governor of that name who governed from 1707 to 1712, as we have already seen, (ante chapt. 2 of this book), and hence, a man of illustrious origin and of high attainments in the science of government. During the four years he governed he made a journey to Mexico with the object of obtaining means for the promotion of the mining industries and in order to personally present before the Viceroy, the sad condition in which the province of New Mexico was sunk by the continual wars with the Indians.

However, he could obtain nothing, and returned to New Mexico. * It is not known who acted as governor during his absence, but it is known that it was in the year 1800 that he went to Mexico. During Chacon's government, or in the year 1798, the first visit was made to New Mexico by the father known as the "Visitador," (Visitor) in the name of the Franciscan Order. The Visitador who came to New Mexico was Don Juan Maria Vivian de Ortega. It does not appear,

* None of the historians who have written about New Mexico mention the trip of Chacon to Mexico but the author of this work has in his possession papers that confirm it.—THE AUTHOR.

either in the archives or in the written histories whether or not the civil authorities made any preparations for the reception of so distinguished an official. The ecclesiastical authority, however, did make them, as it appears in a document (oficio) which is in the hands of the author, and which was issued by Fr. Francisco de Hocio, Custodio of New Mexico, on the 10th day of September, 1798, in the form of a circular addressed to the Curates of the following missions: Nambé, Cañada, San Juan, Picuris, Taos, Abiquiú, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Jemes, Cochiti, Laguna, Isleta, Belen, Alburquerque, Sandia, San Felipe. That is the route which said circular followed, the curate of each mission annotating in the margin of said document the hour of arrival of the courier who carried it, and his hour of departure, so that when said document returned to Santa Fé, it had the signature of each of the parish priests of the missions indicated. The important part of said document is herewith reproduced textually:

"Most dear Fathers and Brethren: I remit to your P. P. and R. R. the adjoining papers, which with this date, Sr. Don José Maria Vivian de Ortega has addressed to me, with the end that being informed of their contents you may execute and comply with what is therein expressed, for in not doing so, such a course would be most regrettable to me, and will, besides, oblige me to take the most serious and opportune measures which I hope your Paternities and Reverencies will avoid by being of my manner of thinking; for, as Prelate, (although unworthy), I do not procure any other thing than the tranquility, and repose of all, as Our Most Reverend Father Provincial recommends it to me most heartily; and, as Don Josè Maria Vivian de Ortega must begin his holy visit (as visitor to this Custodio assigned by his most Illustrious Lordship) on the 28th inst., after the order in the margin, your Paternities and Reverencies should be prepared for his opportune arrival, having the Sacred vessels, Holy Oleums, ornaments, administration books and books of confraternities, (where they may be found) together with everything pertaining to your ministry of curés of souls, as I have advised it before hand."

The result of the inspection by the Visitor General is not related to us by the Fathers or by history, at least the author

has not been able to find it. Let us again return to the governor. Perhaps Governor Chacon's rectitude of character more than anything else contributed to establish the peace and quietude which the province of New Mexico enjoyed during the eleven years of his administration, as will be seen by the official letter which he addressed to Don Manuel Artiaga, Justice of the Peace, (Alcalde Mayor) of Isleta, which says literally:

"I am informed that the horses taken by the Apaches have returned alone by themselves, and of the ones lately stolen from Tomás Garcia out of his ranch which is near Navajoe; and so far as concerns the mule whose owner has not appeared it would be acceptable that you should write to the Alcaldes of Alameda and Jemes giving them color, brand and other marks, so they might make inquiries as to whether it belonged to any individual in those jurisdictions, and if not to credit it on the public funds. In regard to the two individuals whom you lately sent as prisoners to Sabinal, and to the other who resided at Belen, only your goodness could have condescended to their petition to be allowed to go with the campaigners; for besides being in want of provisions, they were traveling on foot for want of horses, and without any arms because they did not have them, all four of them being prisoners; therefore I have directed the bearer, that if he meets them on the road, before they arrive at the appointed stopping place, to make them turn back, and if they don't, I have already taken the measures to arrest them again, and then send them anew for a third time, in which case you will let them know and understand that no consideration could absolve them from their exile, and you can grant them leave only to go out of the land and never to return, for on the contrary they will irremissibly suffer imprisonment for ten years.

"May God guard you M. A.

FERNANDO CHACON. (Seal).

"Santa Fé, 21st of April, 1799."

It was also during the administration of Governor Chacon that the resettlement of a town near the pueblo of Laguna was undertaken (which the author believes is no other than the town of Cubero or that of Cebolleta) as is indicated by an

official document issued by Father José Benito Periero, Curé of la Laguna entitled thus: "Notice of the Mission of Saint Joseph de la Laguna which is administered by Father José Benito Pereiro, a religious of the regular observance of our Holy Father Saint Francis, its progress in the year 1801, number of ministers who have served in it, the synod that it enjoys and total of souls with distinction as to classes and sexes in the province of New Mexico."

Continuing Father Pereiro gives an account of the number of Indians and Spaniards who inhabited said pueblo and vicinity, whose population reached the number of 822, and the Father continues:

"By the preceding exhibit it is manifest that since March 19th, 1800, when the Spaniards and peoples of other classes began their new settlement near this mission, till the first of January, 1801, there was an increase of one in the Spaniards and people of other classes; and from the first of said January to the 20th of June of 1801, there was another, resulting in an increase of two in the two years."

Navajoe Nation Declares War.

By the year 1804, the Navajoes committed many depredations and thefts, causing at the same time, a great number of deaths among the farmers and herders, on account of which a campaign, consisting of citizens, which was sustained and helped by Governor Chacon, was undertaken against said Indians; but as those incursions, deaths and thefts, were of a local character, for they were committed in the district and pueblos of Abiquiú, the Curé of those missions issued a circular to the Curés of Belen, Isleta, Alburquerque, Sandia, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Jemes, and Cochiti imploring them to unite with him in praying to God for the success of the Spanish arms (the original is in the hands of the author) which circular textually says:

Circular Imploring Prayers for the Success of the Spaniards.

"Most dear Fathers and Brethren:—Notorious to all of your Paternities and Reverencies are the very grave tribulations experienced for more than two months by the deaths of Christians, and thefts of animals caused by the enemies,

the Navajoes; and as the principal medium to placate the just anger of God, and to hold back the scourge of his justice are prayers and sacrifices offered by us as mediators between His Most High Majesty and men; and furthermore being pastors of their souls and to see to it that the crown of the King (God preserve him) is revered, and for the temporal weal of this province, believing your Paternities and Reverencies equally animated by the same zeal for the cause of God, of the King, and of this soil, and I, as prelate, upon whom weighs down the double burden of my pastoral office, I pray, entreat, and even command your Paternities and Reverencies that, as soon as you see this circular you shall offer to the Almighty, with the greatest speed possible, a solemn mass with processions at the end of it, singing the litany of the Saints, and during the present campaign you shall recite in mass the prayer *Pro Tempore Belli* for the happy outcome of the arms of the King, and for our success in the pacification of the province."

First North American Merchants—Entry of Lalande.

In the year 1804 commercial trade was first introduced with the North Americans, that is, on that year the first North American merchant, named Juan Bautista Lalande, entered Santa Fé.* He had been sent by William Morrison, a merchant from Illinois, to sell American merchandise. Lalande disposed of the merchandise, appropriated the money, and married a lady in Santa Fé, where he lived the rest of his life. With these events the administration of Don Fernando Chacon came to its end, and that of Don Joaquin del Real Alencaster, who ruled till 1808, began.

*In another work of this author, "Reseña Histórico—Sinóptica de la Guerra México—Americana," in Chapt. XV of said work, this author says that Juan Bautista Lalande was the first stranger who came to New Mexico. I said so because when I wrote said work I had not found the data that contradicts that fact; I had followed the opinions of Prince, Salpointe, Davis, Gregg and other historians who not knowing of the existence of the data now in my possession, fell into the same error. The reader will recall to have read in Chapt. I of this fourth book (which see) that in the year 1743, there came to New-Mexico Jean de A'lay and Luis Marie. That historical error is therefore corrected.—THE AUTHOR.

Administration of Alencaster—The Strangers Continue Flocking In—A Military Official From the American Army Is Captured—Purchase of Louisiana.

In June 1805, another stranger, a citizen from Kentucky, named James Pursley, a carpenter by trade, arrived and settled at Santa Fé. Lalande and Pursley were followed by Zebulon Pike, an official of the American army. Pike did not come to New Mexico as an adventurer, but as an explorer. The American Government being desirous of learning the extension and the topographical conditions of the vast territory it had bought from Napoleon in 1803, (Louisiana) sent Pike, in 1806, at the head of an escort, that he should make the necessary observations about the vast territory thus acquired three years before. Pike reached the northern boundary line of New Mexico and camped near the Rio Grande, near the place where the town of Alamosa, Colorado, stands, not thinking that he was within the boundaries of New Mexico, constructed a fortification in the place, and unfurled the American flag. For this act he was captured by the Spaniards with all his outfit, brought to Santa Fé, and from Santa Fé taken to Chihuahua. This occurred in 1807,* while Alencaster, who imprisoned Pike, was governor. Before the end of 1808 Alencaster went out as governor, and Don Alberto Mainez was left governing *ad interim.* From that year on the Yankee civilization commenced to spread in New Mexico. With the contact thus established with the North Americans, who continued pouring in frequently, the hope also came that the innumerable sufferings which the poor Province of New Mexico had experienced would now commence to draw to a close. As nothing else worthy of mention happened during the administration of Alencaster and Mainez, we will follow the narration of events with the inauguration of Governor José Manrique, who assumed the charge at the close of 1808 and governed to the year 1814.

*Read's: Reseña Hist. Sinop. de la Guer. Mex. Americ. Cap. 15.

Administration of Manrique—First Delegate Sent to the Spanish Congress—Singular Method of his Election—Other North American Strangers Come—Don Pedro Bautista Pino Deputy to Spain Publishes the History of New Mexico—The Same Personage Pronounces an Interesting Address Before the Spanish Congress at Cádiz—Other Interesting Things.

The administration of Governor Manrique was rich in valuable incidents and events of high historical interest, as it was during his incumbency that for the first time New Mexico experienced the satisfaction felt when the citizens of a free people elect their own officials. At that time there was no council in Santa Fé to preside over the election of a deputy to the Cortes of Spain which was authorized for the first time by a Royal Statute of February 14th, 1810, for which reason Governor Manrique ordered a meeting of the Alcaldes of the different villas for the election of said deputy, the same falling upon Don Pedro Bautista Pino who started on the same year for Spain defraying his own expenses. Let us hear Pino relate to us the method used in his election and the representation he made before the Spanish Congress of the recommendations made to him by his constituents. We give the same, textually:

Pino's Election.

"All the towns of that province were invited by their governor for the purpose of an election as there was no council in the city, thus substituting it by Alcaldes and decorated persons who deserved public confidence, after assemblying them in the Capital, and reminding them of what is provided in the Royal Decree of the 14th of February, 1810, issued in the Island of Leon by the regency that installed the Central Junta of the Spains, the following (candidates) were selected: Don José Pino, Captain of Militia, and Alcalde of the Villa of Alburquerque; Don Antonio Ortiz, Royal Ensign of the Province; Don Diego de Montoya, Alcalde by First Instance of the Capital; Don José Garcia, from La Mora, Retired Lieutenant and Attorney of the Villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada; Don José Miguel Tafoya, Alcalde of Second Instance of the Capital, and first corporal retired from the veteran company where he

served 29 years; Don José Antonio Chavez, Alcalde of the First Instance of the Villa of Alburquerque; Don Miguel Garcia, Alcalde of the Villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and its dependencies; Don Miguel Antonio Baca, Alcalde of the Second Instance of the Villa of Alburquerque; Don Cleto Miera y Pacheco, Ordinary Alcalde of St. Charles of Alameda, and its dependencies; Don Tomás Ortiz, Alcalde of San Gerónimo de Taos. All these citizens, presided over by the Governor, Lieutenant Colonel Don José Manrique, and in the presence of many distinguished persons from the pueblos showed their votes in favor of Don Antonio Ortiz, Don Juan Rafael Ortiz, Captain Don José Pino, Don José Pascual Garcia de la Mora, Don Bartolomé Fernandez and Don Pedro Bautista Pino.

Those who came out with a majority in their favor, in order to draw lots were Don Antonio Ortiz, Don Juan Rafael Ortiz, and Don Pedro Bautista Pino. And the lot having fallen to me, I am the same person who today has the honor of counting himself as one of those who compose this august and sovereign Congress of the Spains, and of asking personally from Your Majesty the very urgent remedies for the evils from which that province suffers. In order to effect such a thing I offered before hand to undertake the journey at my own expense, which voyage is of more than 900 leagues by land to the place of sailing at Véra Cruz, and 1900 by water as far as Cádiz. The abandonment of 22 persons which make up my family, my age and infirmities, finally all the hardships that I have suffered (this first son of that province who has come to Spain) I deem them all well employed, if they but contribute to remedy the evils that afflict my fellow citizens.—(Pino "Not. Hist." Pino p. 36-37.) Pino continues saying:

"Particular Individuals Who Also Gave Me Instructions."

"The Rev. Father Preacher, Fr. Francisco de Hocio, native from the province of Bilbao, in Spain, and Chaplain of the garrison of New Mexico since 26 years ago, a person very much loved by all the province, delivered me a copy book signed by his hand in 10 leaves to the folio and commences:

"Prospect on plan over different solicitudes." Don Mariano de la Peña, native of the city of Mexico, and resident in that province from his tender age delivered to me another one in 5 leaves which commences: "Simple production which shows the good will of the one who signs it below." Don Ignacio Sanchez Vergara, alcalde of the pueblo of Jemes, and its accessories, a native also of the city of Mexico, delivered to me another one which commences: "Interesting points about this province." It is also signed by Don José Gutierrez. Capt. Bartolomé Baca delivered to me a letter in half a sheet which commences: "By reason of my absence in the attendance of the meeting of judges etc." and ends "San Fernando de Tomé 28th of October, 1811." Don Juan José Silva, native of that province, delivered to me a paper which commences: "General points for the Lord Deputy." The entire contents both of the first official instructions, signed by those who certified my election and are here referred to, as well as those of these particular persons, Your Majesty may see whenever it be your sovereign pleasure. They will convince you of the urgency that I have laid down before you as to what is demanded; will also show you the ample services rendered your Majesty by those inhabitants; will give testimony of their physical and moral needs; will make for themselves a place in the compassionate heart of your Majesty, that in due time the province may be drawn out of the abandonment and orphanage in which they have lived to this date on account of the indolence on the part of the government, and they shall finally show most clearly the imminent danger of its (the province of N. M.) being the prey of our American neighbors, leaving, in consequence, the other provinces exposed to the same fate, one after another. I hope my Lord, that Your Majesty will be profoundly penetrated of this truth, considering that the purchase of Louisiana, which the United States has made has opened to that nation the gate to arm and mobilize against us the gentile nations, as well as to invade the province themselves, which once lost, it will be impossible to recover it. And as we are now in a position to prevent that evil let your Majesty take heed of these warnings which mere chance has caused them

to come with me to Spain, so that delay in applying the remedy, may not be the cause of the evil which is so justly feared by the one who has had the honor to present it before Your Majesty." (Pino Not. Hist. p 36-37.)

Petitions in Conformity with His Instructions With Which Ends the Memorandum. (Supra) Pino's Pathetic Appeals for Educational Establishments.

"I have manifested, sir, the sad situation of that province which I have the honor to represent. It only remains for me to ask of Your Majesty the remedy which it speedily needs for its relief, and for its beginning to enjoy the prosperity of which it is susceptible.

"For that purpose, and, in conformity with my instructions, it becomes indispensable that Your Majesty condescend to accede to the following petitions: 1st. The establishment of an Espiscopate in its Capital, Santa Fé, New Mexico; 2nd. The establishment of a seminary college of higher studies and of public schools for the teaching of the youth; 3rd. The uniformity in military service, enlarging the four garrisons that have been mentioned, and paying all the neighbors who are ordered to be placed under arms (including the three militia companies already referred to) as it is done in Durango, Sonora, Texas and the other adjoining provinces; 4th. The establishment of civil and criminal courts in Chihuahua.

"These four provinces, sir, should not be so called, if they are well considered. What other province of the monarchy could count 50 years without having seen its bishop? Which one, at a distance of 600 leagues from the administration of justice? None, however unhappy it might be..... the claims, then, which my province reduces to petitions, should be called just claims." ("Not Hist." p. 90)

In presenting his said memorandum to the Congress (which he afterwards sent to press in Cádiz under the title of "Noticias Históricas de Nuevo Méjico") he made several comments on the extremely sad situation of New Mexico, taking all the branches of industry, one by one, which, as we have already seen, were found in complete standstill, on account of the causes which the reader already understands. Mr. Pino

makes a very correct and detailed exposition in the form of a summary or abridgement, but, as the reader is already acquainted with all the sufferings of which the abandoned people of New Mexico had undergone, the author would become wearisome if he repeated, by paraphrasing Pino, what the reader already knows; the author, however, takes leave to reproduce the words of Mr. Pino in reference to the little protection New Mexico received from the King, through the lack of an army; the scarcity of victuals and ammunitions of war. Mr. Pino draws a picture so vivid, so piteous, and so pathetic that one is overawed at the contemplation of the patriotism and abnegation of the inhabitants, of the abandoned, despised and unfortunate province of New Mexico. Let the reader read that word picture of the Deputy, Don Pedro Bautista Pino, and, then, ask himself if it be possible to find any other people more forbearing in the history of the world. Pino speaks:

"No province in Spanish America can show such services as the province of New Mexico. It already numbers 118 years of continual wars with the 33 savage nations which surround it, and to this date it has not lost a foot of ground from its ancient boundaries. It has cost her, indeed, many vigils and fatigues, great loss of people and property; yet its courage and constant adherence to the crown of Castile has caused her to despise the perils amid which it has repeatedly seen itself involved.

"The intelligent people of the United States seem to be more deeply penetrated with this adherence and fidelity than the inhabitants of old Spain, and of the indifference with which that province has been looked upon, and have, therefore, endeavored to attract it to themselves by various means. Realizing that their position would make them owners of our other internal domains between both seas, south and north; and their commerce having been introduced into the interior of Mexico, they have tried both by coaxing us with an advantageous commerce, and by inviting us through mild and protective laws, to annex this precious portion of territory to that of the Louisiana land, already purchased by them, and by which we are bounded; but neither by these means, nor by their

threats in building forts in the immediate localities, nor even by arousing the savages against us have they succeeded in anything, except in losing their hopes in each one of their attempts.

"In order to maintain this glory it has been necessary to keep constantly 1,500 men under arms. As the public treasury has disregarded their payment it was necessary to reduce the service to payment by corporation. These neighbors, then, work by turns in their military tasks with the same punctuality as if they were veterans. They have to present themselves with a change of horses, firelocks, pistols, bows, arrows and shields. They assume well the obligation of paying for the ammunitions and the provisions necessary during the time they are kept under arms which is wont to be regularly 45 days, and sometimes two or three months of continuous, cruel war with savage nations who are already armed and skilled in the use of the guns.

"This most hard and unsupportable burden which has no like in any other province, causes New Mexico certain evils more easily conceived, than explained; suffice it to say, that many of those unfortunates are ruined by a single campaign, for they have to sell their own clothing and their families's to provide themselves with ammunitions and provisions. To say it all in one word, this evil reaches up to such an extreme that even the liberty of their sons is sacrificed in order to comply with that obligation as a neighbor. This is one of the principal motives of the backwardness of prosperity in that province, and the source of the complaints of its inhabitants by reason of not being uniformed in the service with the others.

Veteran Company.

"The King only pays for 121 men (soldiers) at 240 annual pesos (dollars) per man distributed, as follows: 39, in the camp of horses (such is called the perambulating camp); 12, in the body guard or soldiers quarters of the Capital; 7, in Sevolleta, the frontier of the Apache Indians. The rest, in other assignments; and those quartered with other neighbors who pay their own expenses.

"The 102 Spanish towns referred to are also paid for by the

neighbors; so that for the purpose of keeping that province in obedience to the crown, those neighbors have to this date paid the following sums, to wit:

1500 soldiers daily @ 240 duros each per year (as the 121 paid for by the treasury) are in 118 years..	$42,480,000
The forces referred to cost (at least) 5,009 duros *	610,000
Total.....	$43,090,000

Other North Americans Come in Under McKnight, Glen, Becknel and Cooper.

In 1812, an expedition came from St. Louis, Missouri, to Santa Fé composed of two adventurers, with an Irishman at the head named McKnight, bringing along with them a pack of mules loaded with merchandise. At Santa Fé, they were looked upon as spies; their effects were confiscated, and they were sent to Chihuahua as prisoners. The same year two others strangers came, one of them named Glen, (a merchant from Ohio) who came to sell merchandise, and the other called Becknell. These were followed the same year by others to the number of 15 under the command of an individual called Cooper, also with merchandise. With this last expedition of merchants, the trade between New Mexico and Missouri became established and from New Mexico it extended down to Chihuahua, from whence on April 3rd, 1839, an expedition of Mexican merchants set out for the United States with a caravan of seven wagons which also traversed the Territory, but did not touch the capital, Santa Fé.

Interesting Speech of Mr. Pino—Forseeing the Change of Flags.

On November 28th, 1812, Don Pedro Bautista Pino delivered before the Spanish Congress an interesting speech, elucidating the reasons he had to demand from the nation the things which, as the reader already knows, he had previously asked in his memorandum or exposition, to wit:—The establishment of an Episcopate in Santa Fé; the establishment of a Seminary College and public schools, in the same place; the uniform-

* Pino's Not. Hist. p. 41 to 43.

ity in the military service; the establishment of a Tribunal of Justice in Chihuahua, and the right that New Mexico be authorized to send a Deputy to the courts of equity at the Island of Santo Domingo. The speech which we have been referring to has never before been published, but the author of this work, in April, 1910, through the agency of Don Antonio Aragon Montejo, of Madrid, Spain, obtained a copy, written by hand by Mr. Montejo, from the official daily records of the Spanish Congress of those years, and in that way he can lay before his readers the interesting words of Mr. Pino.

At that date, November 20, 1812, Spain was at war with France and other nations in Europe, and with all her colonies in North America, a reason why New Mexico was ignored by the Spanish government; for as Mexico was also struggling against Spain for its independence, it could not receive, neither from the Viceroy, in Mexico, nor from the King, in Spain, the attentions which Mr. Pino was so energetically demanding. Mr. Pino, referring to the causes which originated the war in Mexico against Spain and the other colonies of North America, used the following language:

"Sir:—I have heretofore spoken in regard to the interests of our province. I must do it also in regard to any point which touches the general weal. So it is forestated to me by my constituents in their instructions and dictated by my own conscience. I ask of Your Majesty all your gracious attention on what I am going to treat about. It is nothing less than the main basis for the pacification of the countries of America which are now found in the throes of revolution.

"Let us speak frankly: Neither our wise constitution nor the resolutions heretofore taken by Your Majesty are sufficient to extinguish that flame. Nothing, either, will be accomplished by the measures which your governing Viceroys may take. Blood will continue to flow so long as the seeds of discontent are not taken away, or the origin of it is eliminated. Arms may succeed in imposing respect, but cannot smother the fire which necessity stirs up. Only a decided measure, by doing justice, shall secure tranquility.

"The clans, sir, those descendants from Africa, without whom the head-promoters could not have made any head-way

towards independence, and whom those loyal sons of Spain could not have faced; these, who are many, are found without any landed property, and are now, without any hopes of ever having it, according to the decree of Your Majesty of March 19, 1811. By it, not even the domiciled inhabitants can enter into the enjoyment of what the law grants other people's lands for cultivation."

Mr. Pino continues commenting, with all the strength of his soul upon the sufferings of the poor people of New Mexico up to the point, when, rapt into ecstasy, and, as though he addressed the inhabitants of New Mexico themselves, he gives full vent to the sentiments of his heart, and, with tears in his eyes, pronounced in a flight of sublime eloquence, the following words: "Unhappy beings, victims of the caprice of men! You are not allowed to congregate, nor to form a society anywhere!"

"You are compelled to live in the forests, like the wild beasts—yes, as the tenants of powerful landed lords! You are despoiled and expelled at will from place to place as though you were strangers, and this,—your native land! If you attempt to domicile with others, you are excluded by a decree of the Sovereign Congress for the partition of lands! Where will you miserable creatures go to put up your dwelling?"

Mr. Pino's patriotic harangue was nothing more than the last appeal of a people which, for more than a hundred years, had been suffering anguish, famine and criminal abandonment on the part of the crown which had converted the inhabitants of New Mexico, into a province of wretches, who without any other blame than that of having peopled these unknown regions, and of having defended them with their blood in order thus to expand more and more the glories of Spain, had been held in cruel neglect and reduced to a state of semi-barbarism from which their only hope depended on the consummation of the independence of Mexico, in which they were also entirely deceived; for when the independence of Mexico became consummated in 1821, the troubles and sufferings of the sons of New Mexico increased without they coming to enjoy any rest, protection and real civilization until the year 1846, in which Providence decreed the change

of governments which placed New Mexico under the aegis of the government of the United States, the "greatest and most powerful (as General Palacio said, post) of all the governments under the sun," New Mexico entering from that date into the enjoyment of real peace and into the advancement and development of its riches. Here this chapter closes, and with it, our references to Governor Manrique. In the next, we shall treat of the stirring events which took place in New Mexico from 1814 to 1840.

CHAPTER IV.

Names of Governors Continued—End of the Spanish Government and Beginning of the Mexican Government—Two Colleges are Established—First Provincial Deputation—Visit of the Bishop from Durango—The First Newspaper—Bent's Fort—Governor Pérez Enters—Chimayo Revolution—Death of Governor Pérez and Other Officials—Revolutionary Government—Patriotism of Armijo and Other Citizens—Death of the Insurrectionary Chiefs—Triumph of Law and Justice—Other Incidents—Armijo Assumes Command of Forces—The Insurgents Surrender—Arrest of Their Chiefs—A Seditious Individual is Left at Santa Cruz—Issues a Proclamation of Insurrection—Claims of American Merchants.

List of Governors 1815-1846.

From 1815 to 1840 there were the following governors: Mainez, to 1817; Pedro Maria Allande, to 1818; Facundo Melgares, (the last under Spanish regime) to 1822; Francisco Xavier Chávez, from 1822 to 1823 (first governor and political chief under the Mexican Government), with Antonio Viscarra *ad interim*, for only a few months in 1822. In 1823, Antonio Viscarra; Bartolomé Baca to 1825; Antonio Narbona, to 1827; José Antonio Chávez, from 1828 to 1831; Santiago Abreu from 1831, to 1833; Francisco Sarracino, with Juan Rafael Ortiz, *ad interim*, and Mariano Chávez, *ad interim*, to 1836; in 1837, Don Albino Pérez; from 1837 to 1838, Pedro Muñoz, *ad interim*, and José Gonzales, Revolutionary Governor. From 1838 to 1846, Manuel Armijo, with Mariano Martinez de Le Janza (*ad interim*, from 1844 to 1845), José Chávez, (*ad interim*, in 1845) and Juan Bautista Vigil, *ad interim*, for a few days in 1846. That is, Don Manuel Armijo was the Governor, *de facto et de jure*, from 1838 to 1846, with the exception of the intervals in which Martinez, Chávez, and Vigil acted *ad interim*, as aforesaid.

During the administrations of Mainez, Allande, and Melgares, the last three under the Government of Spain, nothing

General Manuel Armijo, New Mexico's last Governor under Mexican Authority.

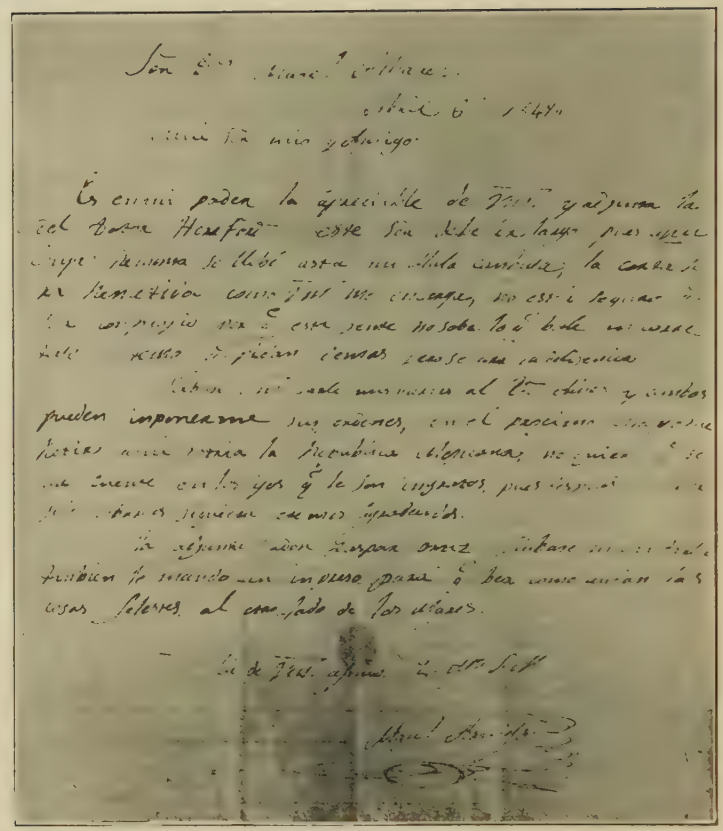
of public interest is recorded in history, and for that reason, and for the further reason of Mexico having become an Empire in 1821, we commence the next paragraph with a new governor under a new government.

End of the Spanish, and Commencement of the Mexican Government.

With the inauguration of Governor Francisco Xavier Chávez, in the year 1822, the domination of the Spanish government forever ended in New Mexico, and the Mexican government started, not as a republican government, but rather as an imperial government with Don Agustin de Iturbide as first Emperor who had already been crowned, as such, in Mexico, on March 4th, 1821, which government lasted until the year 1824, in which the empire was turned into a republic, with the elections of Generals Guadalupe Victoria, and Nicolás Bravo as President and Vice-President, respectively. The only thing that happened between 1822 and 1823, was, as we have said, the change of government with amplification of powers to the governor who immediately could act as governor and political chief, and the fact of the first Mexican Congress having decreed, or rather, ratified the decree of the Spanish Congress of a previous date establishing a Bishopric in New Mexico, a decree which, without the cause of its failure having ever been known, was never carried into execution.

New Mexico With Chihuahua and Durango are Consolidated Into One State—Territorial Form of Government is Established—Establishment of Two Colleges—Fr. Fernández Comes as Vicar General.

In January 1824, the governor being Don Bartolomé Baca, the Mexican Congress consolidated the provinces of Chihuahua, Durango, and New Mexico into a whole entity giving it the name of "Estado Interino del Norte." That decree, however, was of no use because of the protest of Durango, from which sprung as a result of the protest, the organization of New Mexico as a Territory. In 1825, while D. Antonio Narbona was governor, New Mexico was visited by the celebrated preacher Father Agustin Fernández, who had before, in 1822, visited the Californias, as inspector sent thither by Emperor Iturbide, settling in New Mexico as



Fac-simile of letter from General Manuel Armijo to Manuel Alvarez—In this letter Armijo admits that he was a coward—(See translation post.)

Vicar General of the Territory. In the year 1826 the said Vicar established in Santa Fé a public school and college, and Father Martinez, another school and college in the town of Taos, those two schools and colleges being the first seats of learning, deserving the name of schools, that were established in New Mexico with the exception of the ones the Franciscan fathers had already established in the missions, as we have already seen. In the same year a decree from the Sovereign Government arrived in Santa Fé in which, those who had been convicted and sentenced as thieves, were forbidden to enter the army, which decree both on account of being the first that reached New Mexico under the Mexican Government as well as on account of its singular provisions is herewith given in tact. The decree follows: "Department of War and Marine Section 5. His Excellency, The President of the United Mexican States has been pleased to address to me the following decree:

"The President of the United Mexican States to the inhabitants of the Republic, know ye: That the general Congress has decreed the following:

"No one who has been convicted and sentenced as a thief, shall be applied to for the service of arms during the time of his sentence. Pedro Paredes, President of the Senate. Bernardo Gonzales Pérez de Angulo, President of the House of Deputies. Demetrio del Castillo, Senator and Clerk. Joaquin Miguel Gutierrez, Deputy Clerk.

"Therefore I command it to be printed, circulated and given due compliance. Palace of the Federal Government at Mexico, May 20th, 1826. Guadalupe Victoria, A. D., Manuel Gómez Pedraza.

"I communicate it to you for your intelligence and consequent effects.

"God and Liberty, Mexico, May 20th, 1826. G. Pedraza.

"And I insert it in the sequel for its publication and compliance, giving me advice of its receipt.

"God guard you for many years. Santa Fé, July 18, 1826. A. Narbona (Seal).

"The first appointed constitutional Alcalde of this city."

Don Manuel Armijo first commenced to govern towards the close of 1827 and governed to the year 1828, when he

was succeeded by Don Antonio Viscarra, acting *ad interim*, who governed to the close of that year, coming next as governor Don José Antonio Chávez, who governed to the beginning of 1831.

Other Foreigners Come In—The "Real de Dolores" is Discovered.

From the year 1822 to the year 1827, the following named foreigners came into New Mexico: Charles Roubidoux and Baubien, who were followed afterwards by Lucien B. Maxwell, Joseph Clouthier, Frederick Muller, Ceran St. Brain, Kit Carson, Charles Bent and others, all of them settling at Taos, during the administrations of Governors Bartolomé Baca, Antonio Narbona, Manuel Armijo and Antonio Viscarra, thus increasing the number of North Americans in New Mexico. The year following (1828) Don Ignacio Cano discovered the mineral called "Real de Dolores" and afterwards obtained, in company of Antonio Ortiz, a grant covering several square miles of mineral land known as "the Ortiz Mine Grant."

History of the "Provincial Diputación"—First Public School Law—Appointment of the First Gefe Politico—Bishop of Durango Visits New Mexico—First Newspaper—Bent's Fort.

The first session of the first "Diputación Provincial" (Provincial Deputation) held in Santa Fé under the Imperial Government of Emperor Iturbide, April 15, 1822, was presided by Acting Governor Facundo Melgares (the last of Spain's governors in New Mexico), with Juan Bautista Vigil, member, as secretary. As to who constituted the full membership of the Assembly the journal of said Assembly (No. 1, p. 8) is silent, as it is also regarding the time and manner of the election of said members, but Chávez, Gallegos and Pino are mentioned as members of a committee. At the session of April 27, 1822, (Journal No. 3), Melgares still presided with Vigil as secretary, and Messrs. Ortiz and Martin, or Martinez, are mentioned as members of a committee. It was at this session that the first public school law was passed (vide Chap. on Education, post).

Don Francisco Xavier Appointed First Gefe Politico—Melgares First Military Governor.

It was at that session of the "Diputación Provincial" that the formal announcement was made of the appointment of Don Francisco Xavier as Gefe Politico of the province, and of the Acting Governor Facundo Melgares as Military Governor. The official proceedings of that date (Journal No. 17, page 13, now in the office of the Surveyor General of New Mexico), show that on the day stated "the Acting Civil and Military Governor Facundo Melgares presented to the assembly the presidential order appointing Don Francisco Xavier as Gefe Politico and said Acting Governor as Military Governor of the Province of New Mexico." *The next session of the "Diputación" in said year of 1822, was presided by Governor Xavier, in August, and in December by the Military Governor. At its session of August, 1822, the Assembly received an official report from Don Lorenzo Gutierrez, Deputy from New Mexico to the "Diputación" of Durango, giving an account of his services. At the session of December 17, 1823, an official communication from Don Rafael Alarid, New Mexico's Deputy to the National Congress is presented, but the journal in this case, as in the case of Deputy Lorenzo Gutierrez, is silent regarding the contents of said communications or reports. (Journals of December 17 and December 20, 1823. In New Mexico Surveyor General's Office). At the said session of December 20, 1823, supra, two claims were presented by Francisco Pérez y Aguirre and Francisco Rivas, respectively, for services as "Representatives from the Province of New Mexico," but the journal, as in the other cases cited, fails to show the amounts claimed nor the date, place and kind of services rendered.

* In my "Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico" at page 236, it appears that the first Assembly or "Diputación Provincial" met in Santa Fé in the year 1831, and was presided by Father Martinez. That is an error, or rather a mistake, which was not noticed until after it was too late for correction. One whole paragraph was omitted inadvertently.—THE AUTHOR.

Bishop's Visit to New Mexico.

In the year of 1833, His Most Illustrious Lordship Don Antonio Zubiria, Bishop of Durango, made an extended visit to all the parishes of New Mexico, finding nearly all the temples in complete destitution of ornaments for the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass.* Two years before, in 1829, Charles Bent and one of his brothers had built on the Napeste River a fortress which has come to be known in history by the name of "Bent's Fort."

The First Newspaper, El Crepúsculo.

In the year of 1835 a step of great importance was taken in New Mexico for it was then that the first move of real progress was made, that date adorns by far, more the pages of the history of that epoch, because of Father Antonio José Martinez's foresight in realizing the great power of the press to diffuse civilization, to destroy ignorance, by making itself the voice bearer of the ideas which implant the spirit of true liberty and civism in the inhabitants of a nation, establishing at very great expense and untold sacrifices, the first printing press in New Mexico and publishing, at Taos, the first newspaper, under the name of "El Crepúsculo" (The Dawn). On this press Father Martinez printed books for his school as well as books of devotion. He published, also a memorial to the Mexican Government, in pamphlet form, reference to which is made in another part of this work, which he sent to the President of Mexico, General Antonio Lopez Santa Anna.†

New Mexico Made Department—Territory Abolished—Governor Albino Pérez—Successor of Chavez and Sarracino—His Inaugural Address—Chavez and Sarracino Govern Again—Act at Intervals—The Chimayo Insurrection—Death of Governor Pérez and Other Officials—Revolutionary Government—Patriotism of Armijo and Others—Death of the Insurgent Chiefs—Triumph of Law and Justice—Other Incidents—American Merchants Make Claims Before the Mexican Government for Damages Caused by the Insurrectos.

Governor Albino Pérez came to New Mexico direct from Mexico in the month of April, 1835, and at once entered into

* Salpointe: Soldiers of the Cross.

† The Author of this work has this Memorial.

the discharge of his duties as Gefe Politico and commanding military officer of New Mexico. On the 20th day of June, of the same year he made his inaugural address in the city of Santa Fé. *He was a Colonel in the regular army of Mexico, prior to his coming to New Mexico, and had distinguished himself as a military officer during his long service in the Mexican Army. That Governor Pérez had already received a very favorable impression regarding the patriotism and noble qualities of the people of New Mexico, as well as of the promising appearance of the country at large, and that he was entertaining the hope that the new constitution, which had just been adopted by Mexico was to be much more beneficial to New Mexico than the former system of government is shown in his address. . Regarding the patriotism and loyalty of the people of New Mexico he said at the opening of his address.

> "Fellow Citizens: A number of extraordinary circumstances come to my assistance and furnish me with the most pleasant data to address you for the first time. It is today just sixty-four days that I have the honor of being your governor, and already have a thousand proofs of your peaceful habits and of your love for order, of your obedience to justice and of the full complement which you possess of all the civic and moral virtues with which the eternal God has seen fit to endow you in the enjoyment of this majestic retirement of your peaceful and quiet lives."

How little did the noble man know, or even imagine that before 18 months had expired, from that date, some of the very people he was praising were to assassinate him in the most cowardly manner. Yet his very efforts to enforce the

*The original of this historical address is in the hands of Don Demetrio Pérez of Las Vegas, who is the only surviving son of Gov. Pérez. Don Demetrio was about ten years of age when he came with his father, was present when his father delivered his said address, and it is due to him that I have been able to obtain a copy of the precious document which was published in La Voz del Pueblo of Las Vegas, in 1891, from which paper Hon. Antonio Lucero, Secretary of the State of New Mexico, kindly furnished me with a copy taken by himself, on the 30th day of December 1911.—THE AUTHOR.

provisions of the new constitution for the betterment of the people's sad situation were being misconstrued and used as the mainstay of the rebellion which we are now to describe.

Referring to the triumph of the National Government over its enemies, and to the retroactive salutary effects which the whole country was anticipating from the workings of the new Constitution, Governor Pérez said:

> "In rejoicing over the triumph of the Supreme General Government, the approval of the Constitution, the triumph of order and the establishment of your social liberties, I want to emphasize my words. To be sure it has been a long time since the enemies of the public peace have been endeavoring, with all their might, to raise the standard of rebellion, without which they cannot get along, it seems; to those who have not looked upon the actual conditions of things with indifference, it must be apparent how persistently, how scandalously they have been making preparations to overthrow a truly paternal government, a government that has been so zealous of Mexican blood."

The Governor in thus referring to the enemies of the lawfully established government was uttering a prophesy of what these very seditious elements were planning, under his very presence, some of those he considered his best and most loyal friends being among the principal agitators, to overthrow his government, and to behead him and, thus, to stain their hands with his innocent blood.

Change of Government.

Pérez succeeded Governors Sarracino and Chavez. The people of New Mexico were in extreme misery and in general discontent on account of the abolition the year before (1834) of the territorial form of government and the organization of a new departmental government, as well as on account, according to the documents of the revolutionists, of the bad administration of Governor Sarracino, who had so far forgotten his duties in protecting the inhabitants, that the latter did not now even plant their lands on account of the imminent peril to which they exposed themselves; for

the savage Indians, the Navajoes, Yutas, and Apaches made their incursions daily, killing many of the settlers, stealing their stock and, in many cases, even their wives and children, the situation reaching to a point that many of the prudent citizens applied to Sarracino for authority to leave for California, a thing that was also denied them. From a document of that date which is in the hands of the author (it is the property of Don Eusebio Chacon) what follows is drawn out:

"Such was the state of New Mexico when it was learned that Col. Don Albino Pérez was coming as governor. On announcing him as such, the supreme government gave distinguished recommendations of his character. This announcement inspired the hope of an amelioration of conditions, both because his talent and experiences made him feared, as because the influence of his elevated rank and official relations in the capital of the republic would, it was thought, enable him to obtain from the supreme government the help which New Mexico needed so imperatively. The arrival of Mr. Pérez at Santa Fé strengthened the idea which had been formed of him at the announcement of his coming. His personal presence, the relations which his committee and the gentlemen who had access to him made of the great services he had rendered to his country, the warlike actions in which he had been distinguished, the plans he had already formed to set on foot the troop of the territory, and to procure for it the necessaries for its support, and to annihilate the Navajoe Indians who, at this time, were perpetually harrassing the inhabitants, made the generality of the people form a very promising opinion of him. He placed, in fact, the troop under arms, and at the beginning made it perform the military services with more efficiency and exactness than what had been previously observed; he imparted energy to the administration, and in some instances of contentions gave proof of an impartial integrity. When the products of the caravans (the only resources upon which the governors in New Mexico depended to maintain the troop and the government—The Author) were exhausted he obtained, under his personal responsibility from the foreign trade, the necessary help for the maintenance of the troop

and employees in the shape of loans going as far in this policy as the means of the loaners permitted, but as he could not get enough to continue the services of the troop by this means, and as he received nothing from Mexico in spite of his repeated demands, he addressed himself to the natives of the country, who, he judged, might be able to advance him what was needed through the credit they had; whereupon he was, since then, observed to visit more frequently the houses of certain gentlemen who, without heeding his pretensions about the influence they had, attempted to use him in favoring their plans for the accumulation of wealth, fostering law suits and grudges which they had among themselves, and they made him figure, in spite of himself, in childish intrigues; whatever his opinion might be in these particulars, he was unable to keep within bounds all interested parties; whence enmities, intrigues and plans flowed with the object of damaging themselves and damaging him, distracting his attention by means of the intrigues and misrepresentations in which they assiduously engaged. Lacking in means to maintain the troop in arms he was forced to disband it, that it might seek its subsistence the best way it could, and the employees and officials were reduced to what their individual credit or the credit of the governor could procure them, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain their ranks. This circumstance, together with the bad will of certain private persons, gave rise to recriminations in which they reciprocally imputed to one and another the general calamity. Some employees were charged with unfaithfulness and corruption in the management of their duties. There were suspensions of employees, and parties were designated to assassinate certain designated persons, and finally everything became confusion. The Navajoe tribe was not, in the meantime idle; it committed depredations of everykind, and everywhere; it captured great numbers of stock, carried captives away, burned various persons alive in their homes, and sent parties to commit murders near Santa Fé, which was the jurisdiction best guarded in all the territory. A general campaign, it is true, was made to which the governor went in person, but it was productive of no better effect than that of loosing the best part of the animals it

carried and thereby complete the ruin of many unhappy farmers. The people, amid many misfortunes, were seeking to find the cause of their misadventures; some attributed it to the corruption and bad management of the employees giving occasion for the charges which the complainants scattered; others to the governor, who, with the number of officials that accompanied him, consumed the property of the troop which, well directed; could defend the territory. The most impartial persons considered then that, in fact, the administration and coming of Mr. Pérez to New Mexico had really been an increase of all the evils, both on account of the more rapid absorption of the scanty resources of the country which were eaten up in salaries and expenses of his accompaniment, as on account of the differences and intrigues he tolerated in his administration without producing any good whatsoever which resulted from his qualifications and good foresight. The new constitution arriving at a time when the people were already so depressed by misery and had such a bad opinion of the administration seeing with disgust that they had to pay contribution taxes, *

* The tax or revenue law referred to by the last cited author (the first of its kind passed in New Mexico) was in fact a somewhat oppressive measure. Said law had not been found until very recently. It was found by the Author of this work after the publication of the first Spanish Edition of this History. All former writers on New Mexico history knew that such a law had been passed and referred to its drastic provisions, on general information. I had to do the same thing when I wrote my said first Spanish edition. Now that said law is in my possession I can say that its approval by Governor Albino Pérez was one of the principal, if not the first, and immediate causes of that revolt, which culminated in the cowardly assassination of Governor Pérez and the rest of the Territorial officials. The said law was passed by the City Council and signed by Governor Pérez on the 9th day of June, 1836. It contains eleven sections, or subdivisions, and it provides that a tax of two dollars shall be paid for each vehicle bringing foreign merchandise into the city, twenty-five cents for each animal employed by foreign merchants in introducing their merchandise into New Mexico; two dollars per head for horses and mules brought for sale into New Mexico. It fixed the license for the cutting of timber for lumber at $5.00 per month. Foreign permanent merchants had to pay $2.00 per month. For driving herds of cattle or sheep through the streets of the capital the owner, before selling said animals had to pay from twenty to twenty-five cents per head. For theaters and all other

which would have no other inversion than to support the luxury and waste of a few in Santa Fé without entering upon the merits or demerits which the constitution might in itself possess."

An election was held in conformity with the constitution from which resulted the choice of Mr. Ramon Abreu as prefect of the first district, a choice which caused much dis-satisfaction among the enemies of Pérez who did not cease to foster intrigues against his administration, a dis-satisfaction which reached its climax in the formation of a council at Santa Cruz de la Cañada, to which the name of "Canton" was given, which was composed of twelve members, all of them ignorant and depraved criminals. In the Canton a general uprising was decreed together with the death of Governor Pérez and the other officials and employees. On the 3rd day of August, 1837, the following plan or platform was promulgated by the leaders of the rebellion.

"Long live God and the nation and the faith of Jesus Christ for the principal points we defend are the following:

1st. To be with God and the nation and the faith of Jesus Christ.

2nd. To defend our country to the shedding of our last drop of blood to obtain the victory sought after.

3rd. Not to admit any plan of department.

4th. Not to admit any taxation.

5th. Not to admit the bad orders of those who are trying to effect it."*

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entertainments $2.00 for each performance. For each dance the license was fifty cents. All foreigners, as well as natives of New Mexico but residing outside of Santa Fé, had to report themselves to the Alcalde within three days after their arrival, each one had to state his business and occupation and on failure to do so they were to be fined in the sum of $10.00 for each violation of the law. The Justices of the Peace through out the Territory were charged with the duty of making a complete list of all the inhabitants within their respective districts, and also to state the profession, employment or occupation of each of said persons. Said Justices were further charged with the duty of punishing all drones, or idle persons, who could not prove that they earned their living by lawful means. The Justices in case of failure to comply with the requirements of the said law were to be publicly censured and to pay a fine of five dollars besides forfeiting their office—THE AUTHOR.

*The original is in possession of the author.

The malice of the rebels had no limits, for they used the sacred name of Jesus Christ to cover up with it the atrocity of the crime they were to perpetrate, increasing their wickedness by another crime, that of inducing the Pueblo Indians to make common cause with them by means of tricks, lies, and calumnies, helping them to inscribe the blackest page in the history of New Mexico. Governor Pérez was informed of what was going on and was advised to leave in haste that he might save his life, but he believed at first that the rumor was nothing more than an exaggerated unrest, and contented himself with sending some threatening messages and orders to Juan José Esquivel, Alcalde of

Battle of Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz, who was the chief mover of the revolution, those of the Canton availed themselves of the apathy with which the governor at first viewed the beginning of the revolution, organized a numerous army and determined upon the plan of investing the Capital. Until then Pérez did not realize the magnitude of what he had called an "exaggerated unrest;" he caused troops to be organized meeting a very noticeable and marked indifference on the part of a great many of the inhabitants of the city, but he was able finally to gather 200 men, the majority of them Indians, and started with that force for Santa Cruz to chastise the rebels. Near the mesa of Santa Cruz he met the rebel army with which he attempted to enter into negotiations demanding the reason of their discontent, but the rebels answered him with a discharge of their arms to which he was not able to respond instantly because of the confusion that ensued among his men from so unexpected and cowardly a blow, causing a great number of his men and Indians to go over to the rebels. The assault became general upon the governor and the handful of citizens who remained loyal to the government. They answered the fire with a piece of artillery but without making any impression on the lines of the rebels who then charged upon the governor and his forces killing 7 men and capturing all the wounded which were many.

The governor, with 23 individuals, escaped to Santa Fé in

honorable retreat, from which city he left the same night with some of his employees only to be assassinated the next day in the most vile and cowardly manner. This occurrence took place on the 8th of August, in the night. The next day, the 9th, the "Canton," or the revolutionary forces, arrived at the capital, taking, immediately, possession of the government. On the same day Governor Pérez was assassinated at about a mile west of the town, together with some others of his employees whose names are mentioned in the sequel. We shall now leave the author of the document, from which we drew this account, who was an ocular witness at the time, to relate in his own words the horrifying scene which capped this bloody episode. The said author follows:

Death of Governor Pérez and Other Officials.

"The Lord Governor travelled down the river until he met a force of militia men commanded by D. A Antonito Chávez, who denied him the protection he demanded, whereupon returning from thence to Santa Fé, he was killed by the Indians in the suburbs of the city and his head taken to the encampment, was exposed to the scorn of the unnatural criminals; Don Ramon Abreu, Don Mariano Abreu, Don J. M. Alarid, who had surrendered as prisoners, were led to the encampment, but as soon as the savage and sanguinary Canton heard of it, fearing that some circumstance might preserve their lives, gave immediate orders for the instant killing of them all. Don Santiago Abreu, and his secretary, Saens, were killed the next day at Santo Domingo. The indolence and pusilanimity of the authorities at Santa Fé was such that, by an order of a detachment of the Canton they searched for Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Aponte, who was hiding in a private house badly wounded, and they delivered him up, though they knew well that it was for the purpose of killing him, which they did. The people and particularly the disarmed soldiers who witnessed this delivery, abashed already by the situation in which they had been placed, could scarcely dissemble the indignation which the act produced in them, knowing, as they did, that no effort was made to elude the delivery or save the honor of the city.

Election of Jose Gonzales as Governor.

On the 10th, after the election for governor was had which fell upon José Gonzales, the rebel governor entered Santa Fé, and his first act was to divide up among those he thought well-deserving, of his faction, whatever was thought to belong to the parties whom they had just murdered; they received jewels as creditors to the dead governor, when it was a matter of public notoriety that the recipients never had had any account or transactions with the dead governor. One of the rebels who had distinguished himself by outraging the head of Mr. Pérez, at the encampment had the brutal insolence to don the dollman which Mr. Pérez had on when they killed him, trying to make himself conspicuous in showing the hole of the bullet which had killed him and cracking stings away at those whom he thought had been his friends (Mr. Pérez's)."

It may be well imagined, but it cannot be described into what a sombre aspect the city was cast by the savagery displayed by those human beasts who at such moments were turned into incarnate demons. The Canton and its new governor, not content with having satiated their criminal ambition by the shedding of innocent blood, proposed to continue their campaign of murder and theft in that part of the territory which they called the Rio Abajo (Lower Country). The said Canton and their governor issued, therefore, an edict whereby they made their determination clear of continuing to kill and steal from those who would not submit to the obedience of the seditious. That edict had two results; one in which it was decided upon a meeting of patriots at Tomé to organize with the view to restore order and punish the insurgents and their factions constituting the opposite party, for the government of the seditious had been divided in two factions, one of them favoring the views of the governor which, although criminal, were not wanting in tendencies towards the establishment and restoration of good order.

The Rebellious Government is Divided—Partition of the Spoils.

Let us now hear the original narrator as he gives us in detailed words the picture of what is meant by the heading which precedes this paragraph:

"Santa Fé and most of New Mexico were since that day in confusion and dread without any other law than the will of the new governor and that of the Canton, which, in spite of having established, what they called, a "government," contrary to the will of the people, would not dissolve, but continued taking revolutionary measures, sometimes even contrary to those of Gonzales, persecuting and threatening with death those who had opposed the rebellion, and those who, they thought, did not approve their views. They had the jail at Cañada full of innocent persons, and still they summoned to their tribunal an unlimited number of individuals upon whom they wished to vent their hatred. On August 27th, Gonzales, or rather his faction, made a formal partition of all the property it could gather from the houses of their victims, inflicting thus a great damage to their families and creditors. Public spirit was again asserting itself in haste, until on the 7th of September, the citizens animated by the same sentiments that prompted the soldiers, demanded arms and offered their service, even without pay, in order to prevent, as they expressed it, another insult similar to the one proffered them by the Canton in the killing of Lieutenant Colonel Aponte, and from that day on they drilled every morning and evening. A few days later the news reached Santa Fé of the "Pronunciamiento" at Tomé which was due to the patriotism and talent actively displayed by the gentlemen who signed it."

True Patriotism Burns in the Hearts of a few Patriots—Counter Pronunciamiento of Tomé—Organization of a Government Based on the Exigency—Don Manuel Armijo Proclaimed Hero of the Occasion—Patriotic Proclamation.

Patriotic citizens meet at Tomé. The Prefect at Alburquerque was proclaimed the only lawful civil authority, and Don Manuel Armijo was appointed and designated commander of the liberating forces, and to the citizen, Don Mariano Chávez, was assigned the post of second in the command. The "shout" covered its initiators with glory; they were real patriots. We give their words in the sequel:

"*Pronouncement at Tomé on the 8th day of September 1837 by*

the citizens—lovers of their country in favor of the Constitution and laws; and they are those hereto subscribed:"

In the town of Tomé on the 8th day in the year 1837, the neighbors of said point, and those of Santa Maria of Belen, being assembled, with their respective alcaldes, the parish priest of Tomé, the lieutenant of the active militia, the honored citizen Don Manuel Armijo, from the jurisdiction of Alburquerque, fearing the disorders resulting from the anarchy, in which the Territory of New Mexico was plunged, by the deaths inflicted on the persons of the governor and other public officials, and being aware of the iniquitous measures which the so-called "Canton of la Cañada" is taking for the destruction of the peace, harmony and good order of the citizens, and we being desirous to submit ourselves to the laws, and to keep within bounds the insults with which at every step we are threatened with as well as protecting our properties, and to make the supreme government know the good disposition and obedience which the District of Alburquerque professes it, they have agreed on the following articles:

1. Until the supreme government determines to execute what it may see fit in this Territory, no other authority is recognized but that of the Prefect of the District of Alburquerque, the only legal one remaining.

2. No one shall be attacked in his property, or rights.

3. An armed forced will be placed under the command of the citizen Manuel Armijo, whom we have generally proclaimed as commandant, and as his second, the citizen Mariano Chávez, neighbor of Los Padillas, and his secretary, the citizen Vicente Sanchez Vergara.

4. If, after all the forces are assembled, it is desired by the commanding officer to appoint another his will shall be obeyed in everything the same as it now is being done.

5. It being fit that the pueblos remain tranquil and not meddle in the difficulties of the Mexican citizens, they will be informed, that the war not being against them nor directed against any of them, not to take part in favor of either party, and that, until the supreme government appoints a governor, they must govern themselves, without obeying any authority which may not flow from themselves.

6. That the preceeding article may have effect, it has been made known to three native Indians, that were present from the pueblo of Isleta, all the just causes that exist, and which they must manifest to their comrades.

7. This pronouncement does not recognize the authority which the appointed Canton placed.

8. The liberating forces being once assembled, the commander shall take the measures which to him may seem convenient for the necessary expenses which may incurred, and if he should seize any private property, it will be reintegrated, a thing that will be done religiously.

9. An extraordinary envoy shall be at once sent for the purpose of giving notice to the General Commandant at Chihuahua, and to the supreme government.

10. Anything that may have been contributed by the natives in the shape of pension for the commissioners that had been appointed in Santa Fé shall be returned to them.

"In witness whereof we have signed this on said day.

"Tomé, September 8, 1837.

"MANUEL ARMIJO. (Seal).
"JOSÉ SALAZAR. (Seal).
"PABLO SALAZAR. (Seal)
"J. FRANCO MONTOYA. (Seal).
"MIGUEL OLONA. (Seal).
"MANUEL MADARIAGA." (Seal).

The Rescuing Army is Organized—The Commanding General of New Mexico, General Don José Caballero Appeals to the Patriotism of the Citizens Who Remained Faithful to the Government Urging the Organization of Troops to Smother the Rebellion. Here Are His Words.

"Proclamation."

"The most disastrous revolution whereby the furor of an inhuman and unbridled mob covered our country with mourning on the unfortunate days of the 8th and 9th of August last past, scattered dread and confusion among the inhabitants, who, accustomed to be succored, delivered themselves up to suffering and low condescension which, under those circumstances, was the only means of calming the effervescence and

misfortune. All the laws which constitute the Mexican nation, to which we belong, were disregarded, and in their stead extravagant errors and monstrosities were adopted, which took from New Mexico its political existence placing it in a miserable state of barbarism, destruction and annihilation. Without combination, they seem to have acted by common accord, sensible men feigning adhesion to it so as to encourage in this wise the stimulus to, or nourishment of, the work of destruction, and reaching the belief that their measures would be salutary, when after summoning an assemblage some sort of heed was given to reason by agreeing to report to the supreme government, protesting their obedience, through two commissioners appointed to that effect. But, unfortunately, the chieftains of the insurrection, swollen with triumph, continued figuring in the scene, and without any respect to the government which they themselves erected, constantly concocted new machinations which they have put into practice in an equally alarming manner; and, as it is known from good sources, they are advancing to put into execution the plunder of this Capital and the Rio Abajo. Wretches! Their savage ignorance precipitates them from abyss into abyss in search of the punishment which divine justice cannot forgive, but will prepare for them.

"Such pretensions are not, certainly, the ones which engage my consideration, but the consequences that must flow from the state of disorder in which we are found. The scourge of our soil, the Navajoe, being aware of the deplorable situation we are placed in, will, by combining with the frontier pueblos, wage against us the most disastrous war, bringing it to the very bosom of our families, and, while this is happening, we shall bear as our badge, intestine confusion, theft and every sort of demoralization.

"My fellow patriots, it is yet time to put up a dyke to so many evils. This is the precious moment that presents itself to us. Let us return to our self possession and re-establish order at any cost. The veteran company of this Capital has voluntarily reunited in arms, and, from the first of its officials to the last of its soldiers, have sworn to maintain the tranquility and to die in the defense of the laws. The whole neighborhood breathes enthusiasm and decision

in a cause so sacred, and nothing else is there to wish but the co-operation with the sane and sensible section of the people of Rio Abajo; for so far as regards the people of Rio Arriba, (we cannot count with them now) the truth is that they are in a state of revolution, and we would do them a great injury by believing that a fourth part of them are not in favor of disorder.

"In virtue, then, of my powers as commandant, I have decided to assemble a force of 600 men in this city as quickly as possible, and to that purpose I forewarn you, that, without loss of time, and associated with the representative citizens of your jurisdictions to make, respectively, a choice of the men best equipped and most interested in the cause of order, effecting the reunion at Bernalillo, from whence you will be led under the command of the man whom it may be your pleasure to select as commander-in-chief.

"This is, gentlemen, the recourse to which we can appeal, and the one which will save our country from the horrors in which it is plunged, and, by not doing it, as I demand it, you will be responsible before God, and before a government which will know how to vindicate the sacred rights of the nation.

"God, etc., Santa Fé, September 9, 1837.

"Messrs. Alcaldes of Rio Abajo.

"By disposition of the Commandant.

J. C."

Armijo Assumes the Command of the Forces—The Insurgents Surrender—Imprisonment of the Chieftains—End of the Revolution.

When General Armijo had, with the assent of the Military Commandant, General Caballero, assumed the absolute command of the veteran and volunteer forces, he at once commenced a vigorous and energetic campaign against the rebels; obtained the submission of them all without any effusion of blood, and also the capture and imprisonment of the head-chiefs and investigators of the revolution who were Desiderio Montoya, Antonio Aban y Montoya, José Esquivel and Juan Vigil. The said revolutionary chiefs were conducted to

Santa Fé, and detained in prison incomunicados. Let us now hear Armijo narrate his campaign and its brilliant results, Armijo speaks:

"Circular."

"San Ildefonzo, Cañada, Santa Clara, San Juan, Abiquiú, Ojo Caliente, Taos, Trampas, Santa Fé. Political and Military Government of New Mexico.

"On commencing to exercise the powers of superior political and military chief of this Territory, in which necessity, and not law has placed me, I feel obliged, not only to give an account to the supreme government of the nation of the circumstances that have so required it, but I must also make it manifest, officially, to my subordinates, notwithstanding that they know it well on account of the notorious publicity of everything that has occurred in consequence of the revolution.

"In the pronouncement at Tomé I was appointed commander of the rescuing force with which I started for Bernalillo, the point designated as headquarters of the army, where in the presence of the Prefect, Don Antonio Sandoval, the offices of the active and rural militia, the Alcalde and other representative persons, they agreed to confer, and did actually confer, on me the post of colonel, first chief of the said rescuing army.

"Having arrived at this Capital, I was recognized as such colonel, and superior chief of arms by the General Commandant and the rest of the officers of the companies of permanent veterans who submitted to my orders as they made it appear by their signatures by means of a formal document which was executed for the purpose.

"With this mark of obedience my ambition consisted only in destroying the insurrection of La Cañada assuring thus the public tranquility, and respect for the laws that govern us. In order to completely obtain this result, it was necessary not to lay down our arms until the resolve of the supreme government should be learned. In consequence of the treaties held in this city on the 21st instant, and with the above marshaled forces, of which I enclose you a copy,

the result was that I was appointed superior and chief, not only in military, but also in political affairs, which trust I could not refuse without failing in the duty of a citizen highly interested in the happiness of his country.

"In this manner the terrible scene of confusion ended, which, for a second time, had presented itself to unfortunate New Mexico; the just cause of order and the laws rapidly triumphing, in the defense of which I grasped my sword, without the effusion of a drop of Mexican blood.

"Tranquility being restored in all its extent, individual security rests under the guaranty of the government and of the laws; and the head chiefs of the revolution will suffer the punishment which those laws in justice shall impose upon them.

"Whilst, however, the determination of the supreme government is obtained, all my endeavors and toils shall be to maintain the quiet, cause the laws to be observed, the obedience to the constituted authorities, and that precise, indispensable order which is the life of every society. If in order to attain these ends, it becomes necessary for me to make some examples of severity, I shall, without doubt, dictate them, although in sorrow, in due deference to the duty which behooves me, and I do not demand of my fellow citizens any other co-operation than that of their obedience.

"And in virtue of such powers, and that it may reach the knowledge of all the inhabitants of the territory under my command, I forewarn you to make it known by means of the publication of this circular, getting a copy of it and acknowledging therein the receipt thereof with the date of the hour in which it reaches and leaves every place.

"God and Liberty. Santa Fé, Sept. 26, 1837.

"MANUEL ARMIJO." (Seal).

A Seditious Individual Named Antonio Vigil Remains in Santa Cruz—He Issues a Proclamation of Insurrection.

Soon after Armijo's return to Santa Fé with the said revolutionary chiefs, the flame of insurrection was again kindled at Santa Cruz. On this occasion it was initiated by a certain Antonio Vigil, who, judging his ability by the language of his

writing, was a consummate ignoramus. Vigil published his string of assinities at Santa Cruz at the beginning of January, 1838, inciting those who desired to follow him to use violence in order to set at liberty the said chiefs, Montoyas, Vigil and Esquivel. We give below that literary abortion. Here you have it, reader, word for word:

"Circular."

"San Francisco del Rancho de Taos, Rio Chiquito, Pueblo de Taos, Arroyo Seco, Plaza de San Antonio Desmontes y Ranchitos.

"In this reunion of the Villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada of the pueblos in love with God and their country commandant, defenders of the faith of Jesus Christ, he has been pleased to give notice to you my esteemed fellow citizens that we make a claim to that which and all those who are defenders of this sacred standard may put himself in precise march informing you how a departmental law has been published in the districts and pueblos of the peaceful territory of New Mexico from the finalized year of the year 1837, which deaths were given to the executors of said laws who unsheathing their sword in defense of said law, which assailing the punishment high Omnipotence the custodian staff of the laws fell upon Mr. Don José Gonzales, who was appraised by the unisonous vote of the bosom of this peaceful territory Mr. Don Armijo has uprisen in appraisement of the custodian staff, not by the unisonous of the popular but by one sole violence and power placing in the enclosure of prisons the defenders of the saving plan of this Villa who were the citizens, Desiderio Montoya, Antonio Aban y Montoya, José Esquivel and Juan Vigil, who are being made deservers of the causes which against this unhappy and erring territory which they came executing in which therefore we beg of our Sovereign God to remember the past dream who are here at times asleep; let us remember his holy commandments, and I command my fellow citizens that the most necessary is that where this circular be published the shout should be raised of 'long live God, and the country, and the faith of Jesus Christ and Antonio Vigil,' and in the name of this reunion."

Armijo is Declared Political Chief--He Pronounces Sentence of Death Against the Culprits—The Second Commandant Hesitates—The Sentence Is Pronounced.

On the 17th of October (1837) Armijo went to Rio Abajo in attendance to domestic affairs, having first assumed the charge of political chief (besides that of commandant-in-chief of the military jurisdiction which he already was exercising, as we have seen) to which he was promoted by acclamation of all the citizens loyal to the government, in acknowledgement of his elevated patriotism. Before leaving, however, he ordered that the revolutionary chieftains, Desiderio Montoya, Antonio Aban Montoya, José Esquivel and Juan Vigil, should be shot. The step or determination taken by Armijo, although it did not exactly adjust itself to what was prescribed by law—the trial and sentence of the guilty parties before they had been adjudged guilty—seemed to require prompt, energetic and decisive action considering the steps of Antonio Vigil in the direction of launching another revolution. It was necessary to give a bloody example. In cases of this kind the Roman aphorism, "Necessity knows no law," is applicable. But the official, who in Armijo's absence commanded the troop, General Don José Caballero, hesitated a long while before executing the order of his superior; and, in order to be the more certain as to whether or not the order of Armijo should be obeyed, he summoned a council of war which gave its verdict in favor of the execution of the culprits. Here is the opinion:

"In the city of Santa Fé, Capital of the Territory of New Mexico, on the 21st day of October, 1837, the citizen José Caballeró, general commandant of the Territory, and charged with the command of the arms of this garrison, in the absence of the commanding general, Don Manuel Armijo, said: That in virtue of the official contests that have arisen from the 17th of the present month, in which the chief officer of this city absented himself in virtue of the communications which he received from the Alcalde of the Villa of la Cañada, whose report is confirmed by the official letter received last night, as well as by the official order, which was also received at five o'clock in the morning, from the commanding general, from the reading of which I have come to entertain

some doubts, regarding the obligations to which my duty so strictly confines me as to the aforesaid order of the general, and in view of the critical circumstances of the hour, I have decided, in accordance with the faculties conferred upon me by the ordnance, to form a general junta of the officers that may be present to the end that said junta be informed of all that has happened in this matter, that said junta may resolve opportunely, and as it may seem more convenient to it, the step that should be taken with respect to the compliance of the order of the general, so far as it regards the decapitation of the culprits of which the aforesaid order speaks. Gathered together in this locality, the officers who hereto subscribe their names, they being the only officers at the present in this garrison, the matter was taken up, the session having first been opened, all the statutes and orders that bear upon the question were very scrupulously read, and the junta, being thoroughly conversant with the facts unanimously resolved: That the superior order which the said commander general has issued, be obeyed; but it is necessary, in order to execute it, that this town be strengthened by all the force necessary to repel any attempt that may be made, to which end we asked that this decision be communicated to the commanding general, to whom it is referred by us, the said officers; that his Excellency may decide upon what is more conformable and in accord with his views in the premises, as well in what it refers in order to repel any attack from the insurrectos; and that from the moment in which advices are received to the effect that the rebels propose to attack this town with whatever pretext, they, the prisoners may at once be decapitated in the cells where they now are, because of these very occurrences and in compliance with the said superior order. This was agreed to by the junta and they signed it, directing at the same time, that this decision be communicated speedily by courier to the commanding general."

"José Candelario" (Seal). "Esquipula Caballero" (Seal).
"José Silva" (Seal). "Franco Martinez" (Seal).
"Manuel D. Pino" (Seal). "Manuel Ramirez" (Seal).
"José Hernandez" (Seal). "Rafael Tapia" (Seal).
"Ramon Baca" (Seal). "Teodsio Quintana" (Seal).

Beheading of Juan José Esquivel, Juan Vigil, Desiderio Montoya and Antonio A. Montoya, the Culprits—Tragical End of the Ill-Conceived Pronouncement.

Before the decision of the council of war was communicated to him, Armijo returned to Santa Fé, and at once engaged, without loss of time, in giving the culprits an opportunity to settle their worldly affairs and prepare to be beheaded in expiation of the unheard of, cowardly and diabolical crime which in consequence of their misunderstood patriotism the assassins had committed, when on the 8th, and 9th, of August (1837), they had stained their hands with the innocent blood of Governor Pérez and the others martyr-victims of their infernal malice. On the 24th of January they were decapitated and their decapitation was officially announced by General Armijo in the following manner:

Government of the Department of New Mexico.

"Today at nine o'clock in the morning the traitors of lesse-nation, Juan José Esquivel, Juan Vigil, Desiderio Montoya, and Antonio Aban Montoya were beheaded as authors of the horrid conspiracy of the Villa de la Cañada, whereby an attempt was scandalously made against the national unity and against the sovereignity of the laws which constitute its government, and the persons who were representing it in the first offices of this department whom they murdered with unexampled impiety.

"These unfortunate instruments of such horrid crimes were being tried according to the formalities and steps prescribed by law; but public tranquility threatened by a new uprising of the chieftain Antonio Vigil, who has called together in a tumultuous manner the unhappy people of la Cañada and Chimayó in support of the revolution, proffered the government the greatest insults, menacing to take by force the aforesaid culprits, hastened their execution and the well-merited punishment of their atrocious crime.

"The just Heaven claimed for this execution and the blame itself brought its consequent effects. The goverment proposes to fulfil fully its duties, and the energy of its measures, without any particular regard, or any considera-

tions of friendship and interest; such will be the fixed rule of its conduct. May God grant that this spectacle, so sad for peaceful New Mexico, be the last to present itself to its natural humaneness and good sense. I lay this before your knowledge that you may publish it within what comprises your command.

"God and Liberty, Santa Fé, January 24th, 1838.

"MANUEL ARMIJO," (SEAL)

Santa Fé, January 29th, 1838.

"The forgoing proclamation has been published in this city, and I remit it to you for the purpose that you may publish it in that Real (town) without any loss of time, and send it back to me in order to file it.

ORTIZ Y DELGADO (SEAL)

{ "Lord Justice of the Peace of El Real del Oro" }
{ "Lord First Alcalde of Santa Fe." }

With the execution of the culprits Armijo suppressed the revolution, restored peace, order, and good government covering himself with well deserved glory. Immediately after the re-establishment of the government, the American merchants assembled at Santa Fé and made through the American Consul the following claim on the Mexican Government.

Claims of the American Merchants. September, 1837.

Memorial sent by the American merchants of Santa Fé, to the American Legation in Mexico immediately after the suppression of the uprising called "The Chimayó Revolution," giving a complete history of the death of Governor Pérez and of other officials, and of the organization of the new government, and also presenting claims against the Mexican government for damages occasioned by the revolutionists, signed by Alvarez & Co., S. G. & H., P. W. Thompson, L. L. Waldo, Isidoro Robidoux, and others.

"To the Hon. Powhattan Ellis, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the United States of America to the Republic of Mexico: The undersigned, citizens of the United States, and merchants of the City of Santa Fé, Capital of the

Department of New Mexico, respectfully represent to Your Excellency:

"That in the later part of the month of July and the first of August, past, a little after the arrival of the caravan from the State of Missouri, a hostile encampment of Mexican citizens opposed to the constitution in force of the republic was formed in a town named Santa Cruz de la Cañada about twenty miles north of this place, publishing a manifesto to the people denouncing the departmental order of the government and the authorities that acted by and under the new constitution, and assembling immediately a force of no less than 2,000 armed men; that on the 7th of August, the Governor of the Department, Don Albino Pérez, the Justice of the District Court, Don Santiago Abreu, the Prefect, Don Ramon Abreu, the Secretary of the Department, Don Juan Maria Alarid, with an armed force of about 200 men marched from this place to appease the opposed party. But on the 8th, before they reached the place of their destination, they were attacked and completely routed by the insurgents leaving seven of their number dead on the spot, besides several wounded, and others who fell prisoners. The victorious party considering that, after their defeat, the officers of the department would try to flee to Mexico, immediately, after the action, sent out couriers to the south, and particularly to the pueblo Indians, who are all Mexican citizens, to the end that they should arrest the public authorities and all who might accompany them, and to put them to death immediately, which order was literally executed on the 9th and 10th of August, killing said public officials together with six subalterns and servants found with them.

"On the mentioned day, the revolutionary party at last entered the capital and elected José Gonzales governor of the Territory, renouncing the title of department. He took immediate possession of the State House and of the respective offices, and proceeded to discharge the duties of military and civil chief of the province.

"On the 27th day of August last past, the governor with all the executive officers, divided and apportioned among the chief men of the conquerors all the effects, holdings and other property of the dead governor, together with that of some of

the others, the balance of the property of the other authorities who were killed having been appropriated by the perpetrators of the deed. On the said 27th day of August after the partition mentioned, there was a general assembly of all the alcaldes, and principal men of their respective jurisdictions, summoned to the Capital by the previous order of the existing executive, which general assembly, after opening its session, and proceeding with business, solemnly approved and sanctioned all the acts of the victorious party, as well as the deed of having put to death the authorities of the Mexican government; the election of governor, and the division of the property of the dead persons among the principals of the party which now had the power; leaving in this manner the creditors of the dead persons without the least prospect of recovering the debts due them by said dead persons, except through the equity and justice of the general government of the Republic of Mexico.

"We further represent that the American merchants of this place, during their commerce, have been in the habit of giving credit to the public functionaries upon the security that their accounts would be regularly and honorably paid in the adjustment of fees in the Custom House, and part of our debits were created by means of advances made to the principal officers for the under officers and soldiers with whom we did not care to have direct dealing, under the full faith and confidence that they should have been, or at least the principal portion, credited to our accounts in the Custom House; but on the contrary the present government of the province has appropriated to itself all the public funds and the property of the dead officers for its use and benefit, destroying as we have said, all hope of our being remunerated by any other means than through the influence of your Excellency with the authorities of Mexico.

"The salaries of the dead gentlemen were sufficiently respectable, to wit: Those of the Governor and Judge were three thousand dollars a year, and those of the other two, two thousand dollars yearly for each; these salaries, aside from what was advanced to them for the soldiers and under-officers, would have been amply sufficient to have squared our respective claims, our credits would have been settled

through the Custum House during the actual season, had it not been for the unexpected, and, for us, wonderful revolution that has taken place.

"We further represent that our credits to the officials, who have been sacrified on account of their support to the central system of government, were not, in all respects, voluntary. The funds of the Custom-house are generally exhausted four months after the arrival of the caravan, and the authorities and soldiers were compelled to be sustained by the American merchants, and, upon the faith of the arrival of the next caravan, have never been refused, and it would never have been very prudent to have refused these advances upon the assurance that our accounts would have been very honorably paid through the official in the Custom-house in the subsequent season.

"The undersigned base this their memorial upon the following reasons which they hope and believe to be sufficiently ample:

1. Our credits were made to the public officials of the Mexican Republic, enjoying excellent salaries, as well as upon the faith of their salaries as also for large sums advanced by the said authorities to the under officers and soldiers employed for the defense of the department, under the full faith and assurance that the said government through its Custom-house would cause them to be satisfactorily paid and discounted in the business of fees which we are annually obliged to pay upon our goods. But owing to the sacrifice of said officials and to the confiscation of their property, not by a crowd, but by the measure duly approved and sanctioned by a general assembly of the people, we are bound to look upon it under the aspect of a deliberate act of the Mexican people, and, therefore, the government should be responsible to us for this damage so suffered by the undersigned.

2. That upon the faith of the treaty of peace and friendship between the two Republics, we have established ourselves in this place under the security that we must be protected in our persons and in our property; and that, in the case of the breaking out of a revolution against the tenor of the Mexican Constitution, that we should not be obliged

to be the losers, and believing that this government, through the medium of our own, would at any time be made responsible for any loss or damages suffered on account of the acts of the Mexican people towards the citizens of a peaceful and friendly power.

Adjoining this memorial we send a copy of the manifesto distributed in the country by the revolutionists, marked "A."

A statement of our accounts with the deceased persons, marked "B."

The respective accounts against the deceased persons in detail, marked, "C," which we agree to confirm to the entire satisfaction of the Mexican government.

Your very obedient and very honorable servants.

ALVAREZ & CO.
S. G. & H.
P. M. THOMPSON,
L L. WALDO,
ISIDORO ROBIDOUX,
& others.

Santa Fe, 7th, of Sept., 1837."

CHAPTER V.

Armijo Reports to the Government—Is Confirmed in the office—Is Temporarily Suspended—Lejanza and Chávez act in the Interim—The System of Government is Changed- Custom Houses are Established at Taos—Discovery of the old "placer" and Other Minerals—Expansion of the Mercantile Trade—American Consulate and Commercial Agency—Texan Invasion—McLeod Surrenders With all His Force—Other Texan Expeditions.

1837—1843.

When Armijo had pacified the province he gave to Mexico a report of the revolution and its result as well as the reasons that constrained the loyal citizens to organize a provisional government, placing him at the head of the army in order to suppress the insurrection and to assume the charge of the government while the supreme government determined otherwise. The government at Mexico approved everything done by Armijo and the other patriots who helped him to re-establish order, rewarding his services and patriotism by the confirmation, or, to express it better, by ratifying the choice the citizens of New Mexico had made in electing him as their governor and political chief. In this manner, Armijo came to figure again as governor for the last eight years of the history of New Mexico under the flag of Mexico, except during the two intervals in which Armijo was temporarily suspended by the inspector general, 1844 to 1845, acting during those two dates as governors ad interim, Don Mariano Martinez de Le Janza, in 1844, and Don José Chávez in 1845, Armijo following towards the middle part of 1845.

During the first years of the second administration of Armijo, or between 1837 and until the middle of 1841, all Armijo's endeavors, those of the departmental assembly, and those of the prominent men of the territory were directed

towards the development of the industries which had become paralyzed on account of the rebellion and the other causes we have already enumerated. In Taos a custom house was established in 1847. In 1839 another change of government was effected declaring New Mexico as "commandancy" instead of department. In that same year many important discoveries were made in the mineral branch near the "Real of Dolores," in Santa Fé County, of which we have already spoken, giving the new discovery the name of "Placer Nuevo;" and in the points of Abiquiú, Taos and Sangre de Cristo, discoveries of equal importance were also made, the principal discoverer being (of the new as well as of the old "Real de Dolores"), Don Ignacio Cano, from Spain, maternal grandfather of the author of this work; the Mexican government having given him and to a certain Ortiz the grant which up to this date is known as the "Ortiz" grant in the County of Santa Fé.

Mercantile trade also received a new and stronger impulse. (In the chapter dedicated to the development of the industries of the territory this matter is more amply treated.) The number of North American strangers increased more and more every day, for, in addition to those we have already mentioned, Messrs. Robidoux, Beaubien, St. Vrain, Charles Bent and others, by that date, there had arrived at Taos, Col. Kit Carson, who became afterwards one of the most prominent men in the Territory, Mr. Peter Joseph, Branch, Ledoux, Lee, Quinn, and James Conklin, Charles Blumner, Houghton and many others in Santa Fé, as the reader must have noticed in the preceding chapter, and Mr. Waldo and others in Mora.

With the enhancement of said trade, there had been germinating, however, a very marked antipathy in the Mexicans on account of the war Texas was waging against Mexico.

American Consulate in New Mexico.*

In the year of 1839, in March, the United States government established a consulate in New Mexico. Don Manuel

*Original in my possession—THE AUTHOR.

Alvarez was appointed Consul, with headquarters at Santa Fé His notification reads thus:

"Department of State,
Washington, March 22nd, 1839.

"Manuel Alvarez, Esq:

"Appointed United States Consul at Santa Fé, Mexico.

"SIR: The President having appointed you Consul of the United States at Santa Fé, in Mexico, I herewith enclose a printed copy of the General Instructions to Consuls, etc., and other documents for use of your Consulate, a list of which is annexed.

"Your commission will be delivered to the Minister of the United States at Mexico, who will be instructed to apply to that government for Exequatur in your favor, and when obtained to forward it to you, with your commission. You are not authorized to perform any act as Consul until an Exequatur has been granted to you, unless the consent so to do, has been first obtained from the competent authority in Santa Fé. I also enclose herewith a blank consular bond which you will execute and return to this department in the manner directed in Art. 1st, Chapt. 1st, of the General Instructions. It is highly important that you should make yourself well acquainted with the General Instructions to Consuls, etc., and fully comply with all the requisitions contained in them.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,
"JOHN FORSYTH."

"List of Enclosures."

"General Instructions—Blank Bond—Forms of Returns etc.—Statement of Fees—Ink Lines—List of New Mins. and Consuls."

Mr. Alvarez acted as such U. S. Consul in New Mexico until March, 1846, at which time the consulate was abolished by effect of International Law (Mexico and the United States being then at war, although war had not been formerly declared by either nation. The war was declared by the American Government on May 13, 1846, and by Mexico in June of the same year). On that date the United States Government established in Santa Fé a new office.

Commercial Agency of the U. S.

As stated above the consulate could not exist while the two countries were at war. Yet the American interests in New Mexico had grown to such an importance commercially and otherwise, that it was thought advisable, in order to better protect them, to establish a Commercial Agency. Consequently on the 18th day of March, 1846, Secretary of State, James Buchanan officially notified Mr. Manuel Alvarez of the creation of said office and his appointment as "United Commercial Agent at Santa Fe in the Mexican Republic."*

Texan Invasion.

The effects were now beginning to be felt of the war between Mexico and Texas in New Mexico, and as was natural, the Mexican citizens, whether right or wrong, could not see with pleasing eyes the permanence of the resident North Americans in the Territory. All their words and actions were strictly watched, for it was believed that all of them (extract from the "Reseña Histórica Sinóptica de la Guerra Mejico Americana"† of the author) clandestinely were spies and sympathizers of the Texans. Nevertheless, nothing is found in history which shows a reason or basis for such suspicions, except, perhaps the observations made by Bancroft, who is inclined to believe that those suspicions were not lacking in substance, and the assertion of Bustamante (note 21 Bancft. "Arizona and New Mexico" 231). When it was known in the year 1841, that a Texan army was coming to invade and conquer New Mexico great excitement prevailed at Santa Fé, among all the strangers, and it is possible, had they not been protected with such firmness by the Mexican authorities, perhaps the people might have used violence against them as will be seen by the correspondence we give below between the said authorities and Alvarez, the American Consul General, at Santa Fé. On the fourteenth of September of the same year Alvarez complained to Governor Armijo demanding protection for himself

*The official communication of Buchanan, alluded to, to Alvarez is in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.

†Read's "Res. Hist. Sinóp. De la Guerr. Mex. Americana."

and other strangers from the outrages and insults which they daily received (as they said) from the Mexicans to which complaint, Miranda, Secretary of the Government, gave the following answer: *

Office of the Secretary of the Departmental Government.

"Having informed his Excellency, the Governor, with the contents of your note of to-day's date, he has decided and directed me, to tell you that your Nationals, as well as any others that may be here from other friendly nations, will be protected and respected, and that they will not be permitted to be insulted nor persecuted, that every protection will be afforded them in conformity with the treaties; but if it be proved that any one of them takes part in protecting the enemy, as this government has learned from persons of veracity that some of your nation do, such a one shall be reputed as an enemy and will at once be proceeded against according to law; a thing which I make manifest to you that you may see to it, to warn your Nationals of the obligation; they have no right to take any part, which will serve to give occasion for the disorders, assuring you that this government will never molest you, so long as no one gives occasion for it. All of which I have the honor to mention to you by order of his Excellency reiterating to you the considerations of my esteem.—God and Liberty. Santa Fé, September 14th, 1841.

"GUADALUPE MIRANDA" (seal)

Sr. Don Manuel Alvarez,
Consul for the United States of the North."

It looked as if matters did not go well, notwithstanding the protest of those who governed, that they would protect strangers; for, when General Armijo, who was then governor of New Mexico, was preparing to set out against the Texan invading force, he sent to Consul Alvarez, on the 16th of September, the following very significant communication ordering him and all the other strangers not to go out of Santa Fé. The letter of September 16th, follows:

* NOTE—The autograph letters which passed between Armijo and Miranda, as Mexican officials, and Manuel Alvarez, as American Consul, are all in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.

"General Commandancy of the Department.

"As Commanding General of this department, and, in the name of the Mexican nation I warn you, as Consul of the United States of the North, that neither yourself nor any one of the strangers staying and dwelling in this Capital leave it under any pretext or motive; that you all must remain in the city till my return; and that on my return I shall tell the corresponding causes for this measure which I deem indispensable, and if it be necessary will also do so to the very nation that you represent. Acknowledge to me at once the receipt of this precept. God and Liberty, Santa Fé, September 16th, 1841.

MANUEL ARMIJO (seal)"

On the other hand, on the same day, (16th of September), the strangers, thinking now that, on account of the Texan invasion, their lives and interests were in danger, sent to Daniel Webster, Secretary of the State, the following communication: *

Santa Fe, N. M., Sept. 16, 1841.

"Hon. Daniel Webster, Sec'y of State, United States of America.

"Sir:—In a moment of extreme excitement and danger we, a few isolated American citizens, together with a few other citizens from other nations, feel it to be our duty to inform the government of the United States of the circumstances which surround and oppress us in these moments. It has been learned here that an invading expedition composed of 325 men from Texas is approaching this Territory; on that account, all the inhabitants and all the officials of the government have become so exasperated against all strangers in this place that we deem ourselves in danger of our lives and destruction of our property, there is danger imminent; and we fear that before this reaches Washington we shall have been robbed and murdered.

"The governor marched off today with his troops to repel the invaders; immediately after his departure from town one of his officers (seeming to us, the one next to him in com-

* The original communication is in my possession. The same was not forwarded to Webster —THE AUTHOR.

mand and who is also his nephew and confidant) turned back and coming up as far as the door of Don Manuel Alvarez, Consul of the United States in this place, with the help of several of his soldiers, and a party of the populace, went into the Consul's house and grievously insulted him striking him on the face; however, through the intervention of the Mexican citizens of better dispositions the disturbance was stopped; but before they withdrew, the officers said publically on the street, and in the presence of a large multitude of citizens that after they had routed the Texans, the officer would return with his troops and would destroy all of us, the strangers.

"That conduct, together with innumerable insults, injustices and undue oppressions which we are daily subjected to, is evident proof to us of how deep rooted against us is the antipathy of this government and its citizens.

"Had there been any difficulty between that officer and our Consul, we might have said that he had attacked him through motives of personal vengeance, but as nothing of that sort has occurred, we are constrained to believe that it was nothing more than the manifestation of the bad will the chief authorities, and also a majority of the citizens, nurse in their hearts against us strangers, who live here.

"We, therefore, hope that, with the presentation of these circumstances to our government, measures will be adopted that will avoid the recurrence of similar injuries to our citizens.

"We are, sir, your obedient servants, John Scolly, Isaac N. Brenery, James Conklin, Ch. Kunes, Conls. Thr. Wieck, A. F. Stackpleth, Rocio Tedesely, Ch. LeNoir, Alberto Giddings, Milno King, Charles Blumner, Ruben Gentry, David W. Alexander."

The next day (the 17th) Alvarez again renewed his complaint, and solicited the government's protection, to which Secretary Miranda, on the same date answered what follows:

"Office of the Secretary of the Departmental Gov'mt.

"Having informed His Excellency, the Governor, of your note of today's date, which I have just received, he has directed me to manifest to you that this government, by

repeated orders has recommended all the authorities to watch, so that order may be preserved, and the properties and lives of the strangers found in this department be secured, and that all protection necessary for this purpose be given them, rendering to them all due consideration according to the treaties; and that he will continue to redouble his vigilance in order that, now when the enemy is approaching, and the spirit of the citizens is restless and exalted, they (the strangers) may not lack anything (of the good treatment) in which you and all the strangers should rest assured; for the desires of His Excellency are in favor of tranquility and harmony, and, on this account, you must cast away every species of fear, and reassure your Nationals that they have all the protection of his as is his duty, to which end he has dictated all the proper and necessary measures, and is on the look out.

"As to the disrespect of the Alférez, Don Tomás Martinez and the sergeant you mention, His Excellency will be duly informed on his return. I repeat to you the considerations of my esteem. God and Liberty, Santa Fé, Sept. 17, 1841.

"GUADALUPE MIRANDA (Seal).

"SR. DN. MANUEL ALVAREZ, United States Consul."

To the same purpose Miranda again addressed Alvarez on the 19th, the following communication:

"Office of the Sec'y. of the Departmental Gov't.

"Having informed His Excellency, the Governor, by means of your note with today's date, he has instructed me to tell you that the authorities are already and had been previously advised to observe the treaties, and the recommendations for the compliance thereof shall be continued, directing them to observe order and good harmony with the strangers that may be found in the department, and that they give no occasion for any other thing, but that they must comply with said treaties. I state this to you by order of His Excellency for your own knowledge, reiterating to you the considerations of my esteem. God and Liberty, Santa Fé, Sept. 19th, 1841. GUADALUPE MIRANDA (Seal).

SR. DN. MANUEL ALVAREZ, Consul for the United States of the North."

Lastly on Sept. 20th, Alvarez complained of the repulsive conduct of officer Ramirez towards the strangers, but, as Armijo had already marched off to meet the Texans, Miranda had to postpone the investigation of the complaints, advising Alvarez of this course on the 23rd through the following communication.

"Having informed his Excellency, the Governor, of your note of the 2nd inst., and the one you enclose which is reserved until the return of his Excellency, the contents noted by him, he has caused Don Serafin Ramirez, first official of the treasury, to appear, and having charged him with what you say, the latter has answered that the only thing he has said has been that he had been told that the strangers had made joyful demonstrations, not that he saw it nor that they burst out in hurrahs; as you are assured of, that this is the only thing that has transpired, and in a confidential conversation at that, and not before the public; and I hope that what I have the honor to tell you by superior order will serve you and your Nationals as (better) information. Reiterating my considerations of esteem. God and Liberty, Santa Fé, Sept. 23, 1841.

GUADALUPE MIRANDA. (Seal).

"Sir Consul, Don Manuel Alvarez."

Armijo's Proclamation.

Before starting with the army to meet the Texans, Armijo issued a proclamation which we give below, said proclamation being one of the causes which infused so much fear in the American residents of the Capital, which fear crystalized itself in the correspondence the reader has just read. The proclamation follows:

"The Governor and Commandant General of New Mexico to its inhabitants.

"Fellow Patriots:—The ever accredited mildness that in all epochs and circumstances has characterized the benignity of the Mexican government, which, as a guide, has ever been followed by the one who addresses you, from the time he was given the honor of governing you, as governor and commanding general of this department, well satisfied of the docility of all

and each of its inhabitants, he does not for a moment hesitate to address you (to the effect) that if there be one or several (among you) who, seduced with or deceived by coaxing words have without foresight effected any compromise assuring those governing Texas that they will be in their favor in the present struggle with Mexico; and, though this may have been assured under signature, or in any other manner, way, or form; provided that at present, and from today on, they accredit their patriotism, adhesion, loyalty and fidelity to our legitimate and paternal government of the Mexican republic to which we have the honor of belonging; in the name of the same, and upon my word of honor, the corresponding pardon is solemnly hereof promised without fear of the least damage being inflicted on you on account of such a deed, and without the least impairment to the nationality and patriotism to which you are creditors by a thousand titles as the patrimony of loyalty bequeathed to you as a heritage by your ancestors.

"Yes, my dear fellow citizens and fellow patriots, it is not to be feared and much less believed, that, with the danger of loosing your religion, your country, and your property, you would hesitate for a single moment to place yourselves under the shadow of and around your national flag, and that, facing all the dangers, and exaggerated perils, we, the New Mexicans (despite the plots of those rivals and traitors, the Texans, and their followers) shall display our valor and earn the laurels which shall be displayed on a level with and parallel to those of the most warlike nations on earth. This I promise you, and with this, your fellow citizen and chief drinks to your health."

"MANUEL ARMIJO. (Seal)

"Santa Fe, N. M., Sept. 18, 1841."

Invasion by Texans—Their Failure.

The reader will readily see how, in the year 1841, the situation of the strangers was quite strained. The Texan expedition which invaded New Mexico in 1841, left Texas, from Austin, on the 18th of June, with General McLeod in command and about 320 men as troops, and some who came as merchants. The ostensible object of the expedition was,

according to the historian who accompanied it, to establish commercial relations with New Mexico, and by way of inducement, they came so well prepared that they were bringing along a piece of artillery, as if to impose terror upon the New Mexicans, whom they thought quite disgusted with the mother country, in case they should make any opposition.

The truth, however, was that, as their congress had already approved a law appropriating all the territory east of the Rio Grande, they came with the disposition of inducing the inhabitants of New Mexico to separate from Mexico and unite with Texas, they claiming New Mexico as a part of Texas. After suffering unaccountable hardships, and losing four or five of their number, who were killed by the Indians, they reached New Mexico; but, as the Mexican government at Santa Fé already knew of the premeditated expedition, as said above, Armijo set out with troops to meet them, having first sent a portion of his army marching as vanguard under Captain Salazar. Salazar met the first party of Texans on this side of Antonchico, which was composed of Captain Louis, Van Ness and Messrs. Howard, Fitzgerald and Kendall who had been sent by Cook as emissaries to the alcalde of San Miguel announcing their coming as a peaceful expedition. Salazar had no difficulty in obtaining their surrender, he disarmed them, and would have had them shot, had not Captain Ramon Vigil, the other officials, and the soldiers of the troop interceded for them, to whose entreaties Salazar yielded, but ordered, however, that their hands should be tied and in that condition, carried to San Miguel and from San Miguel to Santa Fé, but, as they met General Armijo, the later ordered that they should be taken back to San Miguel. Some historians assert that when Armijo arrived at San Miguel, with the said prisoners, there were already two more in jail at San Miguel, called Howland and Baker, who, they say, were shot in the presence of Louis, Ness, Howard, Fitzgerald and Kendall, but this author believes that that assertion is one of the many fabrications which the fertile mind of some historians have consigned to history in detriment of truth and justice.

McLeod Surrenders With All His Forces.

After some days' stay at San Miguel, Armijo continued his march southward accompanied by Louis who had betrayed his comrades, in search of the other portion of the Texan expedition, meeting McLeod and other persons of the expedition on the 5th of October, at Laguna Colorada, near Tucumcari. McLeod and all his men surrendered at discretion and were conducted as prisoners to San Miguel, from which place they were dispatched on foot to Mexico, on October 17th. The unfortunate Texans suffered a great deal on the road to Mexico on account of the inhumanity with which they were treated by the soldiers who conducted them; and they might have fared worse had not Captain Albino Chacon gone with them, who though being a military, was a man of noble and humane sentiments, took pity on them and did all he could to mitigate their suffering till they reached El Paso del Norte, (now Juarez, Mexico) where they were received by General Gonzales and the Curé, Don Ramon Ortiz, who at once took interest in treating the prisoners with charity.

Other Texan Expeditions.

The year 1843, in the month of April, an expedition of banditti was organized in Texas, with John McDaniel as headchief, to come to New Mexico as thieves in order to rob the caravans which went from New Mexico to Missouri. The said expedition consisted of 15 men of the worst breed that could be found. McDaniel with his gang left Texas in April coming towards New Mexico. Armijo, who had already been informed of the organization of said expedition, and others which were to follow it, asked reinforcements from the governor of Chihuahua, who, thereupon, sent a batallion of soldiers under General Don José Montoredo.

Death of Don Antonio Chávez.

McDaniel, however, was able to enter New Mexico attacking several caravans, among them, that of Don Antonio Chávez who was traveling with only two wagons and five men. McDaniel met Don Antonio Chávez's train on the Napeste

(Arkansas) River, and, as he caught him by surprise, he was enabled to capture Don Antonio Chávez and the five men who accompanied him; they destroyed his wagons, stole 55 mules, and ten thousand dollars that he carried in gold; and, not content with robbing him, they bound him hand and foot and killed him in the vilest and most cowardly manner, casting his body into a chasm. The men who accompanied Don Antonio escaped. McDaniel and nine of his men were subsequently captured by United States soldiers, tried and hung in St. Louis, Missouri, for the murder of Chávez.

Bandit Wordfield Attacks Town of Mora.

In the same year and month, April, 1843, another Texan bandit, called Wordfield, set out from Texas towards New Mexico, with 24 men, all thieves and highwaymen, like himself. Wordfield was able to reach as far as the town of Mora without being noticed, and attack the defenseless people of that village at midnight, killing five men, and leaving an equal number wounded, and stealing all the horses he could meet with. The next day the inhabitants of Mora started in pursuit of him. They overtook him and captured five of his companions, Wordfield and the others succeeding in escaping. The five prisoners were sent to Santa Fé, where they were punished with imprisonment.

Third Texan Bandit.

In the same month and year, April, 1843, the third and last of the Texas banditti, known in Texas by the name of "Colonel Snively," set out from Texas for Santa Fé. Snively was going toward the Napeste River as his place of destination, where he arrived in May, establishing his camp about 100 miles below Bent's Fort. On the 17th of June, the annual cavaran from Missouri to Santa Fé was to arrive at Bent's Fort. This time it consisted of 60 wagons belonging to American and Mexican merchants of New Mexico, escorted by Capt. John Cook, with 200 American soldiers as far as Bent's Fort; and from New Mexico to Bent's Fort caravans were escorted by Mexican troops under the command of Captain Bentura Lovato. Through his spies Snively learned that the cavaran was about to arrive at Bent's Fort.

Death of Bentura Lovato—Capture of Snively by Cook.

Snively then set out meeting with Captain Bentura Lovato already very near Bent's Fort. Lovato who was going on the vanguard took Snively and his troop as the pickets of Cook's army; Snively taking in the mistake made by Lovato, fell suddenly upon him and his soldiers killing him and fifteen men and making prisoners almost all the rest. One of those who were able to escape made a report of the occurrence to the caravan and Cook's spies were informed of the encounter and these immediately advised Cook of what had occurred. Cook, next, set out hurriedly with 200 soldiers capturing Snively before he could hear of the arrival of the American army. Snively seeing himself surrounded gave himself up unconditionally, and the caravan was enabled to get to Bent's Fort, without any mishap.

The murder of Bentura Lovato and his soldiers produced great alarm all over the Territory, and the Mexican government, immediately after being informed of the sad event, issued a decree whereby the entry into New Mexico was forbidden to strangers who might be considered as banditti, and ordering the decapitation of all those strangers who should be caught as highwaymen. The capture of Snively was the epilogue in the well planned conspiracy between McDaniel, Wordfield and said Snively. Here ends the fifth chapter of Book Four of this work, to commence in the next the narrative one of the most important events recorded in the history of New Mexico—the invasion and taking of New Mexico by the army of the United States.

Memorial of Rev. Antonio J. Martinez to Santa Anna.

Before commencing the chapter following, it is necessary to relate here another incident of importance that happened in New Mexico in 1843. In November of that year the Presbyter, Antonio José Martinez sent to President Santa Anna an interesting little work printed on the printing press of said Presbyter at Taos, in which Father Martinez unfolded the gloomy situation of the people of New Mexico and assigned as the causes which produced such situation, two

things, namely: The frequent incursions of the savage Indians and the great damages to the population which, on account of being almost abandoned by the Mexican government, was entirely at the mercy of the savages; in order to remedy that condition the Presbyter suggested that the government should establish military garrisons in the most exposed points of the Territory and to place the said tribes of nomadic Indians under reservations, and under the care of the military branch of the government. Second, to the lack of tact on the part of the Mexican governors in having granted to the strangers of North America (Bent and others) permission to build forts along the Napeste and Chato rivers with the object of establishing in said forts commerce with the said tribes. Father Martinez maintained, among other things, or rather, accused said strangers of North America of being themselves the cause of the incursions of said tribes because, as he states it, they furnished them with arms and liquor. We subjoin below what on that matter Padre Martinez said:

"Although at the time of the Spanish government, the strangers of North America were not permitted to build forts in order to establish trade with the Indians of the north, because it was feared that, with such a pretext, they might pervert them and encourage them to revolt against us, and constantly harass this department, which they have claimed as theirs, nevertheless at the present time, North Americans, through the liberality of our Mexican government, have been permitted to erect forts, and they are erecting them since the year 1832 to the present on the margins of the Rio Napeste (Arkansas) and Rio Chato and other intermediate places between the camps inhabited by those (Indian) nations. Besides the necessary and useful articles they also sell them liquors and whiskeys, which forbidden article has extremely demoralized said (Indian) nations and this with the others serve them as incentives for destroying the buffalo. That is also a cause for those Indians to make incursions into our department with the object of stealing horses bought of them by the owners of said forts; and that is also an occasion that several of the idle and ill-intentioned among our own

people have determined and taken the choice of becoming horse thieves themselves, in order to sell them in said forts."*

*Exposition of Presbyter Martinez, pp. 3 and 4. Said exposition was printed on the printing press of Father Martinez in Taos, and the only copy extant is now in the hands of the author of this work.—THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER VI.

The Yutas Attack Governor Martinez—Heroism of the Governor's Wife—Invasion of the American Army—March of the American Army—Taking of Santa Fé—Organization of the New Government— Official Appointment of Territorial Officers—An Anti-American Pronouncement—Bent Starts for Taos and is Assassinated—Others die With Him—Father Martinez Saves an American and the Families of the Murdered Men—Murder at Mora and Las Vegas—Measures are Taken for the Punishment of the Rebels—Surrender of the Taos Indians and Execution of Their Chief—Assault and Punishment of the Mora Insurgents—End of the War With Mexico—Historical Letter From California.—Yuta Indians Assault Governor Martinez.

1843—1848.

Let us say a word about an occurrence to Governor Mariano Martinez de Lejanza in the year 1844, before entering upon the narrative of the North American invasion. In the year 1844, a large party of Yutas came to Santa Fé with the ostensible mission of making a treaty of peace with Governor Martinez, who received their captains in friendly terms in his office; while remaining alone with them, an altercation broke out between himself and said Indians, the dissension culminating in an assault against the person of the governor who, doubtless, would have been murdered by the Indians, had it not been for the timely intervention of the governor's wife, who heard the excited voice of her husband, and entered the room just at the moment when one of the Indians was about to stab the governor. The lady grasped a chair and threatened the Indian with it, uttering at the same time a shout of alarm. The soldier who acted as sentinel entered next calling other soldiers at the same time. In the confusion which ensued the Indians escaped, but

were caught by the troop and the citizens in the city park, where they were attacked and many of them killed, the others succeeding in escaping, assaulting and killing whomsoever they met on their way, their first victim being the citizen Julian Martinez whom they killed at the Arroyo de los Guajes, near San Ildefonso; and at Tierra Azul, near Abiquiú, they met with Cruz Vigil, Ramon Vigil, and another Vigil, nicknamed Gúero Vigil, whom they assaulted leaving Gúero Vigil and Jose de la Cruz Vigil dead in the affray and two Indians, Ramon Vigil being the only one that could escape with a wound on his chest.*

Governor Martinez Finds the Territory in Complete Bankruptcy—A Forcible Loan is Decreed—An Englishman, John Scolly, is Punished for Refusing to Pay His Due—1845.

The insurrection of 1837, and the Texan invasions left the Territory in so precarious a condition that when Don Mariano Martinez de Lejanza took charge of the government (1844) the public treasury lacked the funds to pay the maintenance of the troops. In view of such a deplorable situation, the departmental assembly decreed upon demand of Governor Martinez, on the 14th of February, 1845, an individual impost or tax against the Mexican citizens, the sum which each citizen had to pay depending from his pecuniary means, the weight of the decree falling almost exclusively upon the landed and rich of the Territory.

The step taken by Martinez bordered on despotism, but circumstances required extraordinary measures to save the population from the anarchy in which the chaotic state of the revenue was, inevitably, about to precipitate it. Immediately after the decree had been heralded, the decree was put into execution against an English individual called John Scolly (he was called "Escole" at Santa Fé), a merchant and resident of the Capital. Scolly was married to a native lady of Santa Fé, and he had, sometime before the approval of said decree,

* The information for this narrative is due by the author to Don Francisco Vigil y Montoya, relative to J. de la Cruz Vigil and Gúero Vigil, resident of Española and of 85 years of age, said information having been given to the author on the 17th of August, 1910, by writing, at Española, and signed by said Francisco Vigil.—THE AUTHOR.

made an application for a certificate of Mexican citizenship. His application had been approved by the governor, but he was waiting for its final approval by the superior authority. In virtue of that application a tax of five hundred dollars was levied upon Scolly, reputed already a Mexican citizen. He refused to obey the decree; wherefore the following sentence or peremptory * order was issued in which appears all that was said and done by either party.

"Seal Fourth, Two Reals, the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, and one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

"Habilitated for the years of one thousand eight hundred and forty-five and one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

"MARIANO MARTINEZ, Governor, (Seal.)

"JOSÉ ANTONIO CHÁVEZ, (Seal), Administrator.

"SANTA FÉ, April 1, 1845.

"Señor Don Juan (John) Escole, being a debtor in the quantity of five hundred dollars, by decree of the most excellent assembly of the 14th of February last, for tax imposed as a loan with obligation of paying same as a Mexican citizen, which decree was issued because of the scarcity of resources in which the government of the department finds itself to attend to the precise needs of the garrison; for that reason the mentioned decree being sanctioned, and published, the term of fifteen days was placed for the payment of said tax into the treasury of the department, and that requirement not having been verified, I went in person accompanied by my witnesses of attendance to the house of the mentioned Don Juan (John) Escole, to notify him in person that if within a third day he did not pay said sum into the designated treasury, the said five hundred dollars, he would be proceeded against by execution as it is provided in said decree. I, the citizen Franco. Ortiz y Delgado, 2nd constitutional alcalde, and by virtue of law, judge of the first instance and of the treasury. So I decreed, commanded and signed acting the foregoing with the witnesses of my attendance with whom I

* The alluded decree is in the hands of this author.

act as repertory in the lack of a public notary, there being none, in this department of which I give testimony.

"FRANCISCO ORTIZ Y DELGADO, (Rubric).

"Witness of attendance: "Witness of attendance:
"NICOLAS PINO, (Rubric) "ANASTACIO SANDOVAL," (Rubric)

"In the City of Santa Fé, Capital of the Department of New Mexico, and in the same day, month and year. I, the citizen Franco Ortiz y Delgado, 2nd constitutional alcalde and judge of the 1st instance of the treasury aforesaid, visited the house of Don Juan Escole, accompanied by those (witnesses) of my attendance in compliance with the command aforesaid and of the superior order of the most Excellent Sr. Governor yesterday, when he was present, I made known to him the contents thereof; when he was informed, he said; that he is not, nor holds himself a Mexican citizen, although he is married to a Mexican lady, so long as his letter of citizenship is not delivered to him which he has solicited and paid for; that he expects the decision of the Mexican government, but meanwhile considers himself a citizen of Great Britain. This he answered and signed with me and those (witnesses) of my attendance with whom I act as my repertory, in the absence of notary public, there being none of any kind in this department.

I give the testimony,

"JUAN SCOLLY"

"FRANCISCO ORTIZ Y DELGADO" (Rubric)

Of attendance Of attendance
"ANASTACIO SANDOVAL" (Rubric) "NICOLAS PINO" (Rubric)

"On said day, month, and year, in compliance with what has been disposed by his Excellency, the governor by his official letter of the day in which he decided what appears in what is attached hereto and for its compliance let Don Juan Scolly be summoned that he may be informed of its contents, and let him answer what may suit him. So I decreed, commanded and signed it, with those (witnesses) of my attendance of which I bear testimony.

"FRANCISCO ORTIZ Y DELGADO" (Rubric)

Of attendance Of attendance
"NICOLAS PINO" (Rubric) "ANASTACIO SANDOVAL" (Rubric)

Notification:—Incontinenti, Don Juan Escole being present, in virtue of the aforesaid Superior Official letter says that he hears it, and that he cannot prescind from the solicitude he has made respecting his naturalization papers which he has petitioned from the supreme government, and that while this does not come, no one should consider him as such a citizen: This he answered and signed with me and those of my attendance of which I bear testimony.

"JUAN SCOLLY"

"FRANCO ORTIZ Y DELGADO" (Rubric)

Of attendance Of attendance

"ANASTACIO SANDOVAL" (Rubric) "NICOLAS PINO" (Rubric)

"In this city of Santa Fé on the second day of the month of April, one thousand eight hundred and forty five. Having *ex-officio* rendered a report to his Excellency, the governor, through his secretary, has commanded me to summon the said Don Juan Escole and verbally ordered me not to wait for any answer from said Escole, instructing me, at the same time, to only adhere to the first order which is attached hereto and that I should proceed to verbally notify to said Don Juan Escole the suspension of his business in his two stores, a thing I did, in effect, yesterday at about six o'clock in the evening in the presence of the two witnesses of my attendance who heard me make to him, Escole, the intimation, adding furthermore, that said intimation was made by order of his Excellency which he had verbally given me and that for every half a bit (half dime) of lard, or meat, by him sold, a fine of two hundred dollars would be imposed on him, and that it may so appear, I have signed, myself as the present justice, with those of my attendance.

"FRANCO ORTIZ Y DELGADO" (Rubric)

Of attendance Of attendance

"ANASTACIO SANDOVAL" (Rubric) "NICOLAS PINO" (Rubric)

As it does not appear in the transaction whether or not Scolly paid the $500.00 fine or had to suspend the sale of his merchandise, the supposition is justifiable that he did pay the fine as that was the only alternative left him in order to avoid heavy losses.

Last Election of Officers Under the Mexican Government.

On the 7th of October, 1845, the commission which appointed, or elected the deputy to the National Congress and the members of the departmental assembly met in Santa Fé, with the object of making the election of said officials. Said commission was appointed by the governor and its duties ended with the choice of a regular delegate and substitute to the Congress, and five members and three substitutes which composed the departmental assembly. On account of the peculiarity of their functions, this commission was designated by the high-sounding title of "Electoral College." Its number or personel was three individuals. On that day the result of the election was: For deputy to congress, Don Tomás Chávez y Castillo, for substitute, Don Vincente Sanchez Vergara. For the departmental assembly, the Messrs. Presbyter Antonio José Martinez, Tomás Ortiz, Juan Perea, Juan Cristóbal Armijo and Felipe Sena. Substitutes, Don Serafin Ramires, Don Vicente Martinez and Don Santiago Armijo. Those functionaries were acting in their respective posts at the time of the change of government in August of the year following.* Let us now go back to the epoch of the most transcendental importance in the historical annals of New Mexico—the American invasion and the third change of government.

Invasion by the American Army.

As we have already informed the reader about the war that existed between Mexico and Texas in the year 1841, we will now state that said war finally resulted in the rupture of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, in May, 1846, but as in another work † we give the complete and detailed history of that war and its consequences, we shall content ourselves now by making a concrete reference to said war referring the reader to the alluded work for further information upon that subject.

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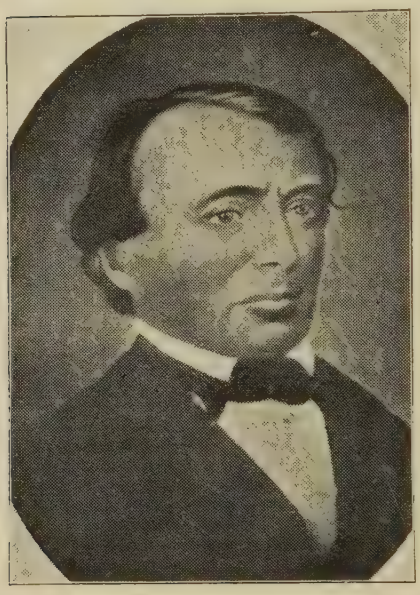
*The original official list of that last election is in the possession of the author of this work, the picture of said list is published in another part of this work. Read's: Hist. Sinóp. de la Guerra Mex.-Americana.

† Read's: Hist. Sinóp. de la Guerra Mex. Americana.

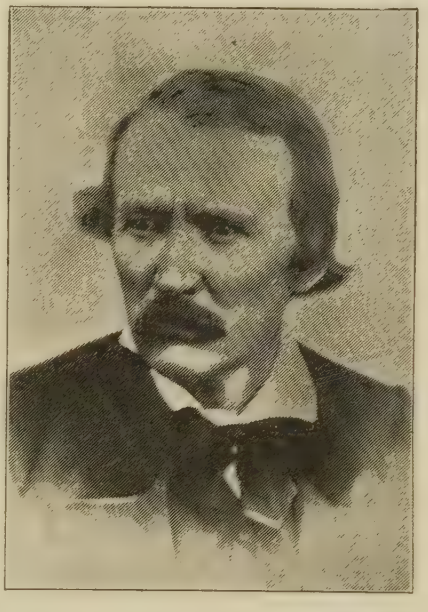
In the year 1846, Don Manuel Armijo being governor of New Mexico, General Kearny entered New Mexico at the head of the American army, and, without firing a shot, received the voluntary submission of the people of New Mexico, took possession of the Capital of the Territory, and organized a new government under the American flag. The impartial reader must have, doubtless, already realized the very sad situation in which the inhabitants of New Mexico were found in 1846, when the change of flags was effected, and, from the information he has so received in the foregoing chapters of this work, must have felt convinced that the people of New Mexico in submitting to the American army deserve no censure for its apparent lack of patriotism or civic valor, but are rather worthy of admiration for having foreseen that if that war would inevitably have to result in the defeat of Mexico, and the economical material, industrial conditions of the Territory demanded, as a prudent and necessary thing, the step taken by the people in declaring in favor of the American government, insuring thus the happiness and higher civilization of the inhabitants of the Territory; the change was furthermore made necessary because of the contempt and abandonment with which the Spanish and Mexican governments had treated the inhabitants of New Mexico. With this brief introduction the historical veil of that epoch is rent asunder allowing us to present to the reader the operations practiced by the American government during that memorable date.



Charles Bent.
First American Governor.

March of the American Army—Capture of Santa Fé—Organization of The New Government.

In the month of June, 1846, the third division of the American army, designated by the name of the "Army of the West," set out from Fort Leavenworth, under General Kearny, with 300 men of the regular army, and a cavalry regiment under Colonel Doniphan, who had with him, in addition to said regiment, 500 volunteers making a total of 1700 armed men. Colonel Sterling Price followed with another division of 1800 men, the two armies making up a total of 3500 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The army reached Bent's Fort in August, where it was expected by Lieutenant Emory, chief of the military engineers, who was to accompany Kearny's army on the march. Let us now leave the American army in camp at Bent's Fort, and take a glance at the Capital of New Mexico, to familiarize the reader with the preparations Armijo was making to repel the invading enemy. As soon as it was learned in Santa Fé that the American army was encamped at Bent's Fort, a private meeting was held in the City of Santa Fé, in which the principal citizens took part with the object of discussing the steps that should be taken. (The author obtained this information in the year 1884, at Santa Fé, from Don José Pablo Gallegos, who was present in that meeting. Said information is in the hands of the author.) The majority of the persons present preferred to surrender without resistance; the



Col. Kit Carson.
Pioneer, Path Finder and American Scout.

others under the leadership of Don Manuel Chávez, Don Miguel E. Pino, Don Nicolás Pino, Don Tomás C. de Baca, and a lawyer named Iñigo, who had just arrived from Mexico, held that the enemy should be fought against. The later were able to prevail. They prepared a programme in which Messrs. Pino and Baca were entrusted to take charge, with General Armijo, of the forces which should repel the enemy. Said programme was presented to General Armijo who approved it with reluctance, for, as the reader will afterwards see, when the supreme moment came, he cowardly abandoned his army, and therewith surrendered the Territory, to the enemy. This was on the 7th of August, 1846. On the next day the Governor issued the following bombastic proclamation:

"The Governor and Commandant General of New Mexico.

"To Its Inhabitants:

"Fellow Patriots: The moment has, at last, come when the country requires from her sons, the unlimited decision, the reserveless sacrifices, which circumstances, extreme under any point of view, claim for its salvation. The troubles with the United States of America, managed with dignity and decorum by the Supreme Magistrate of our Republic, have not been satisfactorily concluded as demanded by the unquestionable rights of Mexico over the usurped territory of Texas, and, for that reason, it has been indispensably necessary to suspend the diplomatic relations with the rejected minister and envoy extraordinary from the North American government; but the forces of that government are advancing on this department; they have already crossed the line, and at this date are found very near Colorado. Behold, fellow citizens, the invasion is the sign of alarm that must prepare us for the combat. The eagle that summoned you at Iguala under the national standard forming a single family out of us all, with one single will, calls on you today to gather around the supreme government, and of the superior of this department to defend the most just and holiest of causes. You then could conquer without external help, led only by your noble efforts and heroic patriotism, the independence of our nation, which is worthy of better fate.

Today that sacred boon, the fruit of so many and so costly sacrifices, is threatened; for, if we are not able to preserve the integrity of our Territory, all this country would very soon be the prey of the greed and enterprising spirit of our neighbors of the north, and nothing would remain save a sad remembrance of our political existence.

"But for God's sake it must not be so! The Mexicans of today are yet those of the year 1810. Divided then, and even before having a country, they dominated the arrogance of a foreign and powerful government. When the armed force is united to the peoples, and both defend jointly their threatened independence, the outraged national honor and the scorned rights of their country, they form by their union a compact and invincible whole. I incite you, my fellow citizens, and fellow patriots, that in union with the regular militaries, you strengthen those sentiments of union and brotherly harmony with your arms as defenders of our country; for only this sincere union can lead us to a glorious triumph, for the Author and Preserver of all societies left written in his golden book these decisive words: 'A house divided against itself shall fall.' Never forget this sentence; nor do ever separate your interests from the common cause, for with union, resources, public spirit and genuine patriotism will follow. I assure you that the Mexican Republic will know how to make its enemies respect us, and will present to the civilized world the brilliant titles it possesses in order to belong to free and enlightened nations.

"Be prepared, then, my fellow patriots, to perform the part that belongs to you in the great contest to which the nation now calls you. We happily have at the head of its supreme administration an illustrious general, honorable and patriotic, who, just as he has upheld with dignity and energy the sacred laws of his country, will also trace for us a road to glory. Let us be ready for war since we are provoked to it; let us not look at the strength and power of our enemies, nor at the size of the obstacles we have to overcome. The god of armies is also protector of the justice of nations, and, with his powerful aid, we will be able to add another brilliant page to the history of Mexico, and enhance her credit before the world (if it be possible, for no one is obliged to do what is

impossible) which our country deserves to enjoy with the title of a *free and independent republic.* But with respect to the defense of the department in the actual invasion, your governor is dependent upon your pecuniary resources, upon your decision, and upon your convictions, founded on reason, on justice, equity and public convenience; assuring you that he who actually governs you is ready to sacrifice his life and interests in defense of his beloved country. All this you will see fulfilled by your chief, fellow patriot and friend. *

"MANUEL ARMIJO. (Seal).

"Santa Fé, Saturday, 8th of August, 1846."

Cook's Secret Interview—Emory's Account.

In spite of the high sounding proclamation which the reader has just read, Armijo received Captain Cook in secret conference. Cook had been sent by Kearny, that being the reason why some writers assert that, with this circumstance and through his subsequent conduct, Armijo proved all the words of his proclamation to be mere bravados. The preparations, followed, however, to ostensibly meet the enemy, about which we will give a complete narrative with the very words of Captain Don Rafael Chácon, residing today in Trinidad, State of Colorado, who was not only an eye witness, but though of tender age, at that time, was one of the militaries, a cadet and artillery man; nevertheless, before giving Captain Don Rafael Chácon's account, the author deems it just

* The original of this important document, Armijo's proclamation was fortunately found by the author of this work very recently. Nothing was known of its existence before. Later, on August 10, 1846, Armijo formally asked the departmental assembly to appropriate at least one thousand dollars to enable him to buy provisions for the starving army. The assembly in its session of that day—which was the last session and which was so stormy that neither its officers nor its members thought of signing the minutes—had first authorized a forced loan of $1,000.00 for Armijo, and further, authorized him to borrow a similar sum from private individuals, but finally declined and rescinded its own resolution, thus leaving Armijo powerless to feed his men and compelling him to face the enemy with an army of hunger-dying men. No wonder, then, that he deserted the field of honor rather than to expose his men to inevitable destruction.—THE AUTHOR.

and necessary to give the exact account from the American side, that is, the account which Lieutenant Emory, ex-officio, gave to the American government regarding the march of the army and the taking of the Territory. The reader will thus be enabled to hear from the lips of two officials who witnessed the consummation of the memorable event, both in distinct positions ready to struggle for their respective flags. In giving the account of that important transition which marked an epoch in our history, the author follows the method which he has adopted from the beginning of this work, that is, to give, in every case possible, the original information, completely ignoring the conjectural conclusions of other writers, so that the reader may be able to receive his information from the very source and thence form his own opinion.

Report of Lieutenant Colonel Emory.

As an original document, almost entirely unknown, and of great historical value, we insert, in the sequel, the diary and report of Lieutenant Col. W. H. Emory, of the corps of topographical engineers, who accompanied the army of Col. Kearny when he came to effect the annexation of New Mexico. The portion we reproduce relates particularly to the march as far as Santa Fé and the principal incidents that happened in the transit. Emory speaks:

"August 2, 1846.—I looked in the direction of Bent's Fort, and saw a huge United States flag flowing to the breeze and straining every fibre of an ash pole planted over the center of the gate. The mystery was soon revealed by a column of dust to the east, advancing with about the velocity of a fast walking horse—it was the 'Army of the West.' I ordered my horses to be hitched up, and, as the column passed, took my place with the staff.

"A little below the fort the river was forded without difficulty, being paved with well attritioned pebbles of the primitive rock and not more than knee deep.

"Colonel Doniphan was ordered to pursue the Arkansas to near the mouth of the Timpas, and rejoin the army by following the bed of that stream.

"Along the Arkansas the principal growth consists of very

coarse grass and few cottonwoods and willows. Our march was 26 miles, that of the army 37; the last 20 miles without water.

"The artillery arrived about 11 p. m.; both men and horses were parched with thirst. The teamsters, who had to encounter the dust, suffered very much. When water was near, they sprang from their seats and ran for it like mad men. Two horses sank under this day's march.

"August 3.—We ascended the Timpas six and three quarter miles, and halted for the day near running water; the grass was burned dry, and not a green sprig to be seen. Colonel Doniphan's division passed our camp about 4 p. m.

"August 4.—The road wound through the valley of the Timpas. The soil being impregnated with lime, rendered the dust, which rose in dense columns, distressing.

"Thirteen miles' march brought us to the crossing of the Timpas. The only water we found there was in a hole thirty feet in diameter, into which the men rushed with great eagerness, disturbing the vegetable deposit formed on its surface, and thereby rendering it unfit for use. Nine miles further we came to 'the hole on the Rocke'—a large hole filled with stagnant, though drinkable, water.

"We reached 'the hole in the prairie' at 10 p. m., the distance being 14½ miles, and found grass, as we expected; we were agreeably surprised to find water also. The night was delicious and all slept in the open air. The infantry was encamped here.

"August 5.—Today we descended eleven and a half miles and reached the valley of the Purgatory, called by the mountain men 'the Picatoire,' a corruption of Purgatoire, a swift running stream a few yards in width, but no grass of any amount at the crossing. The blighted trunks of large cottonwood and locust trees were seen along its course. At five miles and a half we encamped on the bed of a tributary to the Purgatoire, which comes down from the north side of the Raton range.

"Captain Cooke of the first dragoons was sent ahead the day before yesterday, to sound Armijo. Mr. Liffendorfer, a trader, married to a Santa Fé lady, was sent in the direction of Taos, with two Pueblo Indians to feel the pulse of the

Pueblos and the Mexican citizens, and, probably, to buy wheat, if any could be purchased, and to distribute proclamations of the colonel commanding. Yesterday William Bent and six others, forming a spy guard were sent forward to reconnoitre the mountain passes.

"August 6.—Colonel Kearny left Colonel Doniphan's regiment and Major Clarke's artillery at our old camp ground last night, and scattered Sumner's dragoons three or four miles up the creek to pass the day in renovating the animals by nips at the little bunches of grass spread at intervals in the valley. This being done, we commenced the ascent of the Raton, and after marching seventeen miles, halted, with the infantry and general staff within a half mile of the summit of the pass. Strong parties were sent forward to repair the road which winds through a picturesque valley with the Raton towering to the left.

"An express returned from the spy guard which reported all clear in front. Capt. Cooke, and Mr. Liffendorfer have only reached the Canadian river.

"August 7. Camp 36.—We recommenced the ascent of the Raton, which we reached with ease, with our wagons in about two miles. The height of this point above the sea, as indicated by the barometer, is 7,500 feet.

"The descent is much more rapid than the ascent, and, for the first few miles through a valley of good burned grass and stagnant water, containing many beautiful flowers. But frequently you come to a place where the stream (a branch of the Canadian) has worked itself through the mountains and the road has to ascend and then descend a sharp spur. Here the difficulties commence; and the road for three or four miles, is just passable for a wagon; many of the train were broken in the passage. A few thousand dollars judiciously expended here would be an immense saving to the government, if the Santa Fe country is to be permanently occupied and Bent's Fort road adopted. A few miles from the summit we reached a wide valley where the mountains open out and the inhospitable looking hills recede to a respectable distance right and left. Sixteen miles from camp 36 brought us to the main branch of the Canadian, a slow running stream discharging a volume of

water the thickness of a man's waist. We found here Bent's camp.

"To-day we commenced our half ration bread; though not suffering for meat, we are anxious to seize on Santa Fé and its stock of provisions as soon as possible.

"August 8.—We remained in camp all day to allow Colonel Doniphan's regiment and artillery to come up.

"August 9.—We broke up camp at 2:30 o'clock, and marched with the Colonel's staff and the first dragoons 10½ miles, and encamped under the mountains on the western side of the Canadian on the banks of a small stream tributary to the Canadian. At a distance of six miles from last night's camp the road forks, one fork running near the mountains to the west, but nearly parallel to the old road, and never distant more than four miles, and almost all the time in sight of it. The army was divided, the artillery, infantry, and wagon train ordered to take the lower, and the Missouri volunteers and first dragoons, the upper road. The valley here opens out into an extensive plain, slightly rolling, flanked on each side by ranges of perpendicular hills covered with stunted cedar and the piñon. In this extensive valley or plain may be traced by the eye, from any of the neighboring heights, the valleys of the Canadian and its tributaries the Vermejo, the Poñil, the small Cimarron, the Rayado, and the Ocaté. We saw troops of antelopes, horses, deer, etc., etc.

"August 10.—Colonel Kearny being dissatisfied with the upper road determined to strike for the old road. We did so after reaching the Vermejo, 9½ miles in a diagonal line, and rejoined it at the crossing of the little Cimarron where we found the infantry encamped—total distance—20½ miles. A Mexican came into camp from Bent's Fort and reported Lieutenant Albert much better. Colonel Kearny allowed him to pass to Taos, which place (60 miles distant by a bridle path) he expected to reach to-night. The colonel sent by him copies of his proclamation. Five Mexicans were captured by Bent's spy company; they were sent out to reconnoitre our forces, with orders to detain all persons passing out of New Mexico. They were mounted on diminutive asses.

"Mr. Towle, an American citizen, came to headquarters at the Vermejo, and reported himself just escaped from Taos. He brought the intelligence that, yesterday, the proclamation of Governor Armijo reached there, calling the citizens to arms, and placing the whole country under martial law; that Armijo has assembled all the pueblo Indians, numbering about two thousand, and all the citizens capable of bearing arms; that three hundred Mexican dragoons arrived in Santa Fé the day Armijo's proclamation was issued, and that twelve hundred more were hourly expected; that the Mexicans to a man were anxious for a fight, but that half of the pueblo Indians were indifferent on the subject, but would be made to fight.

"We made a long march today with the advance guard and the first dragoons, to the Ocaté. Matters are now becoming very interesting. Six or eight Mexicans were captured last night, and on their persons were found the proclamation of the Prefect of Taos, based upon that of Armijo calling the citizens to arms to repel the 'Americans who were coming to invade their soil and to destroy their property and liberties,' ordering an enrollment of all the citizens over 15 and under 50. It is decidedly less bombastic than any Mexican paper I have seen. Colonel Kearny assembled these prisoners, altogether some ten or twelve, made a speech to them, and ordered that, when the rear guard of the army should have passed, they should be released. These men were not deficient in form or stature; their faces expressed good nature bordering on idiocy; they were mounted on little donkies and jennies, guided by clubs instead of bridles.

"Two more Mexicans of a better class were captured tonight, or rather, they came into camp. Their story was, that they had come out by order of the alcalde of Mora Town to look out for their standing enemies, the Yutas who were reported in the neighborhood. That they had heard of our advance sometime since, but believed us to be at the Rayado, 22 miles back; but seeing our wagons, and having faith in the Americans, they rode without hesitation into our camp. When they said they had faith in us, the Colonel ordered them to shake hands with him. They were ordered to be detained a day or two, for it was quite evident to all, they were spies

who had come too suddenly into the little ravine in which we were encamped. They appeared well pleased, and one of them, after proceeding a few steps with the guard, turned back and presented the colonel with a fresh cream cheese.

"August 12.—The elder Mexican was discharged, giving him two proclamations; one for the alcalde, another for the people of his town. A message was sent to the alcalde to meet us at the crossing of the Mora with several of his chief men. The other Mexican was detained as a guide. About twelve o'clock the advance was sounded, and the colonel, with Sumner's command marched 20 miles, and halted in a beautiful valley of fine grass and pools of cool water.

"August 13 —At 12 o'clock we were off, and we had not advanced more than a mile, when Bent came up with four prisoners. They represented themselves to be an ensign and three privates of the Mexican army, sent forward to reconnoitre and ascertain our force. They said 600 men were at the Vegas to give us battle. They told many different stories, and finally delivered up a paper, being an order from a Captain Gonzales to the ensign to go forward on the Bent's Fort road to ascertain our position and numbers. They were cross-examined by the Colonel and detained.

"We commenced the descent into the valley of the Mora creek, and six miles of march brought us to the first settlement we had seen in 775 miles. There lived an American, named Boney, who has been sometime in the country, and is the owner of a large number of horses and cattle. He drove his herd of cattle into camp and picked out the largest and fattest, which he presented to the army.

"Two miles below at the junction of the Mora and Sapello, is another American, Mr. Wells. We halted at the Sapello.

"At this place, Mr. Spry came into camp on foot, and with scarcely any clothing He had escaped from Santa Fé the night previous, at Mr. H—'s request, to inform Colonel Kearny that Armijo's forces were assembling; that he might expect vigorous resistance, and that a place called Cañon, 15 miles from Santa Fé, was being fortified; and to advise the colonel to go round it. The cañon is a narrow defile easily defended, and of which we have heard a great deal. War now seems "inevitable," and the advantages of ground and numbers

will, no doubt, enable the Mexicans to make the fight interesting.

"August 14.—The order of march today was that which could be easily converted into the order of battle. After proceeding a few miles we met a queer cavalcade, which we supposed at first to be the looked for alcalde of Mora town, but it proved to be a messenger from Armijo—a lieutenant, accompanied by a sergeant and two privates of Mexican lancers. They brought a letter from Armijo. It was a sensible, straightforward missive, and, if written by an American, or an Englishman, would have meant this: 'You have notified me that you intend to take possession of the country I govern. The people of the country have risen en masse in my defense. If you take the country, it will be because you prove the stronger in battle. I suggest to you to stop at Sapello, and I will march to Las Vegas. We will meet and negotiate on the plains between them.' The colonel answered: 'The road to Santa Fé is now as free to you as myself. Say to General Armijo I shall soon meet him, and I hope it will be as friends.' Captain Turner was sent to the village to inform the alcalde that the colonel wished to see him and the head men of the town. In a short time down came the alcalde and two captains of militia with numerous servants.

"August 15.—Twelve o'clock last night information was received that 600 men had collected at the pass which debouches into the Vegas, two miles distant, and were to oppose our march. In the morning orders were given to prepare to meet the enemy. At 7 o'clock the army moved.

"At eight precisely, the general was in the public square, where he was met by the alcalde and people; many of whom were mounted, for these people seem to live on horseback.

"The general spoke as follows: 'Mr. Alcalde and people of New Mexico: I have come amongst you by orders of my government to take possession of your country and extend over it the laws of the United States. We come amongst you as friends—not as enemies; as protectors—not as conquerors. We come among you for your benefit—not for your injury.

" 'Henceforth, I absolve you from all allegiance to the Mexican government, and all obedience to General Armijo.

He is no longer your governor; (great sensation) I am your governor. I shall not expect from you to take up arms, and follow me, to fight your own people who may oppose me; but I now tell you, that those who remain peaceably at home attending to their crops and their herds shall be protected by me in their property, their persons, and their religions and not a pepper, or an onion shall be disturbed or taken by my troops without pay or without the consent of the owner. But listen! He, who promises to be quiet, and is found in arms against me, I shall hang.

"'From the Mexican Government you have never received protection. The Apaches and the Navajoes come down from the mountains and carried off your sheep, and even your women, whenever they please. My government will correct all this. It will keep off the Indians, protect you in your persons and property, and I repeat again, will protect you in your religion. I know you are all great Catholics; that some of your priests have told you all sorts of stories—that we should ill-treat your women and brand them on the cheek, as you do your mules on the hip. It is all false. My government respects your religion as much as the Protestant religion and allows each man to worship his Creator as his heart tells him is best. Its laws protect the Catholic as well as the Protestant; the weak as well as the strong; the poor as well as the rich. I am not a Catholic myself—I was not brought up in that faith; but at least one third of my army are Catholics, and I respect a good Catholic, as much as a good Protestant. There goes my army—you see but a small portion of it—there are many more behind—resistance is useless.

"'Mr. Alcalde, and you two captains of militia, the laws of my country require that all men who hold office under it should take oath of allegiance. I do not wish for the present, until affairs become more settled, to disturb your form of government, I shall continue you in office and support you in authority.'

"This was a bitter pill; but it was swallowed with down cast eyes. The general remarked to him in hearing of all the people: 'Captain look me in the face while you repeat the oath of office.' The hint was understood; the oath taken,

and the alcalde and two captains pronounced to be continued in office.

"We continued our march with flags unfurled and in order of battle to encounter the 600 Mexicans on the gorge of the mountains two miles distant, but the notice was false, for we met nothing.

"August 16.—We marched to San Miguel where General Kearny assembled the people and harangued them much the same way as at Las Vegas.

"Reports now reached us at every step, that the people were rising, and that Armijo was collecting a formidable force to oppose our march. Two Pueblo Indians previously sent in to sound the chief men of that formidable tribe were seen in the distance at full speed and one of them reported that Armijo with his forces was intrenched at the cañon.

"August 17.—The picket guards stationed on the road captured the son of Saliza, who, it is said, is to play an important part in the defense of this country.

"A rumor has reached camp, that the 2000 Mexicans assembled in the cañon to oppose us, have quarrelled among themselves; that Armijo, taking advantage of the dissensions, fled with his dragoons and artillery to the south.

"He has long been suspected of wishing an excuse to fly. It is well known he has been averse to a battle, but some of his people threatened his life if he refused to fight."

Here we shall break the narrative of Lieutenant Emory to take a glance at what was going on in the camp of the Mexican army. As the reader will afterwards see in the account given by Captain Chacon, Armijo found himself with an army devoid of discipline, without ammunitions of war, without food, unarmed, with his men divided, fighting among themselves, and, above all, without patriotism;—a situation, indeed, profoundly alarming, especially when he had to cope against an army plentifully provisioned and highly patriotic. These were powerful reasons to induce Armijo to take to flight, a thing he did leaving his army in complete disorder. In the city, Don Juan Bautista Vigil had remained as secretary of government, who, through the effect of the same law, immediately after the flight of Armijo assumed the charge as governor *ad interim.* It is not known how the proclamation

issued by Kearny at Bent's Fort on July 31, 1846, to the inhabitants of New Mexico, reached the hands of Vigil. In that proclamation Kearny made it known that he came to take the Territory in the name of his government as a friend, not as an enemy, and it is also certain that, as an affair prearranged and predetermined between Armijo, Kearny and Vigil, the proclamation was in Santa Fé. As soon as Vigil heard of the flight of Armijo, he issued a proclamation advising all the residents in the city to remain in their homes assuring them that the American army, by reason of Armijo's flight, would take possession of the Territory, and as that army was not composed of cruel and savage men, they would receive ample protection from said army in their persons, their lives and their properties, displaying at the same time Kearny's proclamation. That document, or proclamation of Vigil, as well as Kearny's proclamation, had not been seen in history, no one knowing their whereabouts; but fortunately they came to the hands of the author of this work, together with other documents of equal historical value in the nick of time to be inserted in this work. We give below said proclamation; the picture of which is published in another part of this work.

Vigil's Proclamation.

"Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid, political and military governor *ad interim* of the Department of New Mexico, to the inhabitants of the Capital, Santa Fé, know ye: That notwithstanding the means I have set in motion, it has not been possible for me to calm the fears which the flight of General Armijo has infused in its inhabitants, the desertion of his soldiers, or, that which is more, and the dread that has been caused because of the approach of the military forces of the government of the United States of North America to this Capital; and, whereas many families are leaving their homes in order to hide in the deserts, as if said forces were composed of cruel and sanguinary savages, believing that they will have no security, no protection of their lives and interests on the part of the chief who commands that army, and in order to quiet these fears down, I have been pleased to command that the proclamation of the said chief of said forces be

fixed on the public places, which proclamation is of the following tenor: 'Proclamation of Colonel Kearny, commandant of the forces of the United States of America to the citizens of New Mexico. The undersigned enters New Mexico with a great military force with the object of seeking union and to ameliorate the condition of its inhabitants; he does all this by instructions of his government by which he will be efficaciously sustained in order to carry into effect it's views. He, therefore, recommends the inhabitants of New Mexico to remain tranquil in their homes and continue in their peaceable avocations and labors, with the assurance that while they continue their daily occupations and labors, they will not be molested by the American army, but on the contrary, they will be respected and protected in all their rights, both civil and religious. All those who shall take arms, and encourage and recommend resistance to the government of the United States will be looked upon as enemies and treated accordingly. Camp at Bent's Fort, July 31, 1846. Yours truly, Kearny, colonel of the 1st Dragoons.'

'It is a copy of the original, Santa Fé, August 17, 1846.

"JUAN BAUTISTA VIGIL Y ALARID. (Seal).

"NICOLAS QUINTANA, Sec'y., (Seal).

"MIGUEL GORILLA. (Seal).

"MIGUEL ANTONIO." (Seal).

Captain Rafael Chácon's Letter.

Let us now see the picture given us by Captain D. Rafael Chácon, of what passed in the camp of Armijo immediately before his flight. In a letter dated at Trinidad, May 4th, 1910, addressed to the author of this work by said Captain Chácon, the following account is given:—

"Trinidad, Colo., May 4th, 1910"

"Hon. Benj. M. Read, Santa Fé, N. M.

"My esteemed friend:—Honoring your request, as per your letter to my son, I herewith give you a statement of what I recall concerning the taking of New Mexico by the Americans. At that time, I was incapable of estimating mens actions. I was a child; when I reached mature age I cast a glance back to that event and what first struck my

imagination was that the conquering army came provided with everything that was necessary for the conquest. General Armijo and our poor people had no other resource than that of "*going to fight*," being used to the summons for a campaign against the savage Indians, to prepare their arrows, lances etc., provide themselves with some provisions and report ready to obey orders. What could Armijo do with an undisciplined army without any military training, without commissary resources, and without leaders to direct the men? He was a dwarf against a giant. Armijo was the imaginary hero of that epoch. Had he rashly rushed to give battle, it would have been equivalent to offer his troops as victims to the invading army; the result would have been a useless effusion of blood, offering himself unnecessarily to death. I was incapable of knowing my artillery men, did not know whether or not they could maneuvre nor do I remember who they were. The guerrillas which Armijo sent out to observe the advance of the enemy brought information back to him of how well provided and equipped they came and of the perfect order they kept in their march, being a well disciplined army. It was then he realized that he could not give them battle, nor capitulate without effusion of blood, either with the enemy or with his own people who had already attempted a revolt as will be seen in the following extract:—

"In order to gratify my son, Eusebio, I wrote in 1906 part of my memoirs and thence I copy what follows: In August, 1846, General Armijo ordered my father (Don Albino Chácon Judge of the first instance) to call out the militia and Indian pueblos to go out and meet the American forces that were coming to take possession of New Mexico. My father asked him to excuse me because I was scarcely 13 years old; the general answered, 'no, sir, he is a cadet, and is, therefore, subject to the ordnances, and he is a military officer, and, therefore, must go to the front.' The discipline of that time will be judged by the historical episode of Chapultepec where the alumni of the military school, many of my own age, died defending their country against the American troops in the taking of Mexico.

"Armijo placed at my disposal a piece of light artillery with

its equipage and artillery-men under my orders; we marched to Cañoncito de los Apaches, where 10,000 militia men must have been assembled, Pueblo Indians, and the companies of Santa Fé, Taos, El Bado, and the squadron of dragoons from Vera Cruz, under the command of Colonel Don Pedro Muñoz (the same man who routed the canton at Pojoaque, and executed the provincial Governor, Gonzales.)

"One day there was a disagreement among the militia men and, in a moment, we were ready to fight one an other. The mutiny was soon appeased, and we began to build barricades of branches of pine trees and elm. This work lasted three days, when, all of a sudden, Armijo ordered all the men to go back to their homes, saying that he would go to the front with the regular companies and the squadron of Vera Cruz. All now became confusion, each one took the horse he liked best and everything he could carry along. My father came in great hurry with the servant he had as his assistant, gave me a pair of pistols, made us each mount a horse, signaled us to a place upon the mesa where we should wait for him; ordered me not to allow any one to join us, and that, should any one insist on doing it to fire on him or them. There we stood watching the confusion of that multitude; some men overcome with fatigue arrived at the place we were standing and wished to join us, but following my father's instructions, I made them stand back threatening to fire on them. They retired for fear that I would keep my word. My father arrived at about dusk, he led us through the sierra, we reached Santa Fé at about three o'clock in the morning, and, at that hour, he sent me over to Chamisal, County of Taos, to the house of my aunt Inez, sister to my father. Before reaching Chimayó, a courier overtook us, to tell me to remain there in the house of an aunt of my father.

"I hope this may be of some service to you, and I shall take satisfaction in honoring your wishes."

Your Friend,

RAFAEL CHÁCON."

Before resuming the consideration of Emory's narration the author deems it proper to present to the reader the message sent to Governor Armijo by General Kearny from

Camp Bent. The reader has already been told by Emory that Captain Cook had been sent "day before yesterday to sound Armijo." It was Captain Cook, then, who took the following communication from Kearny to Armijo (the original is the possession of the author.) That famous mission reads thus:—

Kearny's Secret Communication to Armijo.

"Headquarters of the Army of the West."

In Camp Upon the Arkansas, at Fort Bent, August 1, 1846.

Sir: By the annexation of Texas to the United States, the the Rio Grande from its delta to its source, forms now the boundary line between them (the United States and Mexico) and I am coming by order of my Government to take possession of the country over a part of which you are presiding as governor. I come as a friend and with the disposition and intention to consider all the Mexicans and other inhabitants as friends if they should remain quietly and peaceably in their homes attending to their own affairs. All such persons shall not be molested by any of those who are coming under my orders in their person nor in their property nor in their religion. I pledge myself to the fulfilment of these promises.

"I come to this part of the United States with a strong military force, and a still stronger one is following us as a reinforcement. I have more troops than I need to overcome any opposition which you may be able to make against us, and for that reason and for the sake of humanity I advise you to submit to fate, and to consider me with the same sentiments of peace and friendship which I have and protest for you and those under your government. Should you Excellency do this it would be eminently favorable to your interest and that of all your countrymen, and you will receive their blessings and prayers. If, on the contrary, you should decide otherwise, if you should make up your mind to make resistance and to oppose us, with such troops as you may be able to raise against us, in that event, I notify you that the blood which may be shed, the sufferings and miseries that may follow, shall fall upon your head, and, instead of the blessings of your countrymen you will receive their curses, as I shall consider all those your Excellency may present

against us armed, as enemies, and they shall be treated accordingly.

"I am sending you this communication with Captain Cook of my regiment, and I recommend him as well as the small party of twelve dragoons, to your kindness and attention.

With much respect I am

Your Obedient Servant,

S. W. KEARNY,

Colonel First Dragoons.

To His Excellency, Governor and Commanding General, Don Manuel Armijo, Santa Fé."

Emory's Narrative Continued—The Taking of Santa Fé.

Since we have now given the reader a detailed and true account of Armijo's situation, related by an eye witness of unassailable reputation, we will keep on listening to the narrative of Lieutenant Emory which, for the purpose of this work, ends with the taking of Santa Fé. When we cut Emory's narrative, we left him on this side of the small town of San Miguel, or near the small town of Pecos, the place from which we now take up again his narrative. Emory continues:

"As we approached the ruins of the ancient town of Pecos, a large fat fellow mounted on a mule, came towards us at full speed, and extending his hand to the general, congratulated him on the arrival of himself and the army. He said, with a roar of laughter 'Armijo and his troops have gone to hell, and the cañon is clear.' This was the alcalde of the settlement.

"August 18.—We were this morning 29 miles from Santa Fé. Reliable information from several sources had reached camp yesterday and the day before, that dissensions had arisen in Armijo's camp which had dispersed his army, and that he had fled to the south carrying all his artillery and one hundred dragoons with him. Not a hostile rifle or an arrow was now between the army and Santa Fé, the Capital of New Mexico, and the general determined to make his march in one day, and raise the United States flag over the palace before sundown. A small detachment was sent forward at day break, and, at six, the army followed. Four or

five miles from Old Pecos the road leads into a cañon, with hills on each side from 1000 to 2000 feet above the road, in all cases within cannon shot, and this continues to a point about 12 or 15 miles from Santa Fé.

"Before reaching the cañon, the noon halt was made in a valley covered with grama. Two Mexicans appeared; one, the acting secretary (Nicolas Quintana) in search of the general.

"The acting secretary brought a letter from Vigil, the lieutenant governor informing the general of Armijo's flight and of his readiness to receive him at Santa Fé, and extend to him the hospitalities of the city. The day's march was very tedious and vexatious, and frequent halts had to be made to allow the artillery to come up. The head of the column arrived in sight of the town about three o'clock; it was six before the rear came up. Vigil and twenty or thirty of the people of the town received us at the palace and asked us to partake of some wine and brandy of domestic manufacture. During the repast, and as the sun was setting, the United States flag was hoisted over the palace and a salute of thirteen guns was fired from the artillery planted on an eminence that overlooked the town.

"The ceremony ended, we were invited to supper at Captain ————'s, a Mexican gentleman formerly in the army. The dinner was served very much after the manner of a French dinner, one dish succeeding another in endless variety.

"August 19—This morning the general assembled all the people on the plaza and addressed them at some length. The next day the chief and head men of the Pueblo Indians came to give in their adhesion and express their great satisfaction at our arrival.

"A message was received the same night from Armijo asking on what terms he would be received; but this proved to be only a ruse on his part to gain time on his flight to the south. Accounts go to show that his force at the cañon was 4,000 men, tolerably armed, and six pieces of artillery. Had he been possessed of the slightest qualifications of a general he might have given us infinite trouble. A priest arrived last night, the 29th, and brought the intelligence that, at the moment of Armijo's flight, Ugarte, a colonel in the regular

service, was on his march at this side of El Paso del Norte with 500 men to support him. That, had he continued, he would have been enabled to rouse the whole southern district which is by far the wealthiest and most populous of the whole country.

"The population of Santa Fé is from two to four thousand inhabitants. The houses are of adobe, in the Spanish style generally one story. They are forbidding in appearance from the outside, but nothing can exceed the comfort and convenience of the interior. The thick walls make them cool in summer and warm in winter.

"Mr. Alvarez informed me that the importations from the United States varied very much, but that he thought they could average about half a million of dollars a year and no more. Most of the wagons go on to Chihuahua without breaking their loads.

"New Mexico contains, according to the last census, made a few years since, 100,000 inhabitants. It is divided into three departments—the northern, the middle and the southeastern. These are again sub-divided into counties, and the counties into townships. The lower or southern division is incomparably the richest, containing 48,000 inhabitants, many of whom are wealthy and possess much property." *

Kearny's First Proclamation of Annexation in Santa Fé.

Four days after the taking of the city, General Kearny issued his first statement in the form of a proclamation in which he declared that Mexico had provoked the war that existed between that nation and the United States; that because of his having taken possession of Santa Fé, Capital of the department of New Mexico, four days before, he declared his intention to retain New Mexico under the name of the Territory of New Mexico, with its original boundaries, as territory of the United States; that he came prepared to protect the rights of its inhabitants, their lives, property and their religion, and to punish the savage Indians that waged

* NOTE.—The dairy foregoing is a faithful reproduction of the English original except those portions which are of little importance and not essential to the principal subject of the narrative, and they were omitted.—THE AUTHOR.

war against them, advising those who had left their homes to return to their houses and submit to the authority of the government of the United States; that the government of the United States would give to the people of New Mexico, without delay, a free government identical with the government of the other states of the union, whereby the inhabitants of the Territory might elect their own legislature and decree their own laws; that the persons who occupied public positions would continue in their posts provided they would give their oath of fidelity, concluding his said proclamation with the following words: 'Those who may be found with arms, or conspiring against the United States shall be considered as traitors and treated as such; Don Manuel Armijo, the outgoing governor of this department has taken to flight; the undersigned has taken possession of New Mexico without firing a shot or shedding a drop of blood, a circumstance that gives him sincere rejoicing, and for the time being he will be considered the governor of this Territory.'

"Given at Santa Fé, Capital of the Territory of New Mexico, today, the 22nd of August, 1846, and the 71st year of the Independence of the United States.

S. W. KEARNY,
Brigadier General."

Kearny Visits Albuquerque and Tomé.

On the 2nd of September, General Kearny, accompanied by his staff, and a great number of Mexican volunteers, all mounted, left Santa Fé southward with the object of taking possession of the Rio Abajo, and to observe personally the foundation of certain rumors to the effect that in Albuquerque, General Armijo was organizing an army to oppose the Americans. The rumor proved to be false, Kearny arrived in Albuquerque on the 5th, and he was tendered a royal reception, the officers of the place giving forthwith their oath of fidelity. Thence Kearny continued his march to Tomé where he was received graciously returning thence to Santa Fé on the 13th of the same month. On his return trip he was informed that the Navajoes and Yuta Indians kept on committing depredations as usual; an information which prompted the establishment, by General Kearny, of two

temporary forts, one at Abiquiú, and the other at Cebolleta, with troops under the command of Col. Jackson and Major Gilpin respectively.

Formal Appointment of Territorial Officers.

On the 22nd of September, 1846, Kearny considering that the Territory was already in complete submission, made the appointment of the necessary officials for the organization of a Territorial government in the following form: "Being duly authorized by the President of the United States of America, I do, by these presents, make the following appointment of officers for the government of New Mexico, as a Territory of the United States. The officers so appointed shall be respected and obeyed, as such: Charles Bent, for governor; Donaciano Vigil, for secretary of the Territory; Richard Dalam for marshal; Francis P. Blair, for United States district attorney; Charles Blumner, for treasurer; Eugene Leitensdorfer, for auditor of public accounts; Joah Houghton, Antonio José Otero, Charles Beaubien, for Justices of the Supreme Court.

"Given in Santa Fé, the capital of the Territory of New Mexico, today, the 22nd day of September, 1846, and in the 71st year of the Independence of the United States."

S. W. KEARNY, Brigadier General."

With the appointment of officers General Kearny also proclaimed the following decree.

Declaration of Rights—As Declared by Brigadier General Kearny. Sept. 22nd, 1846.

"That the great and essential principals of liberty and of free government be recognized and established, it is declared, by these presents,

First.—All political power is vested in, and belongs to the people.

Second.—The people have the right to gather peaceably for the purpose of its common good, and to ask from those in power, by petition or presentation, the relief of their evils.

Third.—Every man has a natural and inalienable right to worship God, according to the dictates of his own conscience, no one will ever be damaged, molested, or prevented

from professing his religion, if he does not prevent others from professing theirs; all Christian churches shall be protected, and none oppressed, and no one shall, on account of his religious opinions, lose his right to any office of honor, trust and profit.

Fourth.—The courts of justice shall be open to every person; a just remedy shall be given for every injury to persons or property; right and justice shall be administered without subordination, without denial, without delay, and private property shall not be taken for public service without just compensation.

Fifth.—The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolable.

Sixth.—In all criminal cases the defendant shall have the right of being heard by himself, or by his attorney, to ask for the nature and cause of the accusation, to proceed with compulsion for the appearance of the witnesses in his favor, to be confronted with the witnesses who may depose against him, and to the end that the verdict of a jury of his country be brief.

Seventh.—The defendant shall not be obliged to give testimony against himself, or to be deprived of his liberty, or property, except by the verdict rendered by a jury and the law of the country.

Eighth.—No person, after having been declared not guilty by a jury, shall be tried again for the same offense.

Ninth.—Any accused person may be set free under bail, giving sufficient securities, except for capital offenses when the proofs of the crime are evident, and the act of habeas corpus shall not be suspended except where public security may require it in cases of a rebellion or an invasion.

Tenth.—No excessive bails shall be asked of the accused to be be set free, nor shall any exorbitant fines be imposed, nor shall any cruel or unusual punishment be inflicted.

Eleventh.—The people shall be secure in their persons, papers, houses and effects from every unreasonable search or seizure, and no process of search or seizure shall be issued without there being probable cause of guilt under oath.

Twelfth.—The free intercourse of ideas and opinions is one of the inviolable rights of free men, and every person may

freely speak, write, or print upon any matter, being responsible for the abuses of this liberty.

Thirteenth.—No vicar, priest, preacher of the gospel, nor teacher of any religious denomination, shall be obliged to take arms, or to serve in juries, work on roads, nor to perform any military service.

Given at the Government House, in Santa Fé in the Territory of New Mexico by Brigadier General Stephen W. Kearny, in virtue of the power conferred on him by the Government of the United States, on this 22nd day of September in the year of Our Lord, 1846."

S. W. KEARNY.
Brigadier General U. S. A."

The publication of the proclamation and the declaration of rights were followed by the taking of the oath of allegiance by all the appointed officers and many others who, having received previous notice, came to the Capital with that object. What follows is taken from the "Reseña Histórica-Sinóptica de la Guerra Mexico-Americana" of this author.

Kearny Starts for California—Price and Doniphan to Proceed to Old Mexico—Meets Kit Carson.

After the territorial organization, Kearny began his preparations to continue his march, in accordance with his instructions, and on the 25th, of the same month commenced his march to California. When he had marched for about 209 miles south of Santa Fé, he met Kit Carson at Socorro, who was coming from California accompanied by an escort bringing news from Freemont to the effect that the conquest of California was already a fact. Before leaving Santa Fé, General Kearny had given orders that he be followed as far as California by a regiment of Mormons of the forces brought by Col. Sterling Price and that Colonel Doniphan should march to Chihuahua with his division, the place where he should meet General Wood, commander in chief of the Army of the Center. From Socorro, General Kearny continued his march taking Kit Carson with him and ordering the return of almost all his force to Santa Fé.

Arrival of Colonel Price—Treaty With the Navajoes.

Colonel Price arrived in Santa Fé, on October 1st, and on the 17th of the same month he placed the Mormon battalion in March, under Lieutenant Smith, to California, in accordance with the orders of General Kearny. Meanwhile General Kearny had sent a courier to Santa Fé with instructions that before marching on to Chihuahua, Doniphan should make an expedition to the land of the Navajoes with the object of pacifying them, a thing Doniphan executed with such good success that he celebrated a treaty of peace with the chiefs of the tribe.

Colonel Doniphan Starts for Chihuahua—Battle of Brazito.

At last towards the middle of December, Colonel Doniphan, set out on his march to Chihuahua with a force of 900 men (Mexican historians say they were 800) which was formed in three divisions to which a company of volunteers, which had been formed at Santa Fé under command of Capt. Hudson, was joined at Doña Ana. The army having left Doña Ana, and traveled about thirty miles, on reaching the placed termed "El Brazito," on the 25th of December, met a detachment of Mexican infantry and cavalry troops under Captain Ponce de Leon composed of 500 men. The two met in battle in which Doniphan came out victorious. The loss on the Mexican side, according to American historians, reached up to 70 killed, and a hundred or more wounded, and five prisoners. Mexican historians do not call that encounter a battle, but simply a skirmish, and they declare that Ponce de Leon, his ammunition having given out, was able to effect his retreat in a very orderly manner without lamenting any serious losses. On the American side the loss was one soldier killed, and a few wounded that is admitted. Doniphan continued his march without encountering any further obstacles and reached El Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juarez) on the 27th of December, staying in camp at the place for nearly two months and continuing again his march to Chihuahua towards the latter part of February, 1847.

Battle of Rancho de Sacramento—The Taking of Chihuahua.

Doniphan did not meet any opposition until he reached, February 28, a point called "Rancho de Sacramento," a place where he came in sight of the Mexican forces which came to meet him. Sacramento was at a very short distance from Chihuahua. The Mexican army consisted of about 4,000 men, with Generals Frias, Conde, Heredias and Ugarte at the head. A desperate battle ensued, the American army being again victorious, and with the road open for the march to Chihuahua, that city was taken on the first of March, 1847. Doniphan remained at Chihuahua for nearly two months, going thence to join his forces with Taylor's army who was at Monterey.

Few military marches are recorded in history that may be compared with the marches of Kearny and Doniphan, from Missouri to California and from Santa Fé to Chihuahua, respectively, and certainly, as regards intrepidity and daring, none of the generals of the other divisions can be compared with them. Whether that war was just or unjust, the impartial observer cannot but admire the valor of such fearless generals. *

Election of Senators Under the Mexican Government 1845-6—Urguides Elected.

Under the official instructions, or decree, issued by the "Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores" (Secretary of State) the departmental assemblies of Chihuahua, New Mexico and Durango were directed to order an election, in their respective departments, in May, 1845, for a senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Dn. Sebastian Camacho. The assembly of New Mexico at once held said election, on the 9th day of May, 1845, and elected Don Juan Nepomuceno Urguides,† which goes to show, although the official

* Read's Reseña Histórica, Sinop. de la Guerra México-Americana.

† "Tomado en consideración se procedio á la votación resultando electo por la mayoria del sufragio el Sr. Licenciado Don Juan Nepomuceno Urguides, se aprovó dho. nombramiento acordando al mismo tiempo el remitir la acta á la Cámara de Senadores etc."—Journal of May 9, 1845, p. 1.

records do not so state, that the Mexican Congress had given New Mexico the same rights enjoyed by the federal states of the republic.

Another and Last Election for Senators—1845.

Again, and under the same authority, another election for senators was had, this time by the people in October, 1845, resulting in the election of Bishop Dn. N. Madrid, Marcelino Castañeda, Rev. Bonilla Arcillga, on behalf of the agricultural classes and José Escalante, Nepomuceno Urguides, Antonio Pescador, on behalf of the builders and N. Flores, M. Zubiran, I. Mijures, F. Ramirez, P. Olivas, L. Sisqueiros and A. Ochoa on behalf of the mining and farming industries.* As the occupation of New Mexico by the American army took place in August of that year, whatever was the ultimate result of these last two elections of senators is not known, nor is it of any consequence to us now.

Last Election Under Mexican Rule.

Before proceeding to give the history of the results of the invasion of New Mexico by the American army, I deemed it proper to inform the reader of the last election held in New Mexico under the Mexican government (see picture of the original certificate of said election in another part of this book). On the 7th day of October, 1845, (ten months prior to Kearny's entry into Santa Fé) the "Colegio Electoral" (Electoral College) met in Santa Fé and proceeded to the election of one delegate to (Diputado) and one proxy (Suplente) the National Congress, and the five regular members and three proxies (Suplentes) of the departmental assembly. The result was the election of Don Tomás Chávez y Castillo as delegate and Don Vicente Sanchez Vergara as proxy to the congress (or Colegio General) in Mexico, and Rev. Antonio José Martinez, Don Tomás Ortiz, Don Juan Perea, Don Juan Cristóval Armijo and Don Felipe Sena as the regular members of the "Asamblea" and Don Serafin Ramirez, Don Vicente Martinez and Don Santiago Armijo as proxies

* Journal of the Assembly of Oct. 1, 1846, pp. 30-1.

(Suplentes).* These were, then, with Governor Armijo and Secretary Juan B. Vigil, the principal officials in New Mexico at the time of the change of flags, August, 1846.

An Anti-American Pronouncement.

On December 12th, 1846, when Generals Kearny and Doniphan were in California, and Mexico respectively as already said, the citizens Diego Archuleta of Rio Arriba, and Tomás Ortiz and José Manuel Gallegos of Santa Fé, initiated a movement with revolutionary tendencies. Their plan was, neither more nor less than the assassination on the 19th of the same month, of all the Americans that might be found in New Mexico. That movement was the sequel to previous arrangements and dispositions which had been had and agreed to among several Mexican citizens residing at Las Vegas, Mora and Taos. The author desires to say, in the first place, that neither the said citizens, Archuleta, Ortiz and Gallegos, nor those who were engaged with them in the conspiracy should be considered traitors, as some historians have declared them because none of the so-called traitors had given to the American government the oath of allegiance; and as both nations were in open war, those men, and the ones who followed them, should be admired for their patriotism. Let us now resume our narrative of the conspiracy. On the 16th of the month of December, the said gentlemen had their last meeting at midnight in the Capital of New Mexico, in which they agreed to postpone the rebellion until the 24th of December, in order thus to be enabled the better to organize their forces clandestinely at all the said points. The conspiracy might perhaps have been realized, had not Governor Bent discovered it on the 21st of the same month of December, having, in consequence caused the arrest of many persons who, it turned out were innocent,

* "Lista de los Ind'vos nombrados por el Colegio Electoral en el presente año."—Diputado al Colegio Gral. D. Tomás Chávez y Castillo; Suplente, Vicente Sanchez Vergara; individuos para la E. Asamblea, propietarios, Presvitero D. Antonio José Martinez, D. Tomás Ortiz, D. Juan Perea, D. Juan Cristóval Armijo, D. Felipe Sena. Suplentes, D. Serafin Ramirez, D. Vicente Martinez, D. Santiago Armijo. Santa Fé. Octubre 7 de 1845." Original in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.

the head-chiefs Ortiz and Archuleta escaping. The seed of dissatisfaction, however, continued bearing fruit at Taos, Mora, and Las Vegas. As soon as it was known in those places that the plan had been discovered, in Santa Fé, they delayed the day of assault until the 19th of January, 1847.

Bent Starts for Taos and is Assassinated—With Him Others Die—Father Martinez Saves an American and the Families of the Murdered Men.

Governor Bent left Santa Fé for Taos on January the 14th, 1847, to visit his family, believing that everything had been appeased with the discovery he had made of the conspiracy. On the 19th of that month, while Bent was in his house sleeping, at midnight, the Taos Indians made the assault, and some few of the Mexicans who had remained as yet, Mexican citizens, laid a siege to the house of the sheriff, Stephen Lee, murdering him and Don Cornelio Vigil, prefect of the place. Those murders consummated, the gang of murderers went to the house of Bent, and there murdered him (Bent) and then murdered Pablo Jaramillo and Narciso Baubien. Kit Carson, St. Vrain and others might also have been murdered had they not been away from Taos on that fated night. There was in Taos at the time a foreigner whom they called "General" Lee, a brother of the murdered sheriff, who was able to escape by running to Father Martinez's house, where he found hospitable shelter and ample protection. "General" Lee was followed by the families of the other murdered Americans, all placing themselves under the protection of Father Martinez. It is nothing but just to bear testimony to the humanitarian action of Padre Martinez, first, because a man is worthy of praise who, in such critical moments, gives shelter to the persecuted, though in so doing, he might have to expose his life; and in the second place, because many writers, with an inborn prejudice, have attempted to stain the name of Padre Martinez, charging him with being one of the movers of the vile and cowardly attack.

Not satisfied with having shed so much innocent blood, they sent out another gang, on the same night, to Arroyo Hondo, a town near Taos, where they assaulted and killed

Simon Turley, Turbush Hatfield, Tolque, Roberts, Marshall, Austin and John Albert. Those Americans were all together at a house from which they could defend themselves for two days, killing, during the fray, five Indians, but they were all killed with the exception of one (whose name is not known) who, though wounded, was able to make good his escape.

Murders at Mora and Las Vegas.

On the same day, the 19th, the Messrs. Waldo, Cavanaugh, Praett, Colver, Noyes, Howard and Head were murdered at Mora in the vilest and most cowardly manner. The last two happened to be in Mora by mere chance on that night; they had gone there on a business trip, as merchants. It is said that at Las Vegas several men were killed, but there is no authentic authority to confirm that report; it is known, however, that, had not Don Juan de Dios Maes, the alcalde of the place, given timely protection to the Americans of the place, several of them would have been killed.*

Measures are Taken by Colonel Ceran St. Vrain and Colonel Price for the Punishment of the Rebels—Surrender of the Taos Indians and Execution of Their Chief.

A day after the assaults at Taos, Mora and Las Vegas, all that had occurred in those places was known in Santa Fé by means of speedy couriers. Colonel Ceran St. Vrain at once organized in Santa Fé, January 23rd, 1848, a volunteer company, and left the same day with Captain Angney, who commanded a batallion of regular soldiers, making in all a total of 350 troop men, with Colonel Sterling Price in command.

Battle of Santa Cruz.

The next day the army met at Santa Cruz an armed force under the command of the chieftains, Montoya, Chávez and Tafoya. The insurgents gave battle to Price, but were routed with 36 killed, while the Americans had two killed and several wounded.

Fight at Embudo.

Colonel Price continued thence his march without any obstruction as far as Cañon del Embudo, where his march

*Bancroft Ariz. and N. Mex.

was interrupted by another force of insurgents which Price also defeated after a short struggle, and then continued his march on to Taos at a rapid pace.

The American Army Arrives at Taos—Defeat and Surrender of the Enemy.

On February 3rd, Price arrived at the town of Fernández de Taos with the army, where he learned that the insurgents were intrenched in the church of the Pueblo of Taos, which is at a short distance from Fernández. Price reconnoitered the fortification and on the next day assaulted it with his army. The Indians fought with desperation and heroism, but had finally to surrender to the superiority of the American arms which had already bored holes on the walls of the church, killed 150 Indians and wounded a larger number of them. On the side of the Americans there were seven dead, 46 wounded, among the dead, one officer. Price would not accept the surrender of the Indians unless their chief, called Tomás, and the other chiefs were delivered to him, a requisition the Indians relucantly obeyed delivering said chiefs who were hung on the seventh of said month. This ended the revolution at Taos.

Assault and Punishment of the Mora Insurrectos by Captain Hendley Who is Killed in Battle—Hendley is Succeeded by Morin.

On the last day of January, 1848, Captain Hendley, with 80 men, attacked the insurgents in the town of Mora. In the fray, himself and two soldiers were killed, and the force retired to renew the attack on the next day, a thing Captain Morin did, on the first of February, defeating the insurgents and obliging them to abandon the town. Morin next destroyed the greater part of the houses of residence, stables and corrals, and returned to Las Vegas.

That was the last attempt made against the American government, the Territory being consequently left in a state of perfect pacification, and by virtue of the treaty signed at the City of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the 2nd of February, 1848, between Mexico and the United States, and ratified by the American government on March 1st, and by the Mexican

government May 25th of the same year became, permanently and forever, a part of the American union.

Historical California—Letter From Roubideaux.

A little before June, 1848, a stranger formerly residing in New Mexico, called Louis Roubideaux had gone to California, taking with him his wife who was a New Mexican lady. The reasons of his moving to California had their origin in the disgusts and difficulties he had with Charles Bent, at Taos, the place of residence of said Roubideaux. From Jorupa, California, he wrote a letter to Don Manuel Alvarez, which forms, in part, an important paragraph of the history of the war between Mexico and the United States, relating incidents, which so far as this author knows, have never been mentioned in history, and, as said letter is in the possession of the author, it is indispensable to consign to history what is therein related. The letter reads as follows:

California, May 1st, 1848.

"Sr. D. Manuel Alvarez:

"My dear sir and friend, whom I esteem:—I received the two letters you wrote me. In the first you relate the insurrection of New Mexico, and, as it appears, it has been terrible on account of the many murders that were committed by those natives and Indians. But in the end those who were the cause will receive condign punishment. From the beginning of hostilities between the two nations I was a prisoner of war. On the 25th of September, 1846, we met in my house and my neighbor's, Don Benjamin Wilson's, (18 strangers) to defend ourselves at any cost, because the shout of insurrection had already resounded everywhere, and rumor was that they would spare not the life of any stranger. The day after our meeting we went to the ranch of Chino which is 6 leagues distant from my house; Don Juan Rowland was one of our warriors, and also four or five other additional strangers whom we met at said ranch. Our intention was to continue as far as the town of Los Angeles, if possible, in order to join the small American force which was stationed there. But the enemy did not relish this re-union; we were attacked the next day, that is, on the 27th of September, by a force

superior to ours to which we had to surrender at discretion after a struggle of an hour.

"The enemy assaulted the house in which we were fortified with so much furor and valor that, in the twinkling of an eye, as they say, set it on fire on every side with so much celerity, that we had no alternative but to surrender or be burned alive. We did that to our regret. From that moment I lost my liberty.

"The enemy numbered 200 men; we, with little ammunition and victuals, our opponents with plenty of war material, and the camp was theirs. We were then presented to the general, D. José Ma. Flores, a military officer of the Mexican army, a man of superior attainments and courage, although many say he is a coward and a tyrant; but, according to my way of seeing, I believe in good faith, that he has during the whole period of the insurrection, acted with prudence, and that he has behaved as a good soldier. It seems to me that every man who embraces the military calling seeks after a name and riches, etc., etc.

"This same Flores whom I have just praised had made up his mind to send us as far as the Capital of Mexico, for the purpose of giving more weight to his exploits, or still better, to the drafts he had issued upon the government. But everything was frustrated, as you will see further on. There was, at the time, a party which always spied him, embarrassed his plans, and opposed, when necessary his individual views. This same party, realizing that our departure was against the general interest of the Californias, and for fear also of reprisals from the Americans, formed an opposition against him and continued the plan, with the aid of us, the prisoners, that is, with our money, of turning him down from the position, a thing that happened on the eve of the day when we were about to start for the Capital. This intrigue relieved us from a very long walk, and perhaps saved our lives. Sometime after, he was allowed to again assume the command, but on condition that the prisoners would not have to go out of California. Before this happened, we had received orders to prepare to go out of the Territory, and that we should make some determination of our property as well as of our families.

"This command fell upon us, like a bolt of lightning from heaven. A very great sorrow took hold of us all, so much so, that Don Juan Rowland frequently said 'cut off a leg from me and let me stay with my familly.' But his clamor was useless, no heart was softened in our behalf; it was the same as if we had spoken to the rocks; for my part I always remembered the poor Texans and their sufferings who went afoot from New Mexico to the Capital (Mexico City) the half of whom died on the road, such being my information, as much on account of the ill treatment they received, as for lack of food. But fortune, or rather the Supreme Being, who always remembers his good children, when He is implored, determined otherwise and turned to naught the calculations of the ambitious who thirst after fame and riches at the cost of human life and blood.

"General Kearny arrived here in November or December, with an escort of 100 dragoons; but the reception he had here was not as good as the one he had in New Mexico. For before he could join the American force that was at San Diego, a seaport of Upper California, he was attacked by the cavalry from here, which is doubtless the best in all the Mexican Republic, since they perform wonders on horseback. The general lost 22 men killed in the camp of honor, and as many wounded, he, the general himself, receiving a slight wound, and my brother, Don Antonio, who was by the side of the interpreter got also a lance thrust in the hip, but he escaped alive. After a few days, the general had the happiness to join the force that was at San Diego under command of Commodore Stockton; and today they both went out together at the head of 600 men, nearly all of them sailors, and, by the way, all on foot. They fought two battles on the 8th, and 9th, of January, 1849, near the City of Los Angeles, and in both fights they conquered the enemy and entered the said city without any opposition on the 10th of the same month. My captivity lasted till then. This was enough for the enemy to disperse, and might not show up again for action. A few of them gathered about the second chief, Don Andres Pico (Flores having retired for fear of an intrigue of his own countrymen who wanted to deliver him up to the enemy, believing that in this way they could capture

the good will of the conqueror,) only to ask for a treaty of peace which was granted them by Colonel Freemont, in quite an honorable manner for the sons of the country.

I am your most obedient servant,

L. ROBIDEAUX."

In conclusion of this chapter it must be stated, that the government of the United States, though it could have taken the Provinces of New Mexico and California without any pecuniary remuneration, consented, nevertheless, in giving the Mexican government, and, in effect, gave it, the sum of $15,000,000.00.

CHAPTER VII.

Price Assumes Command of the Government—The People are Divided Into Factions—The Convention Meets and Adopts a Petition to Congress Asking for a Territorial Government—Visit of Curé Ortiz With the Object of Repatriating Mexicans—Formal Organization of the Two Opposing Parties—Organization of State Government—Election of Senators—Protest of Governor Monroe—Alvarez Receives Bad News—The Territorial Government is Organized—The Military Power Yields to the Civil—First Delegate in Congress.

1848-1852

During the month of October, 1847, Colonel Price assumed the command of the government, as military governor, the change causing the people to divide in two factions; one condemning Price, and insisting on the continuance of the civil government, the other sustaining Price in his arrogance. This gave rise to the introduction of politics as practiced in the United States, that is, the sons of New Mexico commenced to feel the magnitude of the responsibility that befalls upon a citizen in a nation whose government is based on popular opinion. The practice also originated then of using corruption in the investment of the political powers. The burning question of that epoch was the supremacy of power which was in an obstinate manner disputed among the two factions, that is, by the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties. This chaotic condition lasted until August, 1848, when Senator Thomas H. Benton who wrote a letter from Washington to the enemies of Price urging upon them the necessity of organizing themselves into a civil government. At that period Colonel J. M. Washington was the military governor, and he opposed, with all the prestige of his military power, the organization of a territorial government. At the same time, Don Donaciano Vigil, who had been appointed by Price as civil governor, though he was such only in name, issued a proclamation

summoning a convention with the object of organizing a civil or territorial government according to Benton's suggestions.

A Convention Meets and Adopts a Memorial to Congress Asking for a Territorial Government.

On the 10th of October, 1848, in accordance with the proclamation of Governor Vigil, a convention met in Santa Fé with Father Antonio José Martinez, as president, and J. M. Giddings, as secretary. The members of said convention were, the said Antonio José Martinez, Elias P. West, Antonio Saenz, Juan Perea, Donaciano Vigil, Santiago Archuleta, Francisco Sarracino, (who had been governor under the Mexican government), Gregorio Vigil, José Pley, James Quinn, Ramon Luna, Carlos Beaubien, and Manuel A. Otero. The labors of said convention were limited to the approval of the following memorial:

Memorial to Congress.

"Petition to Congress made by New Mexico, through its inhabitants in convention assembled:

"We, the people of New Mexico, respectfully ask of Congress that we be given a civil territorial government without delay.

"We respectfully ask of Congress the establishment of a government of a purely civil character.

"We respectfully submit that the organic law and the statute law proclaimed under military order on September 22, 1846, with some changes are not acceptable.

"We recommend that the following offices be occupied by persons appointed by the President with the co-operation and consent of the senate, to-wit: Governor, secretary of government, judges, United States attorney and marshal.

"We wish to be given the right of appeal from the courts of the territory to the supreme court of the United States.

"We respectfully, but firmly, protest against the dismemberment of our territory in favor of Texas or by any other cause.

"We do not wish domestic slavery within our confines, and we ask the protection of Congress, against the introduction of slavery into the territory until we are formed into a state.

"We ask authority to elect our local legislature in accordance with what is prescribed by the law of New Mexico, of Sept. 22, 1846, which will remain subject to the approval of congress.

"We ask to be represented in congress by a delegate or deputy.

"As New Mexico has a population of from 75,000 to 100,000 inhabitants we believe that what we ask is reasonable, and we entertain the hope that congress will decree to us laws as liberal as those decreed for other territories.

"These signatures of all the persons named follow below with date of "Santa Fé, October 14, 1848." Congress denied the petition at first but granted afterwards what was asked.

First Legislature Under Military Authority.

It should be remarked to the reader that, in the year 1847, a legislature had already been organized, on the 6th of December of that year, under military government with the following members: Antonio Sandoval, president; Henry Henrie, secretary; James Hubbell, porter; José Francisco Baca y Terros; Jose Andrés Sandoval; Juan Tullis; Nicolás Lucero; Pascual Martinez; Juan Otero y Chávez; all these gentlemen being the members of the Council; the members of the House being: William C. Angney, president; James Giddings, secretary; E. J. Vaughn, porter; Manuel Alvárez, Antonio Martinez, Tomás C. de Baca, Jesús Sandoval, Miguel Sanchez, Antonio Saenz, Levi J. Keithly, José Ramon Vigil, Antonio José Manzanares, Mariano Lucero, José Martinez, George Gold, Antonio José Ortiz, Juan Perea, Rafael Armijo y Maestas, William Skinner, Juan Cruz Baca, Juan Cristóval Chávez, Rafael Luna, and Juan Sanchez y Carillo.

New Military Commandant—A New Convention is Held—A Form of Government is Adopted and a Delegate to Congress Elected—Curé Ortiz and Repatriation of Mexicans.

At the beginning of 1849, Colonel Washington being absent from New Mexico, the command fell upon the hands of Colonel Beall, who was in sympathy with the party that favored the form of civil government. Beall called a conven-

tion similar to that which met the year previous, as has been said in the foregoing paragraph, with the object of forming a territorial government. The said convention was held in September of that year, and another memorial was adopted analagous to that of the convention of 1848, electing, forthwith, Hugh C. Smith as delegate to Congress. The next year, 1850, Smith appeared in Congress, at Washington, but was refused admission to the House of Representatives. Let us now treat about the coming of a commissioner from the Mexican government.

Visit of Curé Ortiz for the Repatriation of the Mexicans.

It is indispensable, before entering upon the details of what happened, before 1850, to narrate the efforts made by the Mexican government to repatriate all the sons of New Mexico who desired to go and live under the Mexican flag, in accordance with what was stipulated in the treaty signed on the 2nd of February, 1848, in the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which treaty the Mexican government was allowed to put in practice said endeavors. Accordingly, in April 1849, the curé, Don Ramon Ortiz, came here as the emissary of the Mexican government, offering the New Mexicans lands and all accoutrements necessary for agriculture, transportation for their families and many other conveniences. The curé, Ortiz, had already obtained the consent of many families, but, as the methods he employed were not acceptable to the governor of New Mexico, he was forbidden to continue in the discharge of his commission returning in May of that year to Mexico without having obtained any results whatsoever.* Below we give the correspondence, between said curé Ortiz and Don Doniciano Vigil, Secretary of the Territory. The correspondence follows:

"Santa Fé, April 29, 1849.

"Mr. Commissioner, Curé Ramon Ortiz:

"Sir: His Excellency, the governor, does not permit you to visit, personally, the different points of this Territory with the end of manifesting to its inhabitants your commission; for, according to advices received from El Vado,

*Pino Not. Hist. pp. 93 to 98.

you have overstepped your official duties by overadvancing your indications, thereby producing unrest; I am, therefore, directed by His Excellency to tell you to suspend your trip, returning forthwith to this city, from which, as the center of power, you may discharge your duties with the integrity you manifest and according to your instructions. I am sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DONACIANO VIGIL,
Secretary of the Territory."

Ortiz to Vigil.

"Pojoaque, April 29th, 1849.

"Mr. Secretary of Government, Donaciano Vigil.

"Sir:—I am in recept of your note of today in which you communicate to me the order of His Excellency, the governor, prohibiting my personal visit to the towns of this territory with the object of manifesting to its inhabitants the end of my commission. I say that I will obey it. In regard to the abuses you make reference to, in your note as received from El Vado, you can assure His Excellency that they are absolutely false, for neither individually, nor, much less, as an agent of the Mexican government, shall I fail to keep the regards due the legitimate government of the country wherein I am sojourning, as my government desires to preserve, by all means possible, the good understanding which it has today with that of the United States, and I make vows to the effect that such an understanding may not be altered.

I am very respectfully your obedient servant,
RAMON ORTIZ."

Ortiz to Vigil.

"Santa Fé, April 30, 1849.

"Mr. Secretary of Government, Donaciano Vigil.

"Sir—Be pleased to manifest to His Excellency, the governor of the Territory, that, in compliance with his orders, one, a written order, the other, a verbal one, which His Excellency was pleased to give me, by reason of the movements of unrest that were noticed, I have suspended, from the moment in which I received the first one, my practice of

presenting myself personally in the towns, in order to make by myself the enlistment of the inhabitants of the country that voluntarily wished to emigrate to the Mexican Republic. In order to comply as well with the second order, I sent yesterday at once couriers to all the towns where I had commissioners, that they might suspend immediately any proceedings in the matter. I, sir, as the agent of the government friendly to the American nation, and which today has the best of an understanding with it, sincerely wish to contribute with whatever is in my power, to the preservation of good order within its dominions, and, to this end, I hope that your Excellency will be pleased to tell me officially the way or means by which I may avail myself in the Territory in order to comply with those duties I took upon myself when I accepted the mission with which the government of Mexico was pleased to honor me.

I am, sir, yours attentively,

RAMON ORTIZ."

Vigil to Ortiz.

"Santa Fé, May 1st, 1849.

"Mr. Commissioner Ramon Ortiz.

"Sir:--His Excellency, the governor, has informed himself of the contents of your attentive note of yesterday in which you state that you have suspended your march to all the points and places in the Territory, and that you have dispatched couriers to your agents ordering them to cease their functions, offering at the same time your cooperation to pacify the unrest which had commenced to appear at El Vado; and I am directed to tell you in reply, that His Excellency is aware of your deference to the notices sent you, thanking you for you good desires in contributing to the support of the government; but, that, as the measures necessary to check the disorder have already been dictated, he reserves for another occasion the use of your influence if necessary.

I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant.

DONACIANO VIGIL,

Secretary of theTerritory."

Ortiz to Vigil.

"Santa Barbara de Cile, N. M., May 5th, 1849.

"Mr. Secretary of Government, Donaciano Vigil.

Sir:—Please inform His Excellency, the governor of the Territory that, in full accordance with the statements I made to him in my last verbal conference, I have concluded to undertake my journey back to the Republic of Mexico, on the sixth inst., a thing I beg to make His Excellency acquainted with. I am sir, your most affectedly,

RAMON ORTIZ."

Formal Organization of the Opposing Parties.

Out of so much uncertainty produced by the complicated political condition, the organization of two militant political parties came as a result. Both were well organized and prepared for a decisive campaign, the one favoring the immediate organization of a territorial government, the other adhering to the continuation of the military government. Precisely at the moment in which the two parties were organizing, commissioners came from Texas claiming jurisdiction over New Mexico which resulted in the union of the said two parties into a single one with the determination of forming a state government.

Organization of a State Government—Election of State Officials.

In accordance with what was agreed to by the two parties, and, pursuant to a previous call, in May, 1850, a constitutional convention met in Santa Fé, and authorized Governor Monroe to issue a proclamation for an election of state officers. Governor Monroe issued the proclamation on the 28th, of that month for the election of a governor, a lieutenant governor, two representatives, and one senator to the National Congress, and for members of the local legislature. The election of said officers was, together with the constitution to be submitted to the Congress of the United States; and the state officers were not to enter upon the discharge of their duties until authorized so to do by an act of Congress.

The election followed and the persons elected were Henry Connelly, governor; Manuel Alvarez, lieutenant governor; William Messervey, representative in congress.

Election of Francis Cunningham and Richard Weightman as Senators.

The State legislature met in Santa Fé on the first of July, 1850, with the object of electing the senators to congress, but many of the members of the legislature, among them H. L. Dodge, refused to qualify, and as the newly elected state officers attempted to take possession of the government, disagreeable friction ensued between the two parties, the military government upheld by Governor Monroe, and the civil by the lieutenant governor, Manuel Alvarez, who acted as governor in the absence of Governor Connelly. The situation could not be more complicated. Several of the members presented their resignation, refusing to recognize Don Manuel Alvarez as governor, one of them H. L. Dodge, in a letter addressed to said Alvarez on July 8th, 1850, (who had been chosen as representative) tells Mr. Alvarez the following: (This letter I have in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.)

"SANTA FÉ, N. M., July 8, 1850.

"To His Excellency, Manuel Alvarez, governor *ad interim* of the State of New Mexico: Sir:—With this I tender my resignation as member of the state legislature to which I have had the honor of being elected. Very truly yours,

H. L. DODGE."

Notwithstanding the above mentioned resignation, the legislature was organized, and Messrs. Francis Cunningham and Richard Weightman were elected senators. Alvarez next attempted to establish the state government issuing circulars to the different probate judges of the Territory, ordering them to call conventions of the people for the election of county officials. That step by Alvarez capped the the friction. Governor Monroe protesting, with energy, against it in the following terms:

Protest of Governor Monroe.

The protest alluded to was addressed to all county probate judges of the Territory, and reads thus:*

"To the Probate Judge of the County of.....

"SIR:—Whereas, two documents signed "Manuel Alvarez, vice governor of the State of New Mexico," addressed to the

* Original in possession of the author of this work.

prefects of the County of Santa Fé, one being a proclamation to hold elections for county officers, and the other an extract taken from a law passed in the last legislature of the State of New Mexico stating the time and manner of holding certain elections, have been remitted to me by said probate judge; and as it is presumed that similar documents have been addressed to the other probate judges of the different counties of the Territory. You are hereby instructed, that the state government of the State of New Mexico has no legal existence till New Mexico is admitted into the union as a state by the Congress of the United States, and that, until it be determined otherwise by competent authority, the present government will continue, and will be upheld as the actual government of the Territory of New Mexico.

"You shall, therefore, unheed the proclamation commands, or other acts issued by the hands of said Alvarez, vice governor, or any other official under the state government, and hold same null and void; and whatever other communication may be made to you by the above mentioned party or others you are hereby instructed to remit same immediately to the secretary of the territory.

"By order of John Monroe, military and civil governor of the Territory of New Mexico.

"Given under my hand in the office of the secretary of the Territory of New Mexico this 23rd day of July, 1850.

"By order of H. E. the governor,

DONACIANO VIGIL, (Seal),
Secretary."

In spite of the protest of Monroe, Alvarez kept on organizing his forces all over the territory, and instructing the probate judges not to pay any attention to Monroe's protest, but that they should obey him and the other officers of the State, because the civil government was superior, in times of peace, to the military government.

Alvarez Receives Bad News.

From all parts of the Territory, communications came to Alvarez from his agents informing him that the probate judges and other county officials denied him and his govern-

ment recognition. Chief among his agents was Don Francisco Tomás Cabeza de Baca, and, as similar reports came from other persons the author has selected the reports on account of the said Cabeza de Baca, from among many others of the same tenor which Alvarez received from other agents. By letter of August 4th, 1850, Mr. Baca says what follows:*

"Peña Blanca, Aug. 4, 1850.

"Sr. Don Manuel Alvarez:

"My dear and esteemed sir:—On the 2nd inst. I received the credentials you remitted to me, together with an extract of the law which must settle the demarkations for the elections which by law must be held on the 15th inst., and although according to the extraordinary measures of the military commandant in opposition to the dispositions made by the state government which by right legally exists, I see that the endeavors I will make will have no effect. But, notwithstanding all my business, to-morrow I will start for the southern district to sound the voters, and I shall opportunely advise you of the result. The paper addressed to Mr. V. V. Z. is at hand etc., and it will be delivered on time.

Yours Truly,

FRANCO TOMÁS CABEZA DE BACA" (Seal).

Don Tomás Baca undertook the journey, according to this promise, returning to Peña Blanca four days after, discouraged and convinced that Alvarez's authority would not be recognized. So he says in the letter we give below:

"Peña Blanca, August 8th, 1850.

"Sir Don Manuel Alvarez:

"My dear sir of my most attentive consideration: As I indicated to you that I would go down to the Rio Abajo to sound the people, I have discovered that all our friends are well disposed to obey the laws of the state, but at the same time I find that the extracts of the law on elections are not sufficient, as I understand of the paragraphs that are contained in the extract which you sent me; the whole law is necessary in order that the judges may arrange their proceedings and that same be published to the people; on the

*These letters I have in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.

other hand, the legislature has not provided who shall be the judges nor to whom they shall address their orders, the prefects and sheriffs having refused to obey them, and at the same time I see that the time appointed is extremely brief to carry into effect the law, and the opinion of the judges is that they have no powers to extend the term fixed by law. I request you to tell me in your answer whatever may occur to you in the premises.

"The last resolve of our friends has been to wait to see if there is any combination between the judges of Santa Fé and the military commandant; and if against us, then to wait for the arrival of Mr. Connelly. Yours truly,

"FRANCISCO TOMÁS CABEZA DE BACA" (Seal).

Mr. Alvarez received similar letters from other parts of the Territory; he and the other state officials were now disheartened. The state legislature continued, however, in session, with the two administrations acting, the military and the state government. Such was the state of things when the news reached from Washington in the form of a decree from the Department of the Interior announcing that Congress had granted the petition formerly made to it by the convention of October 14th, 1848, having passed a law for the admission of California as a state, and for the organization of New Mexico and Utah as Territories of the Union. That law was approved on the 9th of September, 1850, providing, in addition to the organization of New Mexico as a Territory, authority to pay Texas the sum of $10,000,000 in absolute settlement of her claims against New Mexico.

The Territorial Government is Organized—The Military Power Yields to the Civil—First Delegate in Congress.

With the news received from Washington, the state government came to an end, but not the hopes and wishes of the people towards seeing the fulfillment of the promise made by General Kearny, when he took possession of New Mexico, which promise was reiterated by the government of the United States to the government of Mexico in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on the 2nd of February, 1848. The struggle at once began to obtain the admission of New Mexico into

the Union, a struggle which continued without cessation, year in and year out but without success, until the year, 1910, in which Congress at last decreed, the admission of New Mexico into the union; of this we will treat in the chapter which I will devote to the "Statehood Question, History of the Struggle."

On the 3rd day of March, 1851, the Territory of New Mexico became formally organized with the inauguration of her first civil governor, Mr. James S. Calhoun, Donaciano Vigil as secretary, and the admission of Mr. William Messervy (who had been elected a member of the house of representatives at Washington, by the state legislature) as delegate to congress from the Territory of New Mexico.

Immediately after the inauguration of Governor Calhoun an election was ordered; the election was held and county officers and a legislature were elected.

Meeting of the First Legislature Under the Organic Act.

The first territorial legislature met in Santa Fé, June 1, 1851, with the following senators and members of the lower house: Council, First District—Counties of Taos and Rio Arriba, Pablo Gallegos, George Gold, Rev. Antonio José Martinez, Vicente Martinez and Antonio Ortiz. Second District—Counties of Santa Fé and San Miguel, The Presbyter, José Francisco Leyba, Vicar General, Juan Felipe Ortiz and Hugh N. Smith. Third District—Counties of Bernalillo and Santa Ana, Tomás Cabeza de Baca and Presbyter José Manuel Gallegos. Fourth District—Counties of Valencia and Socorro, Florencio Castillo, Juan C. Chávez and Franco. Anto. Otero.

Members of the lower House: County of Taos, Raymundo Córdova, Dionicio Gonzales, Pascual Martinez, Miguel Mascareñas and Theodore Wheaton. County of Rio Arriba, Gerónimo Jaramillo, José Antonio Manzanares, Diego Salazar, Celedonio Valdez, Ramon Vigil. County of Santa Ana, José Sandoval. County of Santa Fé, Cándido Ortiz, Palmer Pilans, Merrill Ashrust, Robert T. Brent. County of San Miguel, Hilario Gonzales, M. Sena y Quintana, M. Sena y Romero. County of Bernalillo, Juan Cristóval Armijo, Spruce M. Baird and José Leandro Perea. County of Valencia, Juan Cruz Baca, Juan José Sanchez, William C. Skinner. County

of Socorro, Juan Torres and Esquipula Vigil. The presiding officers of the respective bodies were: Of the Council, Presbyter Antonio José Martinez; of the House, Theodore Wheaton, both of the County of Taos. The other officers of the Territory were the following: Elias P. West, Attorney General; G. Sohns, Marshal; Supreme Judge, Crafton Baker; John S. Watts and Horace Mower, Associate Justices; Treasurer, Charles Blumner; Auditor, Eugene Leitendorfer.

With the organization of the territorial government, the first newspaper in English and Spanish, "Santa Fé Gazette," was established, although before that date other papers had been published, one of them entitled "Republican," whose life was very short, and one in Spanish (of this last named the author of this work has a copy) entitled "El Nuevo Mejicano," but that fact notwithstanding, the said printing offices did not print the election ballots; or through the enmity between the two parties it did not care to print the ballots for the party headed by Alvarez. Be that as it may, the truth about the matter is that, for the election that was held in August of the next year, 1852,* the Alvarez party had to print its ballots in the state of Missouri, as the letter of Mr. David B. Whiting shows, which we give below.† The letter follows:

"Independence, July 1st, 1852.

"Hon. Manuel Alvarez

Santa Fé, N. M.

"My esteemed sir and friend:—Your very attentive letter, giving me a list of the candidates for the house of representatives in the three counties of Santa Fe, Rio Arriba, and San Miguel was delivered to me at Cimarron. As soon as I got here, I had the ballots printed which I have the pleasure to remit to you by this mail. The cost of printing them is $36.00 and there are two thousand for each county. Had the gentlemen of Rio Abajo sent in the names they also would have had their ballots.

"The governor will arrive here or at Kansas tomorrow or

*The ballots used formally were written by hand and pen. I have two of them in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.

†The letter of Mr. Whiting is written in excellent Spanish and is in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.

Loretto Academy, Conducted at Santa Fe, by the Sisters of Loretto. Established by The Most Rev. Archbishop Juan Bautista Lamy in 1853.

the day after. His health was the same, but I believe he will get better in his trip to Washington.

"There is nothing new here; it is said that Henry Clay died day before yesterday, but this is uncertain. The candidates for president and vice-president, are Scott and Graham, on the Whig side, and Pierce and King, on the Democratic side. It is believed Scott will be elected, I don't know, we will see. Please present my regards to all friends, I am,

Yours Truly,
DAVID B. WHITING."

With the narrative given the reader in the preceding paragraphs, this chapter closes. In the next one we will give an account of other incidents as important as the ones the reader has read in this chapter.

Saint Michael's College, Santa Fé, N. M., under the charge of the Christian Brothers. Established by Most Rev. Archbishop Don Juan B. Lamy, in 1859.

CHAPTER VIII.

Richard H. Weightman Elected Directly by the People—Energetic Defense of the People of New Mexico and its Civil Government—Correct Description of the Lamentable Political Situation in Which New Mexico was Found in Those Years—Alvarez is and is not Governor for Three Days—Lane Takes Possession of a Part of Mexican Territory Claimed by the State of Chihuahua—Other Things of Importance.

1852-1853.

Richard H. Weightman was the successor of William S. Messervey as Representative of the Territory of New Mexico in the Congress of the Union, having been elected directly by the people in the elections held in 1851, being, therefore, the first Delegate of New Mexico chosen by a majority of the voters. During the incumbency of Mr. Weightman the political waves were at their height of agitation, and the corruption reached its topmost fullness, a corruption which the adherents of the military government had been practising in New Mexico. Criminations and recriminations were filed in Congress by both parties against each other, the enemies of Governor Calhoun making severe attacks against said governor, against Delegate Weightman, and against the people of New Mexico, compelling Delegate Weightman, by their shameless conduct to make complete exposure of the crimes and frauds which had come to be the order of the day since the moment in which the change of flags was consummated. The speech which Mr. Weightman delivered in the House of Representatives deserves a pre-eminent place in the history of New Mexico, on account of the nobleness of its sentiments, the brilliancy of its ideas, and, above all, on account of the defense he made of the unjustly attacked people of New Mexico; wherefore the author made a careful and conscientious analysis of said speech, and gives it below, inter-

posed with the comments which the author thought necessary. The speech follows:

Political Corruption in New Mexico—Exposure by the First Delegate—Speech of Hon. Richard H. Weightman—Slavery in New Mexico.

(Delivered in Washington, March 15, 1852.)

In order to give an idea of the splendid defense of the people of New Mexico made by Hon. Richard H. Weightman in the speech he delivered in the House of Representatives on March 15, 1852, we publish, in the sequel, copious extracts from said speech which was prompted, first, by the attacks of Congressman Phelps, from Missouri, against Governor Calhoun (which attacks were in great part a malignant and slanderous diatribe against the native people of New Mexico); and, secondly, an exposure of the abuses, and arbitrary conduct of the military government, which, at that time, ruled over New Mexico. As the under-mentioned speech is too extensive to be reproduced here, in its entirety, we shall limit ourselves to its most important points, and, at the same time, we shall say that Mr. Weightman was the first Delegate of New Mexico in Congress, elected by the people, and one who, on account of his intellectual gifts, no less than his services, is worthy of the remembrance and gratitude of the New Mexicans.

Mr. Weightman said:

"Mr. President:—I was anxious the other day that this question of privilege, in regard to the seat of the delegate from New Mexico, should come up, not for the purpose, as I then stated, for making any objection to the printing of the memorial and the accompanying papers, or to their reference to the committee of elections, but for the purpose of contradicting, promptly and at once, the gross charges which have been made against the honorable gentleman who is now governor of New Mexico. I regret that he has not a better advocate than myself on this occasion. I regret that he has no forceful Breckenridge, or brillant Marshall up here in his defense. But such as I am I bring to this question the highest regard for that honorable gentleman, and admiration of his course in New Mexico. In my belief, the honorable

governor of New Mexico has pursued a course calculated to make the Mexicans—who have been separated from their government by no act of theirs, and who now owe allegiance to the government of the United States—feel that they are at least a part of this government; that they have rights here that ought to be protected; and that the government to which they belong was created by the people, and ought to be administered for their benefit. The elevation of policy and motives which distinguish the governor of New Mexico, is not appreciated and cannot be appreciated by those who would injure and belie him. Against the governor of New Mexico there have been arrayed divers and powerful influences. I think I am well enough acquainted with my countrymen to know that when powerful influences are brought to bear against any individual, and there is an attempt to crush a man who is in the discharge of high and honorable duties, the mere knowledge of that fact will make those influences powerless.

"I shall allude now to one of those influences. I am about to read from a newspaper which, I understand, has the largest circulation of perhaps any paper in the Union; I mean the National Era. It is the number of February 26th, and the article is headed:

"Scoundrelism in Our Territories—Kidnapping Under a Governor's License."

'"We publish on our fourth page an editorial from the Desert News disclosing a state of things in our Territories which demands the immediate attention of the chief executive. According to the statement, Governor Calhoun, of New Mexico, is no better than an infamous kidnapper. Gangs of traders with licenses bearing his name, authorizing them to purchase Indian children as slaves for the benefit of persons in New Mexico, have lately been driven out of the Territory of Utah. Bad as the Mormons are represented to be, they are not so devilish as to connive at this new trade in human blood, which a United States officer, appointed by Mr. Fillmore, seems ambitious to establish."'

Now I desire to refer to the article to see how much authority the editor of the Era had for that statement.

Mr. Weightman here reproduces said articles, which are taken from the New York Herald, and which say that some traders were expelled from Utah by the Mormons because they were trading with the Indians under licenses issued by Governor Calhoun. These traders were Pedro Leon and twenty Spanish-Americans who, it is said, were exchanging horses for Indian children. Mr. Weightman continues:

"And that is all. He does not say for the purpose of trading for Indian children as slaves.

"There are other parts of this article which is not necessary for me to read. But the Desert News, the quoted authority of the Era, does not confirm the statement that by the license of Governor Calhoun there has been authorized trade in children of any kind, notwithstanding the reckless and unscrupulous statement of the National Era. This is one of the influences to which I alluded. This influence brought to bear against Governor Calhoun may be traced in a kindred paper in Santa Fe, edited by a gentleman who is an agent of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who does little else than malign the governor, the gallant Sumner, commanding the troops in New Mexico, and the humble individual who now addresses you. This society is a powerful one; and it is one of the chief influences which has been brought to bear upon the governor of the Territory.

"To show the design of the National Era in its reckless and unscrupulous statements in reference to Governor Calhoun, I wish to read a letter which I wrote at the request of General Foote. I wrote it early in the present session of Congress. I desire to read it in connection with the comments of the National Era, in which the editor makes the *threat* that I shall be made to *feel* for my contumacy, if I continue the course which I have thought proper to pursue. Here is the letter:

"WASHINGTON, December 16, 1851.

"MY DEAR SIR:—In compliance with your request, I give you my views as to the popular feeling concerning slavery in New Mexico.

"The popular feeling in New Mexico is, I believe, fixedly set against that country being made the arena in which to decide political questions in which the people have no practi-

cal interest, and all attempts which have heretofore been made, or which hereafter may be made, to induce the people of that country *to take sides* on a question in which they are not at all interested, have been, and will, I trust, forever be utterly abortive.

"There are in New Mexico a few negroes, in all, as shown by the census, seventeen; and of this number there may be as many as five or six slaves—house—servants of officers of the army and others.

"There has, up to this time, before the judicial tribunals, been no case of a negro held to slavery suing for his freedom. When such a case shall occur, it will, in my opinion, be adjudicated without popular excitement of any kind, though the people are, I believe, opposed to the introduction of slave labor among *themselves;* and when the time shall come when they shall think proper to seek admission as a State of the Union, they will, I am inclined to think, should there be in their opinion danger of the introduction of slave labor there, *prohibit it.* But, as there is at this time no such danger, there is no excitement on the subject; and I see in the future no likelihood of the introduction of slave labor there, I apprehend that the popular mind, will, as now, remain calm on this point, and the question of prohibiting, admitting, or remaining silent concerning slavery, will be treated simply as a matter of policy in reference to being admitted into the Union. * * *

"A vigorous effort was this year made to interest the people in this vexed question, but all in vain. A document entitled 'an address to the inhabitants of New Mexico and California on the Social and Political Evils of Slavery' was industriously circulated in New Mexico in the *Spanish language* by an agent of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who is at this time the editor of the 'Santa Fé Gazette,' in the columns of which paper he is republishing occasional chapters of this document. In this is drawn a comparison, more highly wrought than true, between the north and the south in reference to state of education, state of morals, state of religion, disregard of human life, disregard of constitutional obligations, population, military weakness etc., etc."

The author omits the rest of the letter because it deals

with the same things contained in the foregoing paragraphs and for the purpose of avoiding repetitions; and we do the like with the paragraphs he inserts in his speech taken from the newspaper the "National Era," in which Mr. Weightman is censured, and is charged with having submitted and bent the knee to the slave advocates at Washington. The speech continues:

"It may be that the National Era and those whom it represents may make me 'learn,' because of the views I conscientiously entertain; and, if in its endeavors to 'make me learn,' it is as unscrupulous in its attacks on me as it has been on Governor Calhoun, I doubt not it will be shown up in a way to induce the subscribers of that paper to believe me a monster of iniquity.

"There is another newspaper in the United States that has thought proper to take up the cudgels against Governor Calhoun. It is the St. Louis Republican. This paper has the largest circulation of any paper west of the Alleghany Mountains, at least I am inclined to think so, and was built up by the energy and enterprise of the editor who is the proprietor also. As the circulation of this paper increased so did the views of its editor enlarge, until he has at this time, I believe, taken under his control the whole State of Missouri, not only as regards its general policy, but he can tell you who is the best man in the country, to be brought out as constable for any township in the state. He has extended himself also to the State of Illinois, in the same way, and will be able to give the members from Missouri or Illinois excellent advice as to the way they are to conduct themselves in Congress.

"He has also attended, generally and largely, to the Indian policy of the government, and knows more about the Indians lying between Behring Strait and the southeast corner of Texas, than Fitzpatrick or any of those old mountaineers, intelligent or educated men, who have spent forty years among the mountains; and if the government could only be persuaded to turn over to the editor of that paper the charge of the Indian affairs, they would be placed upon a bottom as broad and substantial as the editor's, and all that 'old fogyism' about Indian policy, begun by John C. Calhoun and

continued by his successors in the war and interior departments, would be securely shelved forever. He is also able to give excellent advice in regard to the contiguous potato patches of New Mexico, Utah, Oregon and California; and should the circulation of his paper be still further extended, will be quite competent to regulate the affairs of the universe. This paper, for some reason, which I will not undertake to determine, published, with apparent pleasure, anonymous articles which were abusive of the governor of New Mexico; and while he did this, it was with a great deal of difficulty that the insertion of any publication, in the nature of a defense of that gentleman, could be obtained, although the communication might not be anonymous. I refer to a communication of my own, which appeared in the paper after a considerable contest with the editor. * * * * I suppose that he is the representative of the *mercantile interests* in New Mexico. *That is* one of the influences which is brought to bear against Governor Calhoun. This influence is more extended and ramified than might be supposed. The Santa Fé merchants owe five, or twenty or fifty thousand dollars to St. Louis merchants, to Boston, New York or Philadelphia merchants and all of them are interested in being paid their money, and to that extent are interested in carrying out the views of the Santa Fé merchants. There is another, *a military* influence in New Mexico which has been brought to bear against this worthy governor of which I shall presently speak. The petition of my honorable contestant contains in itself matters and averments altogether sufficient for a defense against all the charges contained in the memorial, and, indeed, I may say against all the charges bearing directly or indirectly on the election, that have been put before this House by the honorable gentleman from Missouri. (Mr. Phelps) This memorial sets forth that a notice of his intention to contest my election was served upon me in New Mexico, and that that notice of contest contained this charge of improper and illegal interference on the part of the governor of New Mexico and of his corrupt influence in the election. It acknowledges, also, the receipt of my answer which denies that interference and corruption. *Here then, is the issue made up;* and, according to the law of the United States passed by the Congress of the United

States regulating the mode of taking testimony in cases of contested elections there was a fixed mode in which to take testimony. Now the question is why was not that testimony taken? Here is the reason set forth in the memorial:

"'Mr. Ashrust and myself have made two attempts to take the depositions for the contest; but it is absolutely impossible to get two justices of of the peace together at one time. Why? I cannot tell, but I can very shrewdly guess.'"

The orator continues discussing the subject of the contest, quotes the law of Congress regarding election contests and reproduces his answer to the notice of contest. He then proceeds: "A short account of the military government which existed in New Mexico, will account for many circumstances that have happened; will furnish the key to many of the charges brought against Governor Calhoun; and will, in particular, account for the fact that I stand here, returned by a large majority. This history will show that I stood up for the people to protect them against outrageous violence—outrages the most insufferable ever perpetrated anywhere."

Here the author, to give the reader an idea of the methods used by the political parties at that epoch, quotes a letter which was published in Santa Fé in the newspaper "Union" with the date of 8th of October, 1850, to which Weightman referred saying: "It is false that the state movement was initiated by the military commandant of New Mexico.

"The state movement was initiated by sixteen civilians, citizens of the United States—some of American, some of Mexican blood—some Democrats and some whigs—some natives of southern and some of northern states. Their address to the people appeared in the columns of the 'New Mexican', December 8th, 1849, and was replied to by a counter-address in the columns of the same paper signed by sixty-two other civilians, among whom were included all the judges of circuit courts, the prefectos, the sheriffs, the alcaldes, and in fact the great body of the officers of the civil government of the military commander *all of whom held their offices at his absolute will and pleasure.*

"The state movement was denounced by them as a *factious movement*, and the movers as the *Alvarez faction.* As the movement progressed, it was discovered that the military

commander had a decided leaning towards the territorial party—*indeed, his acts were decidedly partisan and against the state party.*

"The state party at the late elections triumphed in every county except one, and did so despite the almost unanimous opposition of the judges, alcaldes, etc., who held their offices from the quartermaster department.

"The same combination exists today. Here is the quartermaster, and his friends are here with him. I have merely wished to show that the present opponents of Governor Calhoun are the legitimate successors of that old military party, and that it is no wonder the man who opposed it should stand here elected triumphantly by the people and without the necessity of the improper and corrupt interference of any one. I continue from the article in the Union:

"The civil officers who held their offices at the will and pleasure of the military commander, were about one hundred and fifty in number, were distributed over the whole country, and all of them except five or six, opposed the state movement. They were, of course, in a state of organization for any purpose in which they thought proper to act together, and the power they could bring to bear, and did bring to bear, that they were not particularly scrupulous in their action may be inferred from the following from the memorial of the legislature of New Mexico to the Congress of the United States.

"The inhabitants of New Mexico since February 2nd, 1848, have groaned under a harsh law forced upon them in time of war when they were thought undeserving of confidence.

"The military is independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"The inhabitants have no voice or influence in making the laws by which they are governed.

"Some power other than the Congress of the United States has made judges dependent on its will alone for the tenure of their office and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"We are taxed without our consent and the taxes, when collected, are not applied to the public benefit, but embezzled by officers irresponsible to the people.

"No public officer in New Mexico is responsible to the

people. Judges without instruction in the law decide upon life, liberty and property. Prefectos and alcaldes impose fines and incarcerate without the intervention of a jury.

"Alcaldes assail the right of the people freely to exercise their religion without restriction, and dictate to congregations, what priest shall administer the sacrament of the church.

"For all these abuses, the memorial makes the military commandant of New Mexico responsible, and in a particular way the quartermaster's department.

"Now Mr. President, you will be surprised at the amount of pains I took to reform that military government. I have a perfect stack of charges here, made by me against it to Governor Monroe, for oppressions upon the people to not one of which did he pay any attention. I will refer to them by their heads, and in the first place I will speak of Judge Houghton."

Here the orator introduces a series of charges accusing Judge Houghton, circuit judge of New Mexico of malfeasance and negligence in his duties, of receiving money from individuals, and of many other offenses therein specified. He continues:

"It may be proper to mention that I sent word to Colonel Munroe's 'fountain of justice' that if he asked from said gentleman an investigation and I could not prove my charges I would freely and cheerfully retract and make amends. *He did not seek an investigation* notwithstanding he very much desired my good opinion. He had applied to me for a certificate of good character.

"We did meet that day, and he got no certificate of character or any concession whatever. He was willing to risk his life to obtain my endorsement of him, but feared to meet investigation. *He proposed trial by wager of battle*, and lost his cause. Here is another document which shows the intervention of civil authorities in the rights of the clergy and the people of New Mexico."

Judge Otero Interferes In Church Matters.

At this place a very extensive document appears in which Mr. Weightman shows the complaints of the Vicar Don

Juan Felipe Ortiz, who, at that time, was the principal ecclesiastical authority in the Territory, regarding civil intervention in the rights of the church. Among these complaints the action of Justice Otero looms up in taking upon himself the power to assign and distribute the curates to the priests who were under suspension and were out of the fold of the church. He quotes the case of Fathers Benigno Cárdenas and Nicolas Valencia, both under suspension, who by orders of the civil authority were in actual possession of the curates of Belen and Tomé, respectively, the legitimate priests, Baca and Otero, having been expelled thence. He then inserts two letters of himself (Weightman) to the governor, one of them upon the same subject, and the other upon several abuses of authority, which he mentions. He then proceeds; "To these appeals of an oppressed and distressed people Colonel Munroe turned a deaf ear. And the unfortunates of Sabinal were arrested, taken to the northern limits of the county, a distance of thirty miles from their homes, to be examined, and but for the public-spirited conduct of Mr. José Chávez, of Padillas, they would all have been there incarcerated. This gentleman moved by the generous impulses which nature planted in his heart, came forward and gave bail for the oppressed in the sum of $15,000.00 for their appearance at the next term of the criminal court in which, despite the declaration of the prosecutor that no offense had been committed, they were indicted, and those of them, who could not give bail a second time, were thrown into prison until it should be convenient to try them at a subsequent term of the court; and some of these were still in jail when Munroe's administration ended, and Calhoun's began, in the month of March last. Here is the report of the auditor of New Mexico charging certain officers with embezzlement of public funds..... ....."

Rosentein Publicly Whipped.

In this place appears a letter citing the case of Mr. Simon Rosentein, who was arrested, incarcerated and then whipped by order of the military authority at Albuquerque. Alluding next to an article which appeared, under his signature, in the newspaper, "Union", of September 8th, 1850,

Weightman presented the correspondence had between Manuel Alvarez, the governor *ad interim*, and Colonel J. Munroe. Alvarez's letter complains of the military intervention in the matter of the state movement and of the answer of Munroe upholding the authority he had as the only legal government to intervene in the matter and to convene the legislature. In like manner he inserts a resolution of both Legislative Houses denouncing Munroe's pretentions to act as civil authority and sustaining the right of the people to organize a state government. The dispute was referred by Colonel Munroe to the war department in Washington, and the result was a letter from the secretary of war which says, in substance, that, "according to the law recently adopted by congress establishing a territorial government in New Mexico, it is desirable that hereafter the military power shall not intervene with the civil authority except in pressing cases when the necessity of preserving order requires it." Weightman continues:

"It was considered of sufficient importance by the executive here to send the letter of instructions of September 10, 1850, directly to Santa Fé, and it was placed in the hands of Mr. Henry Hardy who delivered the same into the hands of Colonel Munroe, at Santa Fé, on the 22nd day of October, 1850.

"This positive order of his superior was not obeyed by Colonel Munroe. Keeping the people in ignorance of the tenor of his instructions, he continued precisely as before in the exercise of his power as civil and military governor during the entire interval (indicated in the letter of instructions) between the reception of his order to abstain, and the organization of the territorial government by the installation of Governor Calhoun, which took place on or about the 3rd of March, 1851; and thus, with all its repugnant officers, whom the people had condemned through the ballot box, continuing in power a government in which the military was supreme —in which he was supreme—a government which harassed and oppressed the people—which interfered in their religion —which disturbed congregations in their own temples—which fined and imprisoned the people without the intervention of juries—which taxed them without their consent—which

embezzled the taxes when collected, and which scourged them without trial.

"Governor Calhoun was installed on March 3, 1851, and his administration was sustained by the people, *because it in nowise resembled Monroe's.*

"Governor Calhoun thinks, as I do, that the people of New Mexico are capable of self-government, and not the miserable, degraded and vicious people they have been represented to be by the *immaculate* military government now in that city whom the honorable gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Phelps) has vouched as *so respectable.* He thinks, as I do, that they deserve the kindly sympathy of the government and people of the United States. He thinks, as I do, their right freely to exercise their religion is guaranteed as well by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, as by the constitution, and should not be infringed. He thinks, as I do, the elective franchise should be respected, and that for the majority to govern, is democratic—republican. Yes, Mr. Speaker, you may feel sure that the honor and dignity of this government will not be tarnished by Governor Calhoun. * * *"

In this part of his address Mr. Weightman reproduces a very extensive letter which under his signature was published by the St. Louis Republican giving an account of the abuses of military officers in the elections; denying false rumors which were being circulated regarding the supposed disaffection of the Mexican population, and the violence committed at Ranchos de Taos by a party of armed Americans in order to prevent an election there at. He also reproduces an individual letter of Judge S. M. Baird, popularly nicknamed "El Chino Tejano," in which the letter gives an account of the difficulties which occurred on the day of election and the outcome of which was the death of Burtinett. Baird's letter is dated at Santa Fé, January 31st, 1851, and, in part, says:

"You request me to give you the details of the Burtinett and Skinner affair at Los Ranchos. I cannot just now enter at lengthy details, as I only received your letter yesterday at Albuquerque. I started at once for Los Ranchos and what I learned there about Burtinett is the following: On the day before the election, Mr. Cándido Ortiz came to my house and, in the course of conversation, asked me if I intended to go to

Los Ranchos the next day to which I replied in the negative. He then asked me where I would be on the day following; to which I replied that I supposed I should be in my house the greater part of the day. He then remarked that he should be at Los Ranchos, and that he should, without doubt, fight with Ambrosio Armijo (the prefect). He repeated the expression, to which, as well as I can recollect, I replied, very well, regarding it a mere gasconade. I, however, that morning went to the polls at Albuquerque for the purpose of voting and looking on to see that no injustice was done. And I must say that the Mexican population, when left to themselves, are the most orderly people I have ever seen at any election. I have attended two, for the purpose of looking. Their custom is to open the polls by reading the proclamation of election aloud. They all take their seats, draw their 'ojas', punche, flint and steel, and, like philosophers, fall to smoking and conversing in the most courteous and affable manner about everything, but the election. One party gets through voting before the other intrudes. Then the judges announce that they are ready to receive the votes of the other party. It must be understood that this is the case only in precincts where Americans are absent; and I regret to say that this system of good order and harmony was interrupted on the two occasions alluded to by the intrusion of Americans who had not even a right to vote at the precinct in question, and some of them, under the law, no right to vote at all.

"It must also be understood that breaking an election in this country is regarded as a masterly political movement by those who now style themselves *'the unfortunate party.'* On the morning of the election I saw nothing of Mr. Ortiz or the Americans concerned in the affair at Los Ranchos, until a number of votes had been taken, when Ortiz, and, I think, twelve Americans entered the room, Rafael Armijo being with them, and among them Ralf, and all had bottles of liquor in their hands. Some of the Americans, who were from Santa Fé, presented themselves to vote to which the judge objected. (Burtinett was one of them.) They immediately assumed a threatening manner towards the judges, who it was evident to my mind, were intimidated. I then spoke to the judges, and advised them to receive the votes placing the objection

opposite their names on the poll book. It was accordingly done. Ortiz also voted. One of those veracious Americans pledging himself that Burtinett had been discharged, which was a falsehood. He was only on furlough. Then there being no pretext for a riot there, they left, I know not whither at the time. After they had left for the Ranchos, I was informed they had gone in a body to that place for the purpose of doing some violence, and my informant stated that one of the party had importuned him for his pistol until he let him have it stating that, unless certain things were done at the Ranchos, there would be blood shed, etc. You must recollect that the Ranchos gives a large majority against the party to which these men belonged, and it was, I believe, generally understood, that a part of the system of the opposition was to break up the elections at all the precincts giving large majorities against them. How the impression got out, I do not know. About the time they were preparing to start for the Ranchos, two young men, natives of Ireland, by names of Gleason and Welsh came over from the opposite side of the river, from Capt. Walker's camp (where they were encamped enroute for California) for the purpose of voting for Capt. Reynolds, Gleason having been in his employment for sometime anterior. They were there told by some of the party that they would have to go to the Ranchos to vote; that no Americans were permitted to vote at Albuquerque, (utterly false) and thus these two unsuspecting young men were decoyed into difficulty, and Welsh badly wounded. This was told me by Gleason afterwards; Ortiz returned in the evening wounded, and it was rumored among the crowd that he said he had shot the president of the election, Atanacio Montoya. I went to the Ranchos next day and saw Montoya wounded on the head; saw Burtinett dead; one Mexican shot in the arm; several Americans wounded. There was one missing who came into Albuquerque next day stating that he had broken jail through a window. As no one has ever been found who knew anything of his confinement, it is generally supposed that he sought shelter in some outhouse during the panic and fancied himself imprisoned, and broke out of the window while the door was open. Don Juan Armijo states distinctly

that Glasscock shot at him five times with a pistol before any attempt at defense was made on the part of the citizens. If any one doubts of the hospitality and kindness of the people of the Ranchos he has but to go there, as a gentleman, to change his opinions. I live neighbor to them and have never had better neighbors. If those men had succeeded in breaking the election I have no doubt that the whole plan and its success would have been a matter of boasting. Bear in mind that some of these men, as I am informed, presented themselves at the Ranchos to vote after having voted at Albuquerque and the refusal on the part of the judges was made the pretext for the riots.

"In regard to the Skinner affair, I can add but little to the testimony that has been published, although it was badly reported."

In reference to the Skinner affair, Mr. Weightman says:

"Mr. Juan Cristóval Armijo gave the required bond, and, conscious that he had violated no law of the land, remained quietly in his own house, presented himself before the district court of the United States, and Judge Mower presiding, the bill against him was ignored by the grand jury. * * * * And now I ask, if the killing of Mr. Skinner had been a murder, how is the governor connected with such murder? And I ask, sir, if you believe there has been any murder committed at all? No, sir; when a man engaged in lawful, peaceful pursuits under his own roof-tree with his pen in hand, surrounded by his friends, dreaming of no attacks on his life, is suddenly startled by the presentation of a pistol at his breast, kills his assailant or his friends kill him at once, *no murder is committed, sir.*

"I cannot close my remarks without saying a few words of denial of the charges which have been directed against the people I represent. Should I close my remarks without speaking in their behalf, I would be unmindful of the courtesies, and kindness and hospitality I have invariably received in every part of New Mexico, and be unworthy to represent a people who, with frankness and confidence, have trusted to me to represent their true condition and promote their interest and happiness. The people of New Mexico have been re-

presented as entertaining feelings of deadly hostility towards the native born citizens of the United States which makes their lives unsafe in New Mexico, that the New Mexicans are on the very eve of revolt against the government of the United States. So help me heaven, Mr. Speaker, this is all untrue. I assert it to be untrue on my responsibility as a representative, and honor as a gentleman. Were it true the governor of New Mexico would have long since exposed it, and I would not be here as the representative of such people. But these are *my assertions*, I would convince *your reason*. New Mexico was taken possession of by Gen. Kearny with 1,500 men 'without firing a gun or shedding a drop of blood.' This was when the New Mexicans in time of war were organized to resist us and desired to keep us out of their country, and when they had a right to expect the support of the Republic of Mexico; and now without hope of assistance from Mexico, with more than 1,500 soldiers in their country ordered there to suppress Indian depredations, themselves unorganized, it is asserted that they are at the very verge of revolt against the government of the United States whose power they now full well understand. Of all those who have been loudest in their outcries that there was no safety for American lives in New Mexico, what two of them have ever thought it necessary to come together for the purpose of combining for self defense? In the midst of all this outcry, Mr. Speaker, there has been no case of a native citizen of the United States fleeing from his place of business in New Mexico for fear of his life. They are living now, and have been all the time in perfect security, living in whatever town in New Mexico interest or freak dictated—in many cases a single one living in a town where for months at a time he could meet no one with whom he could converse in the English language—living with New Mexicans, eating with New Mexicans--sleeping with New Mexicans, without even occurring to them to fear the consequences of so doing, except theoretically when passing resolutions for political effect. This picture which has been presented of my constituents by the old adherents of the military government is false in coloring and untrue in details. *I have never met in any part of the United States people more hospitable*,

more law-abiding, more kind, more generous, more desirous of improvement, more desirous that a general system of education should be established among them, more desirous that the many and not the few should govern, more apprehensive of the tendency of power to steal from the many for the few, more desirous of seeing in their own idiom the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the history and words of the father of his country, the messages of presidents, and state papers illustrative of the spirit and genius of our government. Among them I have met men of incorruptible integrity, of honor, refinement, intelligence and information."

The reader must doubtlessly have derived some pleasure from the perusal of the preceding paragraphs, and must have at the same time, learned the history of that troublous epoch; all that, notwithstanding the interesting exposure made by Mr. Weightman, was nothing else than the beginning of many hardships which the people of New Mexico suffered up to the year 1911, which year will form the most luminous page of our history because of the fulfillment, that year, of the solemn promise made by Kearny in 1846, and by the American government in 1848, (ante) of giving us complete political autonomy. Let us now return to the narrative of what was then occurring in the Territory.

Alvarez is Governor for Two Days.

In the year 1852, the dreams of Don Manuel Alvarez came to their realization in satisfying the ambition of his soul of becoming governor of New Mexico. Perhaps by a caprice of destiny or as a mere joke, Governor Calhoun intended to play on him, Mr. Alvarez happened to be governor of New Mexico, without being such, like the "reason without reason" of Don Quixote. On the 30th of March, Governor Calhoun issued the following announcement:

"Executive Department, Santa Fé, New Mexico.
March 30th, 1852.

"Having learned that, on account of domestic affairs of an afflicting nature, the honorable Secretary of New Mexico must depart for the United States as soon as possible, and, in virtue of the authority on me conferred by the goverment

of the United States, the following announcement has been issued and the same is given publicity for the information of all those whom it may concern;

"Executive Department.

Santa Fé, N. M. March 29th, 1852.

"I, James S. Calhoun, governor of the Territory of New Mexico, trusting in the integrity and ability of Manuel Alvarez, do, by these presents, select him, and name him, to act as governor of the Territory of New Mexico during my absence from said Territory, said appointment to take effect on the first day of April next.

"Given under my hand today, Monday, March 29th, 1852, at nine o'clock, a. m.

JAMES S. CALHOUN.

By the Governor,
D. V. WHITING,
(seal) S. E. D."

On the 2nd day of April, 1852, or on the next day, the day in which Alvarez should have begun to act, his authority was revoked by the following announcement.

"To all whom it may concern:

Know ye: That whereas I, James S. Calhoun, governor of the Territory of New Mexico, on account of my health not permitting it, I shall not leave the Territory as soon as I had anticipated, but shall continue acting as governor, as I have been acting until now; therefore, the order or announcement issued March 30th, 1852, in which Hon. Manuel Alvarez was appointed governor *ad interim* of the Territory is hereby annulled, of which act I herewith with pleasure inform Hon. Manuel Alvarez that he may be relieved from the duties which he had so kindly consented to assume at my sincere request.

Given under my hand and seal today, the 2nd of April, 1852.

JAMES S. CALHOUN, Governor.*

"By DAVID V. WHITING,
(Seal) S. E. D."

*Official copy in my possession.—THE AUTHOR.

John Greiner Acts as Governor—Carr Lane Succeeds Him.

In the year 1852, Governor Calhoun had, in fact, to absent himself for a time, but when he was compelled to take the step, he did not leave Mr. Alvarez as acting governor; no, the charge was assumed by Mr. John Greiner, the Secretary of the Territory, who was the only one, under the organic law, who could act *ad interim.* Mr. William Carr Lane was the regular successor to Governor Calhoun, and it was he, Lane, who on December 7th, 1852, communicated to the legislature the true situation of the Territory, and, on the 13th of March, 1853, under his own responsibility, and without any orders from the American government, as he himself declares it, took possession of all that part of the Territory laying on the western bank of Rio del Norte and to which the government of Chihuahua lay claim, alleging that that part of the Territory had not been included in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. From the message we clip the following:

Governor W. C. Lane to the Legislature of New Mexico—Extracts From the Message.

(Message and Proclamation herein referred to is in possession of the author of this work).

"Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly:

"During my short residence in this country, I have visited six of the nine counties which compose the Territory; and I have endeavored, by every means within my reach, to gain some knowledge of the condition of the people.

"It cannot be denied that the first aspect of things in this Territory is discouraging.

"We are very distant from the states, difficult of access, and surrounded by barbarians of doubtful faith. The face of the country is mountainous and of great elevation, with an appearance of sterility, from scarcity of water. The population, which does not much exceed 60,000 souls, is widely scattered, through distant valleys, over an area so immense that 20 companies of United States troops are insufficient for its protection against the Indians; and your own people are so badly armed that they cannot protect their own property from depredation. Agriculture and stock raising, the two

great interests of the Territory, are depressed, for the want of protection, for flocks and herds. Your mines are nearly abandoned, and their products, (gold and silver excepted,) will not bear the transportation.

"Your highways are in a bad condition and the schoolmaster, (an indispensable functionary in popular government,) is rarely seen amongst you.

"The country is run over with red and white thieves and robbers. Your prisons are insecure and no appropriation has yet been made by Congress for a territorial penitentiary. Your ancient ways and usages (which were based upon the principles of civil law) have been substituted; and these imperfect laws are imperfectly administered.

"Your revenue laws are so defective, that sufficient funds are not provided for the ordinary purposes of government. There are sixteen communities of civilized Indians scattered through your settlements each governed by its own laws, administered after its own manner, and each claiming exemption from the operation of all civil regulations of the Territory—presenting the anomaly of an "*Imperium in Imperio*", or rather a series of such anomalies.

"Business amongst you languishes and much discontent prevails; indeed a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty about the future is felt by many persons. And to crown all, unreasonable jealousies and bickerings exist between the natives of the country and immigrants.

"These discouragements, would be appalling were it not evident to every reflecting mind, that all these difficulties are, either temporary, or removable by proper exertions. I consider the Territory to be now at its lowest point of depression; and feel assured that Providence has a brilliant future in store for her, if she will be faithful to her own interests.

"Let us now bring into view some of the sources from which public and private prosperity may be expected to flow. Your country is one of the very healthiest on the globe. Your agricultural products are various, your soil rewards your labor abundantly, and your tillable lands may be increased, perhaps, more than a thousand fold, by improved *acequias* and by *tanques*. Besides, at a cost within your reach, your acequias may be carried upon higher levels and enlarged

into canals,—thereby affording water for irrigation—water power for machinery and highways for commerce. The scarcity of water is more apparent than real; for excellent well-water has been invariably found in valleys at depths from fifteen to fifty feet; and, I am much mistaken, if good well-water cannot be procured at practicable depths, even upon the *Jornada del Muerto* and all the mesas including that extraordinary table land, the Llano Estacado. Our enterprising fellow citizen, Señor Don Jesus de Loya, is, unaided, making the experiment of an artesian well in the vicinity of this city, and ought to be assisted, in his enterprise, by the government; for, if his experiment should be successful, who can estimate the benefits from it to the whole Territory?

"Your facilities for stock-raising are unequalled; and a well-organized volunteer militia force will protect your stock from *red* thieves, and a penitentiary will rid you of *white* thieves. Your rich mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron, and your abundant supply of common salt, coal, gypsum, marble, nitre, and soda only require time, capital and industry, with good roads to make them available, as great sources of public and private wealth.

"From public and private necessity, this continent, must soon be crossed, from east to west, by railroad and telegraph lines, and, in all probabilities, one, or more of those railroad and telegraphic lines will traverse New Mexico. And when they do, what mighty change will be the result! In the meantime caravansaries, or station-houses, a day's journey apart, upon all the great roads leading to the Territory, would afford us a comparatively safe, cheap, and rapid means of communication with neighboring States and Territories, with corresponding beneficial results. And, as for our crude laws and imperfect administration of them, our bad roads, our want of schools, and our difficulties with the Indians, time, perseverance, mutual forbearance, and the exercise of wisdom and justice will assuredly correct all these evils.

"Having thus taken a hasty glance at the actual and prospective state of thing in this Territory, allow me to call the attention of the Legislative Assembly to some subjects which

demand legislative action in order that the public good may be promoted.

"The whole body of laws of this Territory needs revision and amendment, besides extension to objects now unprovided for; but a task of so great a magnitude cannot be well performed in the short space of 40 days, the time allotted to your session. To legislate hastily would be to legislate improvidently, and thus to add another chapter to the sad history of New Mexican legislation.

"All you can effect of good, at this time, will to be correct glaring defects, in the existing laws, and to enact some new provisions, to enable officers, who are charged with the execution of the laws to discharge their respective duties with more advantage to the public.

"The criminal laws need your attention. The tardy execution of these laws, and the insecurity of the jails cause great expense to the counties, and afford ample opportunities for the escape of criminals. For the remedy of these things, I suggest that the jurisdiction of the alcalde's courts be extended so as to give them jurisdiction for the trial and punishment of all larcenies and all the disturbances of the peace. And that the notice for the holding of a special term of the circuit court for the trial of criminal cases may be reduced from 30 to 10 days at the discretion of the judge.

"From information derived from various sources, I am induced to believe that there have been instances in different parts of the Territory, of gross neglect of official duty and of malfeasance in office. To correct this state of things legal provision should be made for the adequate punishment of all such offenders.

"I also respectfully suggest for your consideration, whether it would not be productive of a more prompt and efficient discharge of official duty, if authority were given to the executive to dismiss at his discretion all delinquent and unfaithful officers, from prefect and sheriff down to alguacil; and to fill the vacancies thus created, until the next session of the legislature, at which time a nomination for the remaining time (until the next general election,) might be made to the legislative council.

"I recommend the repeal of the law which authorizes the licensing of gambling houses; and that the property of the poor shall be exempt from taxation, and also that the wearing apparel, and a certain amount of household property which is indispensable for the support of the family of the debtor shall be exempted from sale under execution for all debts that may be hereafter created.

"The English language is the language of all the departments of the government of the United States, and, in my opinion, ought to be the language in which the laws of the territory should be enacted.

"But, as it may be considered a question of mere expediency, I leave the question whether the laws should be passed in English or Spanish to be decided by you alone. Adopt whichever language you please, and I shall be content, but I protest, in advance, against the laws being passed as heretofore, in duplicate.

"Gentlemen: In a late communication to the War Department I have said that New Mexico was not so much a conquered province, as a community that had voluntarily annexed itself to the United States, that you had surrendered to the invading force without a gun being fired on either side, while the force was insufficient for conquest had not annexation been acceptable to you. I have also stated that you have been disappointed in your high expectations of advantage from annexation, and that the laws and legal usages, which have been introduced from the states, are, in many particulars unsuited to the present condition and that discontent is more or less prevalent.

"I did not speak of your great losses of property by Indian depredations, since the time of annexation, but I spoke of the present insecurity of property from Indian depredations, and I admitted that all the cases of discontent might, perchance, cause some disturbances of the peace in some particular places, but I expressed the confident opinion, that the great mass of the people were, and would continue to be faithful to their allegiance to the United States under all trials; and that the idea of revolution was a chimera of heated imaginations only. These opinions, I am persuaded, will be fully endorsed by you all.

"I also urge upon all, to learn the English language, and to adopt all the customs of the United States that are suitable and proper for their country; but I do not advise them to change any of their beneficial or praiseworthy customs, nor do I advise them to forget their parent stock, and the proud recollections that cluster around Castilian history. I do not advise them to disuse their beautiful language—to lay aside their dignified manners and punctilious attention, the proprieties of social life. And I sincerely hope, that the profound deference that is now paid to parents by their children, and the great respect paid to age by the young, will undergo no change.

WILLIAM CARR LANE.

Santa Fé, N. M., December 7, 1852."

Lane Takes Possession of the Disputed Territory.

That portion of the Territory herein referred to was at that time exposed to the incursions of the Indians, and as the important towns of Las Cruces, Mesilla and other villages were within its area, Governor Lane thought that circumstances demanded that he should take the step he did, in order to protect the inhabitants of those towns, and, accordingly, he issued the following proclamation:

"Proclamation."

"Whereas: 1. A portion of the Territory on the west side of Rio Grande del Norte, thirty-four miles wide by one hundred and seventy miles long, be the same more or less, is now claimed by the United States of America, and by the Mexican Republic, respectively, under the provisions of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

"2. From the year 1824 and anterior thereto until the year 1851, this portion of territory was acknowledged to be within the limits of New Mexico, but in the year 1851 the state of Chihuahua assumed jurisdiction over the same, without producing any authority for this act, from the Republic of Mexico, and without having obtained the consent of the United States or the Territory of New Mexico, and in defiance of the remonstrance of a large portion of the inhab-

itants of the disputed territory who then numbered about 2,000 souls.

"3. During the discussion of the boundary question, under the Treaty of Peace, the Commissioner of Mexico proposed to abandon a part of this disputed territory by dividing it between the two Republics; and during the year 1852, the United States virtually asserted a right of sovereignty over all the territory in dispute.

"4. The claim of Chihuahua to this disputed territory, is believed to be based upon the unwarrantable assumption that the Board of Commissioners had agreed upon a boundary line between Chihuahua and New Mexico; and that their agreement in the premises was binding upon both the United States and the Mexican Republic, and, therefore, final; whereas a valid agreement had not been made, and has not yet been made, by said board; and, moreover, the action of the board has been virtually repudiated and nullified by the United States.

"5. Each of the high contracting parties to the Treaty of Guadalupe *ex necesitate* tacitly reserved the right to accept or reject the decisions of the Board of Boundary Commissioners; and if the board had assigned the city of Chihuahua and the country north of it to the United States; or the city of Santa Fé and the country south of it to the Mexican Republic, the action of the board would certainly have not been regarded as final.

"6. Ever since the territory in question was thus forcibly and illegally annexed to the state of Chihuahua, that state has signally failed to protect the inhabitants of the territory in their rights of persons or of property, or of conscience, and moreover has not made a reasonable defense against border Indian depredations, and, thereby, prevented reclamations against the United States.

"7. The present revolutionary condition of the Mexican Republic, precludes the hope of adequate protection being afforded by that republic, to the inhabitants in this disputed territory, for the time being; and a large portion of the inhabitants now claim the protection of the United States and solicit the re-annexation to New Mexico from which it was illegally wrested by the State of Chihuahua.

"Now, therefore, as the United States has been wrongfully deprived of the portion of the territory in question, even should the Mexican Republic have a rightful claim to it, which is denied; and, as by the law of nations, the United States is justly entitled to exercise jurisdiction over the same and protect the inhabitants thereof, in all their rights until the claim of the Mexican Republic shall be fully recognized by the United States and, as the probable time of the settlement of the boundary question is indefinitely postponed, and the interest of the United States and the rights of the inhabitants of the territory are inadequately protected, I, William Carr Lane, governor of the Territory of New Mexico (upon my own official responsibility and without orders from the cabinet at Washington) do, hereby, in behalf of the United States, retake possession of the said disputed territory to be held provisionally by the United States until the question of boundary shall be determined by the United States and the Mexican Republic. And I do hereby require all civil and military officers of the United States and the Territory of New Mexico whom it may concern to execute the laws of the United States and of the Territory of New Mexico over the territory aforesaid, which is provisionally attached to, and made a part of the County of Doña Ana, in the Territory of New Mexico.

"And to the end that there may be no misunderstanding, on the part of the citizens of New Mexico as to the boundary line between the Territory of New Mexico and the state of Chihuahua, the same and well known boundary between this state and territory, as established by a decree of the Mexican congress of the 27th of July, 1824, as delineated upon Desurnell's Treaty map is hereby provisionally established; which boundary line has its initial point in the main channel of the Rio Grande above the dam of the Acquia Madre across the Rio Grande and below Frontera eight miles more or less north of the town of El Paso. The said line to run from the Rio Grande and thence northwardly until it reaches the Rio Gila according to the provisions of the treaty aforesaid.

"In testimony whereof, I hereto subscribe my name, and cause the seal of the Territory to be affixed at the town of

Doña Ana, the 13th day of March A. D., 1853, and in the seventy seventh year of the Independence of the United States.

(L. S.) WM. CARR LANE.

By the Governor, JOHN GREINER, Secretary.

By MIGL A. OTERO, Private Secretary."

Gadsden Treaty—The Civil War.

The taking of possession of the territory under dispute was followed by the purchase of said territory, the government of the United States paying Mexico the sum of $10,000,000—the disputed territory was thus formally annexed to New Mexico in virtue of the treaty known as "The Gadsden Treaty," signed in Mexico on December 30th, 1853. By the consummation of said treaty no other important incident or event occurred until the year 1861, when the Confederation of Southern States was formed which brought as a result the civil war, which closed on April 9th, 1865, with the surrender of General Lee to General Grant. This subject will be referred to in an another part of this work.

First Railroad Survey.

In the year 1854 the first survey was made for a railroad line designated by the name of "Pacific Railroad," which started from Rio Colorado and extended to Rio del Norte. In the next chapter we shall give an account of all the industries and other matters worthy of mention.

Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Santa Fe. Built by the Spaniards shortly after the reconquest by De Vargas in 1692. In this Church can be seen a priceless ancient hand painted, very large, picture of the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe to the Indian, Juan Diego, near the City of Mexico—THE AUTHOR.

Church of the Immaculate Conception, Albuquerque. Recently built by Rev. A. M. Mandalari, S. J., its Pastor.

CHAPTER IX.

Agriculture, Geography, Topography, Boundaries—Live Stock Industry—Civil War—War With the Apaches and Navajoe Indians—War With Spain—Churches—Indians—Mineral Branch—Copper, Gold and Silver—Missions and Missionaries—Franciscans—Orphanages—Hospitals at Silver City, Albuquerque, Gallup, Las Vegas and Deming.

1853-1912.

This chapter was written on the historical events which occurred from the year 1853 to the year of 1912, except matters that need separate presentation, such as the statehood question, educational establishments and the economical development of the Territory; which matters shall be dealt with in separate chapters, and in another chapter wherein matters of a general character shall be attended to, alphabetically detailing, so far as it may be possible, said events. Within said dates, the Territory developed more than in all its history from 1853 back, and, concerning that development, we shall now treat, commencing first with agriculture.

Up to the year 1812, it is sufficient for us to consult the work of Don Pedro Bautista Pino, "Noticias Históricas," in order to know the exact condition of agriculture and industry before and up to that date. The account follows, which Pino gives us upon that particular:

Products of Its Agriculture and Industry—1812.

"The abandonment and the distance in which the province is found, together with the great dangers in the highways, by reason of the hostile tribes are, with so many others, causes which render the task impossible of making any exports out of even the agricultural products. Wine is the only product that yields some returns. To reckon the wealth of the agricultural branch there is no better standard than the total reached by the duties (tithes) or excise which is from 9 to 10 duros (dollars) per hundred a year. This total would

be very much higher, if the output, instead of being exported to Durango, should remain in the province. Its circulation would raise the value of the fruits gathered from the excise which, according to this approximate calculation, are, as follows:

Corn	fanegas (fanega-3 bushels)	3,000
Wheat	"	2,000
Vegetables	"	1,000
Wool	lbs.	25,000
Cotton	"	1,000
Wine	gallons	1,250
Wethers and ewes	head	5,000
Calves	head	200
Goats	head	200

Agricultural Returns—Manufactures of Woolen Goods—Pino Continuing.

"No manufactures are known in this province except those of wool and cotton. Necessity has compelled the weaving of flannels, serge, blankets, heavy blankets, baizes, coarse stuffs, carpets, cotton hose, and table linen; bridles and spurs are also made. From a few years ago down to this date we have become acquainted there with fine looms for the manufacture of cotton, through an artist sent by the government who has taught the trade to several persons in a very short time. Fine, though, I call their product, it is only so as compared with what was formerly manufactured, since it is nothing more than a coarse texture as compared with the fine linen from China. The products of these lines hardly yield a result in favor of the province beyond 60 duros per year; and even for the purpose of obtaining this return, the dealers are obliged to export their goods at their expense and risk, and to seek buyers in the other provinces."

Pino continues his talk concerning agriculture, and says:

"Agriculture, industry and commerce are the three bases of prosperity; but none of these are to be found in that province on account of its situation; on account also of the neglect with which the government has heretofore treated it and because of the shrinkage undergone by the small income it annually acquires from its fruits and manufactures. I

have said that the introduction of goods for its annual use are worth 112 pesos (dollars) that only 60 pesos is the return, the result being then 52 pesos against it. The salaries paid by the public treasury to the governor of the province, his assistants and 121 soldiers are the only resources which keep up the circulation; but in such a meagre way that up to a short time ago, as already said, most of its inhabitants were not acquainted with money."

Pino, in speaking of the indolence of the inhabitants of New Mexico occasioned by the frequent incursions of the Indians, says:

"Agriculture is entirely abandoned for the inhabitants of that country do not dedicate themselves considerably to planting, from which labor doubtless, they would derive many benefits. They scarcely plant as much as they believe necessary for their maintenance during a portion of the year, thus exposing themselves for the remainder of it to a thousand miseries; hence the reason that the price of grain values suffer many changes.

"In the article, 'vegetable productions' an idea is already given concerning vegetables and vegetable gardens, wherefore it is useless to repeat that corn, wheat, beans, etc., are raised; a very good grade of cotton and plenty of tobacco are also grown.

"Immense areas of natured-favored lands with good temperatures for agricultural productions, which ought to form the fortune of New Mexicans, are found abandoned because of the barbarous tribes occupying them, or because they are frequently invaded by them; but the peace which New Mexico should make with these foes would bring into her domain those valuable lands from which agriculture could receive an extraordinary impulse." *

The Navajoe Raids—Development of Agriculture.

From 1812 to 1848 agriculture and the other industries continued in the same condition as Pino described them in his time and even after 1848, although their development became more marked, in 1865, when the American government finally succeeded in reducing the Navajoe Indian tribe

* Pino: "Not. Hist." pp. 20-21.

by transferring them as prisoners of war from the land they had inhabited from time immemorial to Bosque Redondo (Fort Sumner) where they remained until 1868, when they were allowed to return to their reservation. The Navajoe Indians by their continuous incursions and depredations, before their surrender kept all the industries entirely at a standstill. At the end of the civil war, and after the pacification of the Indians, New Mexico entered into the full development of its industries, all of them being pushed to a phenomenal degree, so much so that at the present time (1912) we are assured that no less than 45 per cent of its inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, all of them possessing, according to trustworthy data, over 11,834 farms with an acreage of tillable lands of 5,739,878 acres, the total value of said farms amounting to the sum of $53,737,825, and the value of the improvements amounting $20,888,814. The cereals raised with more certainty are wheat, corn, potatoes, vegetables of all classes, alfalfa, beet-roots, tobacco, cotton, all of its products being of such good quality that in the World's Fair Exposition held at Chicago, (1893) the wheat raised in New Mexico received the first premium, and, at the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition, New Mexico's agricultural and horticultural exhibit received two gold medals, three bronze medals and five special mention certificates, and in the exposition held at St. Louis, when the Louisiana purchase was being celebrated, the peaches from New Mexico received the first premium, despite the competition of California's famous peaches, so that in the horticultural branch also the fruit of New Mexico may be considered as good, if not better, than that of the richest and most populous states. What has been said suffices to demonstrate the flourishing condition of the agricultural branch in New Mexico in our epoch. Let us now consider her geography, topography, boundaries, wars and her industry, and her live stock resources. *

Geography, Topography and Boundaries.

Before New Mexico became part of the United States her geographical and topographical description was the following, according to Pino:

* Pino: "Not. Hist." p. 9.

"From north to south it had 340 leagues, and from east to west, 350, its boundaries being on the north, with Louisiana and other territories whose names have not as yet been fixed. On the south, with the Provinces of New Viscay, Sinaloa and the New Kingdom of Leon. On the east, with the Provinces of Coahuila and Texas, and on the west, with Sonora."

According to Escudero,* "the Territory of New Mexico was one of the most remote parts of the republic; it lies on the extreme north, and its geographical extension is comprised from 33° to 40° latitude, it has 185 leagues from north to south, and almost the same from east to west, its confines on the north are by land absolutely unknown to us; on the east, the States of Coahuila and Texas and the Territory of Arkansas belonging to the United States of America; on the south, it is bounded by the State of Chihuahua, and on the west, by that of Sonora. Nothing definite can be said regarding its elevation over the sea level and other matters relative to its position for lack of data for that purpose."

Arizona Organized.

Until the year 1863, when the Territory of Arizona was formed from the western part of New Mexico, the boundaries of New Mexico on the west extended as far as the State of Sonora, and on the north, until the year 1867, it included the Counties of Archuleta, Conejos and Durango, and part of Las Animas, which form now part of the State of Colorado; that is to say, in the year 1863, all that portion of territory west of longitude 109° was segregated by Congress, and from it was formed the now State of Arizona; and in 1867, the territory north of latitude 37° was annexed to Colorado, so that the boundaries of New Mexico at the present epoch, 1912, are: On the north, parallel 37; on the south, parallel 32; on the east, meridian 103; on the west, meridian 109; or, geographically speaking, it is bounded on the north, by Colorado and Utah; on the east, by Texas and Oklahoma; on the south, by Texas and the Republic of Mexico; on the west, by Arizona. Let us now treat of the live stock industry.

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* Escudero- "Estadistica de Varios Estados," p. 13.

Live Stock Industry—Governor Narbona's Report.

From what the reader has read in the preceding chapters he will remember that the live stock and horse raising industry could not be developed under the governments of Spain and Mexico for the reasons given in the preceding paragraphs; despite of that fact, Governor Antonio Narbona in the year 1827, made a detailed report to the Mexican government of the condition of the live stock and horse raising branch up to that date, and Barreiro included said report, in his own official report to the Mexican government in the year 1834; * and the same is hereinwith reproduced that the difference may be observed between the development of said industrial branch of those epochs and ours. Narbona's report on opposite page.

In this report we see that there were at that date (1827) 5,000 head of cattle, 240,000 head of sheep, same being then valued as follows: The sheep at $120,000, and the cattle at $40,000; we also saw that the number of horses was 550, valued at $5,500; the number of mules, 2,150, valued at $63,750, and the number of mares was 300, valued at $2,400. In our times, (1912) according to the latest official statistics, we have over 1,050,000 head of cattle, over 5,875,000 head of sheep, more than 150,000 goats, no less than 100,000 head of horses, the sheep yielding annually a total product of nearly 25,000,000 pounds of wool.

We shall now treat of the wars in which New Mexico has figured from the time of the change of flags down to our days.

Wars.

The reader doubtless, is familiar with the history of the civil war between the northern and southern states, caused by the question of slavery, from the year 1861 to 1865. That fact taken for granted, we shall limit ourselves to relate briefly, the part which New Mexico took in that war without further delving into its causes, origin and consequences.

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* Barreiro: En. Pino "Not. Hist." p. 24.

NOTICE OF THE LIVE STOCK AND HORSES WHICH THE TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO HAS.

	Cattle	Value of same	Sheep	Total value of Sheep	Horses	Their value	Mules	Their value	Mares	Their value	Total Horses	Total value of Horses
In the seat of the City of Santa Fé justiceships, of which it is composed and pueblos thereunto belonging	1,450	$11,600 00	62,000	$ 31,000 00	184	$1,840 00	592	$14,800 00	93	$ 744 00	869	$11,384 00
In the seat of the villa of Albuquerque justiceships, of which it is composed and pueblos thereunto belonging	2,550	20,400 00	155,000	77,500 00	192	1,920 00	868	21,700 00	105	840 00	1,165	24,460 00
In the seat of the villa of La Cañada justiceships, of which it is composed and pueblos thereunto belonging	1,000	8,000 00	23,000	11,500 00	174	1,740 00	690	17,250 00	102	816 00	1,166	19,806 00
	5,000	$40,000 00	240,000	$120,000 00	550	$5,500 00	2,150	$53,750 00	300	$2,400 00	3,000	$61,650 00

"Santa Fe, N. M., April 8, 1827.—ANTONIO NARBONA.

It is a copy. Santa Fé, New Mexico, October 30, 1829.—JOSÉ ANTONIO CHÁVEZ."

Civil War.

When hostilities formally broke out in 1861, the federal government had little or no confidence in the patriotism of the sons of New Mexico, or, at least, it treated them with the same indifference they had been treated by the governments of Spain and Mexico. It is true that it kept troops in the Territory to hold the Navajoes and the rest of the nomadic tribes of savage Indians in submission, because it had assumed that obligation by the terms of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. That is, at least, what such historians as Bancroft, Haines and others tell us about that matter. Haines says: "When the military divisions were being designated for west of the Alleghanies, the Department of New Mexico, which included New Mexico only, was entrusted to Col. R. S. Camby; but no expenditure of money was authorized, and no troops were mustered in for its defense, for it was not believed that the far west would be exposed to attacks from the enemy; yet this was precisely the point that was threatened, and only the faithfulness and loyalty of the sons of New Mexico spared the nation a crushing calamity."*

The above noted authority was referring to the attack made by the Texans through the south of New Mexico in which they had so well succeeded that they even took Santa Fé, the Capital of New Mexico.

New Mexico's Patriotism.

During the civil war to which we have been referring, it was proved, or, to state it better, the sons of New Mexico proved their patriotism to the American government even more than did the other States and Territories of the Union. Scarcely thirteen years had come and gone from the date in which fate had separated them from the mother country, the Mexican Republic, when the bloody, fratricidal war between the northern and the southern States broke out, and the sons of New Mexico threw themselves unhesitatingly to the number of 6000 into the field of honor to fight the battles for the preservation of the American government, to

*Haines' "Hist. of New Mexico," p. 222.

which they had adhered voluntarily, sealing with their blood the oath they had given for the perpetuation of the American Union.

An American historian speaking of the patriotism of the sons of New Mexico in that war, says:

"The Territory contributed with 6000 volunteers to the armies of the Union between the years 1861 and 1865. The military service to which they were assigned was of the hardest and most arduous, as it included long marches, and unnumbered toils having at the same time to deal both with the confederate armies, and to engage continuously with the savage Indians. In that sort of service neither enthusiasm nor patriotism could be expected from them.

"The troops of New Mexico, however by means of their heroism furnished to the history of the war one of its brightest pages through the heroism displayed in the battle of Apache Cañon, on the 22nd of March, 1862, where they fought against the southern troops which had already taken the Capital, Santa Fé, and were marching on Fort Union, General Sibley being in command of the confederates, and Colonel Slough in command of the federal troops. The battle resulted in favor of the Union troops compelling the Texans to abandon the Territory." *

In the battle referred to by the quoted author, the fate of the war was determined, as Haines (supra) has said; for had not the confederates been routed in that battle they would most assuredly have taken Fort Union, and thus secured a great advantage over the federal troops.

Col. Manuel Chavez the Hero of the Glorieta Battle.

The said quoted author is not sufficiently impartial in giving credit to whom in justice the credit of that victory belongs. Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Chavez was the hero of that memorable event, for he it was who, with a small escort of New Mexican soldiers, traversed the mountains in the thickest part of the battle and arrived at the place where the Texans had their camp and wagons with their provisions of war. He set both camp and wagons on fire,

* Ritch's "New Mexico."

thus destroying not only their equipages of war, but also their food supply and insuring, by means of that intrepid exploit, the victory of the federal troops.

Many were the native officers of New Mexico who acquired distinction in that war, among them we shall mention Col. Don Francisco P. Abreu, Col. José Francisco Chavez, Capt. Don Rafael Chácon, Capt. Nicolas Quintana, Capt. Saturnino Baca, and Major J. D. Sena Sr., and among the old American residents of New Mexico, the one who most distinguished himself during the war was Colonel Kit Carson.

War With the Apache and Navajoe Indians—Capture of Gerónimo—Treaty with the Navajoes.

In order to subdue the tribes of the Navajoe and Apache Indians, the American government was obliged to go to the expense of more than $50,000,000, and keep up an army in continuous warfare from the year 1849 to the year 1886, when the Navajoes finally surrendered in New Mexico as did the Apaches in New Mexico and Arizona; that is to say, the final submission of the Navajoes, as we have already said elsewhere in this chapter, was effected in the year 1868, and that of the Apaches in 1886, when General Nelson A. Miles succeeded in capturing the dreaded Indian chief, Gerónimo, who was on that same year taken, with all his captains and other Indians to Fort Marion in the State of Florida. From that year on the incursions of the Indians ceased forever and the people of New Mexico were enabled to enter upon the most complete development of all its industries.

Before treating of the third and last war of our times, the war with Spain, the author takes leave to recall to the reader the treaty which the Navajoe Indians made with Colonel Doniphan in 1846, with the only object of proving that the good faith of the Navajoes and of the other savage tribes was not what Doniphan and his comtemporaries affirmed, but that they had jeered at Doniphan in the same manner they had jeered at the Mexican and Spanish governors. There are many other incidents occasioned by the incursions of the Indians in certain localities, which should be related, but, as we are now treating about real hostilities, we shall leave those

incidents for another part of this work, and shall now endeavor to give the reader the necessary information regarding the war with Spain.

War With Spain—The Rough Riders.

On April 21st, in the year 1898, war was declared between our government and the government of Spain, occasioned by the destruction of the battleship "Maine" in the waters of Havana. That war closed on April 11th, of the year following, 1899, with the defeat of Spain and the loss to that power of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. In that war, too, the sons of New Mexico again demonstrated their disinterested patriotism to the American flag—a patriotism that has, perhaps, no parallel in the annals of universal history, for the sons of New Mexico, the Spanish-Americans, who went to that war were all descendants from the first Spaniards who conquered New Mexico, and it was but natural to expect that they should, at least cherish in their hearts, the natural sympathy inherent in persons of the same race. Despite all that, they did not hesitate in responding with a good will to the call made upon them to take up arms in defense of their flag by sending to the field of battle more soldiers, in proportion to their population, than any other state in the Union, and having sent from among them the famous mounted company known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders" who fought with distinction in the battle at Santiago de Cuba. Let us now treat of the different churches, or religions that have co-operated in the Christianization of New Mexico.

Churches—First Protestant Minister—Bishop Juan B. Lamy and His Successors.

Up to the year 1846, the only church which existed in New Mexico, from the time of the conquest, was the Catholic church. In fact to that church is due the civilization and Christianization of the Indians of New Mexico, and the development effected by the Spanish colonies in the Territory. The reader has already been informed concerning the great good done by that church to the country from the time of the discovery and conquest of New Mexico. Respecting the

benefits bestowed by it after the change of flags took place, the reader will be informed in another part of this work.

With the change of flags, religious toleration was introduced into New Mexico, a thing unknown until that date. Towards the close of the year 1849, the first Protestant minister, Rev. Henry W. Reed, of the Baptist creed, entered Santa Fé. Until that year, it may be said, the Catholic church had been subject, ecclesiastically speaking, to the Episcopate of Durango. In the year following, Pope Pius IX, by apostolic decree, on April 23rd, appointed as apostolic vicar of said vicariate with the title of Bishop of Agathonica, the Rev. Juan B. Lamy, who was at the time a priest at Cincinnati. Vicar Lamy received his episcopal consecration at Cincinnati on November 24th of the same year, and early the next year he started for Santa Fé reaching that point in the summer of the year 1851. At Santa Fé he was confronted by serious obstacles due to the refusal of the Mexican priests to recognize his authority before being informed of the change of ecclesiastical authority, by the bishop of Durango, who was the only authority which, to that date, they had recognized. The anomalous situation neither surprised nor discouraged Vicar Lamy, who, without blaming the Mexican priests, and, in order to do away with the difficulties, undertook a trip to Durango in order to present his credentials to the Mexican bishop, having had to traverse a long, toilsome and perilous distance on account of the savage Indians. At Durango he was received by the Mexican bishop with all courtesy and attentions due to the visiting prelate. He received credentials from the bishop of Durango and returned to New Mexico where he immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties,* which he faithfully discharged for the glory of the church and benefit of New Mexico until the year 1885, his age no longer allowing him to bear the onerous burden. He resigned the post and retired to his private property where he remained until February 14, 1888, when he died, being at that date archbishop of Santa Fé. His successors were the Most Illustrious Archbishops J. B. Salpointe, P. Chapelle, Peter Bourgade, and the actual Archbishop Don Juan B. Pitaval. Of the many

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*Salpointe: "Soldiers of the Cross."

benefits that came to New Mexico, with the change of governments, the greatest was the coming of Archbishop Lamy, for to him, and to him alone, belongs the honor of having been the best friend of the sons of New Mexico. In another part of this work we shall speak in detail concerning that holy man, so as to close up the subject which we have been explaining in this chapter.

Archbishops Salpointe, Chapelle, Bourgade and Pitaval.

The first thing Archbishop Lamy did after he had assumed the charge of his vicariate was to make an extended visit throughout the whole Territory with the object of becoming acquainted with the precise situation of all the curates and missions of the Territory, re-organizing, as his next step, the ecclesiastical government under the new regime and placing the vicariate under the protection of Saint Francis of Assisi. In 1875, Bishop Lamy was consecrated to the Archiepiscopal See or Archdiocese of Santa Fé, with jurisdiction over the whole of New Mexico excepting the counties of Doña Ana, and afterwards, Grant and Eddy, which, despite their being within the limits of New Mexico, belong to the Episcopate of Arizona. On June 20th, 1869, Bishop J. B. Salpointe was appointed Bishop of Arizona, and on the 22nd of April, 1884, as coadjutor of Archbishop Lamy. He succeeded the Most Illustrious Archbishop Lamy after the death of the latter, receiving the Archiepiscopal consecration on July 18th, 1885, and acting as Archbishop until January 7th, 1894, when he delivered the active charge to his coadjutor, Bishop P. Chapelle, who had been appointed to such post on November 1st, 1891. Archbishop Salpointe died July 15th, 1898, and Chapelle was proclaimed his successor on January 7th, 1894, and was transferred to New Orleans on December 1st, 1897, where he died on August 6th, 1905, the victim of yellow fever, Don Pedro Bourgade, Bishop of Arizona succeeded Archbishop Chapelle, continuing as Archbishop until May 17th, 1908, which was the date of his death. The Most Illustrious Juan B. Pitaval, Bourgade's successor assumed the charge of the Archdiocesis. He had acted as coadjutor of Bourgade from July 25th, 1902, was promoted to the Archiepiscopal

See on January 3rd, 1909, and proclaimed archbishop on April 24th, 1909, and is worthily acting in that capacity at the present time.

Catholic Church's Organization at This Time.

The organization of the Catholic Church, or the Archdiocese of Santa Fé, in the Territory is, as follows: At Santa Fé, the Capital, resides the Most Illustrious Archbishop Pitaval, and in charge of the parish is the Vicar General, Monsignor Antonio Fourchegú, having under his charge six missions, the Convent of Loretto and the Indian School of Saint Catherine. The other parish of Santa Fé, the Capital, is Our Lady of Guadalupe under the charge of the Rev. Antonio Besset with six missions. Saint Michael's College under the charge of the chaplain, Rev. J. L. Doherty. The parishes outside of the Capital, all of which have several missions, are: Albuquerque, Rev. A. M. Mandalari, S. J.; Old Albuquerque, under the charge of Rev. C. M. Capilupi, S. J.; Antonchico, under the charge of Rev. Catignol; Belen, under the charge of Rev. J. A. Picard; Bernalillo, under the charge of Rev. J. J. Splinters; Blanco, under the charge of Rev. J. M. Garnier; Bueyeros, under the charge of Rev. C. Lammert; Chaperito, under the charge of Rev. P. Lantard; Costilla, under the charge of Rev. Cipriano Barran; El Rito, under the charge of Father José Pajot; Folsom, under the charge of Rev. Dumarest; Gallup, under the charge of Rev. Florentino Myers, O. F. M.; Isleta, under the charge of Rev. A. Docher; Jemes, under the charge of Rev. Barnabas Myers, O. F. M.; Las Vegas, under the charge of Rev. Paul Gilberton; with a private oratory of the Society of Jesus, under the charge of Rev. J. Marra, S. J. and the Revds. A. Leone, S. J., J. Artuis, S. J., and P. Dallas, S. J.; East Las Vegas, under the charge of Rev. Adriano Rabeyrolle; Lincoln, under the charge of Rev. J. H. Girma; Manzano, under the charge of Rev. J. Gauthier; Monticello, under the charge of Rev. U. G. Bertrom; Mora, under the charge of Rev. C. Baland; Park View, under the charge of Rev. E. Paulham; Peña Blanca, under the charge of the Franciscan Fathers with Rev. Francis Stuerenber, O. F. M., as superior; Peñasco, under the charge of Rev. Leo De La Velle; Puerto de Luna, under

the charge of Rev. J. Pugens; Raton, under the charge of Rev. J. B. W. Cooney; Roswell, under the charge of Rev. Adalberto Rolfes, O. F. M.; with a Chapelle for Mexican Parishioners under the charge of Rev. Teodoro, O. F. M.; San Antonio, under the charge of Rev. G. Charrie; San Juan de Los Caballeros, under the charge of Rev. Camilo Seux; San Marcial, under the charge of Rev. J. Peltzer; San Miguel, under the charge of Rev. J. P. Moog; Santa Cruz, under the charge of Rev. G. Haelterman; Sapello, under the charge of Rev. Krager; Socorro, under the charge of Rev. P. H. Martin; Springer, under the charge of Rev. Antonio Cellier; Taos, under the charge of Rev. José Giraud; Tomé, under the charge of Rev. J. B. Ralliere, (the oldest priest in New Mexico;) Watrous, under the charge of Rev. Ollier.

Catholic Institutions of Learning.

The Catholic church in New Mexico has the following seats or institutions of learning: At Santa Fé, the College of the Christian Brothers, under the charge of Brother Edwards, Academy of Our Lady of Light, under the charge of the Sisters of Loretto, the Industrial School of St. Catherine for boys and girls, under the charge of the Sisters of the Most Holy Sacrament. It has similar institutions at Bernalillo, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, Jemes, Mora, Peña Blanca, Roswell, Socorro and Taos. In East Las Vegas it has the "Saint Anthony's Sanatorium," under the charge of the Sisters of Charity.

Protestant Churches.

The Methodist Episcopalian church, also established its worship at Santa Fé towards the close of the year 1851 sending as its minister Rev. E. G. Nicholson, who had to abandon the charge before the expiration of two years for want of members. The Presbyterians opened a church in Santa Fé in the same year, 1851, sending Rev. W. J. Kephardt, who also, through unknown causes, abandoned the ministry and undertook the publication of a newspaper, the "Santa Fé Gazette." From this date on Protestant churches have been established in the Capital and other parts of the Territory, with several mission houses and schools, there being in the

Capital at the present time the following churches: One Presbyterian, one Methodist, one Episcopalian, or of "The Holy Faith," this last one having been established on July 4, 1873, by Rev. A. H. De Mora, but was without any place of worship until the year 1879, when Governor L. Bradford Prince initiated a movement for the construction of a church, with such success, that by the year 1882, the present handsome building which said church has in Santa Fé today had already been erected. It is built of chiseled rock, in the Gothic style, and at a cost of not less than $8,000 or $10,000. Thus the Capital has seven churches and a beautiful cathedral, that is, the cathedral which is the principal Catholic church, built at a cost of over $150,000, and is the finest building of its class west of the State of Missouri; the ancient church of Guadalupe, also Catholic; that of San Miguel, constructed by Oñate in 1606, and used to this day for divine worship by the Brothers of Saint Michael's College; the chapel of the Sisters of Loretto, a most beautiful edifice, made of rock, in the Gothic style, and at a cost of $75,000; and, in addition, two other chapels of the Sisters of Charity, and that of the Sisters of St. Catherine, also very elegant, and of a very high cost. We shall now turn our attention to the Indians of New Mexico.

Indians.

With the information which the reader has concerning the different kinds of Indians which have inhabited New Mexico, we shall not treat this matter in detail again, but shall confine ourselves to giving a succinct description of them since they were subdued by the Spaniards. The Pueblo Indians are now practically, in the same condition they were when found by the Spaniards at the epoch of the discovery and conquest, viz: Taos, Jemes, Santa Clara, Picuris, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Pojoaque, Nambé, Tesuque, Cochiti, Zia, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Sandia, Isleta, Zuñi, Acoma, but quite a number of the original pueblos are not in existence today as the reader is already aware of the missing pueblos being, of Pecos, Tanos, and Santa Ana and others. Said Pueblo Indians, so far as relates to civilization, and despite the efforts of the Franciscan Fathers during the

governments of Spain and Mexico, which efforts were continued with the same, if not greater earnestness by the Most Illustrious Archbishop Lamy and his successors, and by the American government expending large sums of money in efforts to civilize them, are actually almost in their primitive condition owing to the fact that they do not want to abandon their diabolical customs. Don Pedro Bautista Pino, in the exposition which he made to the Spanish congress in 1812, at Cádiz, complained that the said Indians, after having been for more than 200 years indoctrinated and taught in the arts and industries by the Franciscan Fathers, did not improve nor wished to abandon their customs, and, now, or 90 years after Pino made his said exposition, they are in the same if not worse, condition. As the picture of them then drawn by Pino is the same that might be drawn now, the author reproduces Pino's words:

Pino on the Indians of New Mexico.

> "All these pueblos, despite the sway which religion has exercised over them, cannot forget a portion of dogmas transmitted to them by tradition, and they take scrupulous care to teach them to their descendants; hence their worships of the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies, the respect they have for fire, etc., etc. *

Let us now hear the account given of them by a priest of our times who lived among them at the pueblo of Jemez indoctrinating them for over twelve years. Rev. Father Mariller, quoted by Archbishop Salpointe in his work "Soldiers of the Cross," page 19, says:

> "My opinion is that these Indians, despite their being ostensibly Catholics, secretly practice every sort of superstitious and ancient ceremonies. If they worship more than one Deity, I do not know, but I am, indeed certain that for them Moctezuma, possesses divine powers, for some of them have told me that what we call God is no other than Moctezuma, the name being the only difference. They worship the sun but I could never ascertain whether or not they considered it as a divinity."

* Pino, "Not. Historicas."

Actually, and for over twenty years past the government has treated these Indians, and the savage tribes, paternally, establishing schools and shops in their pueblos and reservations, in order to educate them and to teach them a trade with the object of civilizing them to the degree that they may be enabled to assume the responsibilities of free citizenship; but without any other success than what was obtained by the Franciscans after more than 200 years of continuous vigils and sacrifices. The Indians of the savage tribes who still live in New Mexico, under reservation, and under the protection of the government, are the Apaches, the Yutas, and the Navajoes. All these tribes are engaged in stock raising and in the cultivation of their lands, performing the latter task with reluctance and on a very limited scale. With this review we close the subject about the Indians, and we should here discuss the industrial branch of our history but shall leave that subject for the chapter corresponding to commerce and economical conditions.

Mineral Branch.

The mineral branch did not receive any impetuous worthy of mention during the 27 years regime of the Mexican government over New Mexico, and as the Spaniards had, many years before that date, practically abandoned the industry because it was not possible for them to work the mines and fight the Indians at the same time, the mineral branch remained at a stand still until after the annexation. It is not known how many years before Pino went as delegate to Spain, that the mines had been neglected, but certainly it must have been for a long time, for Pino in alluding to the abandonment, says in his exposition to the Spanish Congress:

> "In this province mines have been found closed, some of them with work tools inside; but it is not known at what time they were discovered and worked. There are many mineral veins in the mountains of gold and silver, as well as of copper, iron, and lead, etc. Some assays have been made of all these metals, and it is said that silver does not yield well except by treatment with mercury, for by fire it all evaporates. If the prov-

ince should be moderately protected, all those mines would again be worked and the public treasury would perhaps receive many thousands of its fifths which it does not get today because the mines are neglected. *

Coal Mines.

From the year in which the Navajoe tribe was subdued, concerning which event the reader has already been informed, the mineral industry came into full development; although coal mines had been worked since the year 1863, in the County of Socorro, but the real development did not start until the year 1896, in that year the second coal mine at Madrid, County of Santa Fé, having been discovered. This was followed by the discovery of other very rich coal mines, at Hagan, Raton, Dawson, Gallup, Maxwell City and other points of the Territory. The federal inspector in his report to the government in the year 1904, states that the coal lying in the mines of New Mexico can be reckoned at 9,000,000,000 tons, the Counties of Colfax, McKinley and Santa Fé, being the principal, or richest counties in that class of mineral.

Copper, Gold and Silver—Humboldt in New Mexico.

Baron A. de Humboldt early in the nineteenth century, on his return to Germany from South America and Mexico, stopped at Santa Fé, New Mexico, where he stayed for three months examining its mountains, and, after he had returned to his native land, wrote his celebrated work, "Political Essay on New Spain," in three volumes in which he speaks very extensively of the wealth of the republics to the south of us, Mexico, Central and South America, and, after saying that in the mountains of those republics fabulous riches exist, affirms that in the mountains of New Mexico "are hidden the riches of the world," † and, according to official statistics, Humboldt did not make a mistake in what he said, for almost all the known minerals, have been discovered in New Mexico; copper in the Counties of Grant, Santa Fé, Doña Ana, Rio

* Pino: "Not. Hist." p. 65. Pino did not know of Chamuscado having discovered mines near Socorro in 1581 (ante)—THE AUTHOR.

† Humboldt: "Ensayo Político," Vol. 3.

Arriba, San Miguel, Otero, Luna, Valencia, Socorro, Colfax, Sandoval, Union, Taos and Mora. This metal, to the year 1897, had produced 700,000 pounds, and from that year to the year 1912, the copper mines have produced 75,000,000 pounds. Gold is found in nearly all the counties of the State, but the richest in that metal are those of Taos, Colfax and Santa Fé. The total output of this metal has reached $1,000,000 a year. Silver, also, is found in all the counties of the State, specially in the Counties of Sierra and Grant; this metal, however, owing to its depreciation in our republic, is not now very extensively mined, yet, there has been taken out from the silver mines of New Mexico during the last fifteen years about $6,000,000. The other minerals, zinc, lead, iron and mica also abound in New Mexico, but have not been developed as much as those we have already mentioned. The zinc mineral according to the statistics alluded to, produces $900,000 a year. The lead mines have produced, on an average, as much as 12,000 tons a year. This mineral has been discovered only in the Counties of Santa Fé, Socorro, Doña Ana, Grant, San Miguel and Luna.

Iron, though it is known to exist in all the counties of the Territory, it has been worked less than the other minerals, there being only one mine under development in the county of Grant which is said to have yielded as much as 100,000 tons in a year. Mica, which is not very plentiful in other parts of the Union is found in large deposits in New Mexico, the principal of them being near Petaca, in the county of Rio Arriba. There is also plenty of that metal in the county of Santa Fe, the inhabitants of the capital having used it for many years before the change of governments, as Pike tells us in his account when he was brought to Santa Fe as a prisoner by order of Governor Alencaster (ante) in 1806. Speaking on that subject Pike says that he observed that mica (talco) was used instead of glass in windows.

Missions and Missionaries—Jesuits—Fathers Kino and Salvatierra and Their Successors—Missions in California, Sonora, Arizona, etc.

In the foregoing chapters we have given a detailed account of the apostolic labors of the Franciscan Fathers prior to and from the time of the conquest to the time when the authority

of the Spanish government ceased in Mexico, in 1821, incidentally mentioning the coming of some Jesuit Fathers into New Mexico; but we did not mention one of the greatest apostles of those times, Father Eusebio Kino who, early in the year 1700, preached the gospel in the extreme west of

His Grace, the late Bishop Machebeuf, of Denver, Colorado. First Vicar of New Mexico in 1851 and afterwards Bishop of Colorado.

New Mexico, or in what forms today the Territory of Arizona. Father Kino is worthy of special mention for having by himself alone, performed as wonderful deeds as those recorded to the credit of the Franciscans of that epoch—for that reason we will here give the history of the labors of this holy man. *

* Archives of the Society of Jesus.

Father Eusebio Kino was a native of Trent, the Capital of South Tirol, a province of Austria. His veneration for the great apostle of the Indies made him take the name of Francis. He owed him his life, and the constant remembrance of his name inspired him with the same zeal and fervor for the conversion of the Gentiles in the far off missions of India. Filled with that intention he refused the honor conferred on him by the Duke of Baviera, as professor of mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt. Being received in the Society of Jesus he asked and obtained leave to be sent to the Indian missions of America. His first mission was in California. By order of his provincial, Fr. Bernardo Parto, he went with Fr. Matias Cogni in the expedition organized by Admiral Don Bernardo de Piñadero to the conquest and colonization of that country. The expedition sailed under the command of Don Isidoro de Atondo y Antillón on the 17th of January, 1663, from the harbor of Chacala and laid anchor on the Bay of La Luz at the end of two weeks journey. The Spaniards did not remain there long, but sailed for 60 miles on the gulf, to which they gave the name of San Bruno, on account of the day on which it was first occupied. The Indians of this neighborhood were different in idiom and manners. They manifested great interest in learning something from the strangers. Father Kino promised himself great success in evangelizing the natives but the settlement was abandoned because of the aridity of the place.

On returning to Mexico, Father Kino petitioned his provincial to send him again to California to complete the task of conversion already commenced. His petition was denied, and he was ordered to the perilous missions of Sonora and Pimeria. On November 20th, 1686, he left Mexico, going first to Guadalajara to obtain a decree from the "Real Audiencia" to the effect that no converted Indian should be employed in the mines during the first five years after his conversion. Arrived at Sonora, he proceeded to form his missions. He founded the missions of Dolores, San Ignacio, San José and "Nuestra Señora de los Remedios." Here he met Father José Maria Salvatierra. The two great missionaries determined that one should open anew the missions of

California, while the other should facilitate the work by keeping the communication open with that deserted land. The means of doing this would be by the construction of a vessel to take provisions from Pimeria to California. The constructor would be Father Kino. It was only at the close of two years that Father Kino was able to commence the work. He had been so busy in his missionary voyages to the different tribes, among the Pimas of southern Arizona, that he could not begin the work until the 21st of March, 1694. After celebrating mass on that day, he began with the aid of Captain Juan Mateo Mange and twenty native carpenters to cut down trees in the vicinity of Caberca. He would have finished the work, had not the provincial intervened. The good missionary obeyed, and availed himself of the interruption to make a trip to the Gila river, about which he heard some converted Indians, of San Javier del Bac, speak. He said mass in one of the great buildings (Casas Grandes) which he saw there. He made in 1697 a new effort, this time accompanied by Captain Cristóval Martin de Bernal. In 1699, in the company of Father Gilg and Captain Juan Mateo de Mange, Father Kino penetrated beyond the confluence of the Colorado and Gila rivers. With the aid of an interpreter he preached at Yuma, Opas, Corómaricopas, and other points. He would have remained longer with these savages, had it not been for a heavy indisposition which obliged him to return to his mission of Dolores. At the close of the same year, he undertook the apostolic journey to the same tribes, accompanied by two priests sent by the Visitor General to examine the state of the mission of Arizona. In 1700 he laid the foundation of the great church named after the apostle of the Indies, Saint Xavier del Bac. He subsequently made another excursion into the Gila river. Thence he went to the Santa Clara Mound, from which he made his observations of the altitude of the Gila river and of its junction with the Colorado. He also discovered that California was a peninsula. In one of his voyages he discovered the Island of Tiburon. In 1701 he made two expeditions to the Colorado river. Having returned to his mission of Dolores, he made preparations for another extensive exploration of Arizona, and on February 5th of 1702, accompanied by Father Manuel

Gonzales, a missionary of Oposura, he started for the confluence of the Colorado and Gila rivers. They visited the tribes of Quilhuimas and preached to them the holy truth of Christianity. The result of this expedition was that the two principal tribes of Arizona, the Quilhuimas and the Yumas, sent messages to Father Antonio Leal, superior of the missions in Northern Mexico, requesting him to send them resident missionaries. In 1706, Father Kino, with Father Manuel de Ojeda, a Franciscan, visited once more the missions of Arizona (then in New Mexico). The Franciscan had an opportunity of admiring the zeal of Father Kino and of observing the remarkable fruits of his labors. He saw by himself that Father Kino, alone and without any aid, and abandoned, so to say, to his own resources, did more in a few years than did the missionaries that came subsequently in fifty or more years. He baptized with his own hand more than 50,000 savages of different tribes in Arizona. He died at the beginning of 1711. His companion, Father Campo, having finished a chapel in the village of Santa Maria Magdalena, in honor of St. Francis Xavier, invited his superior to the dedication of it. Father Kino went, and while he was singing mass, was attacked by pains and died.

The successors of Father Kino came again into New Mexico in the year 1867, that being the first year that they gave missions in New Mexico under the ecclesiastical administration of Archbishop J. B. Lamy, who was at that time in Baltimore in attendance to the second plenary council. At the close of the sessions of said council, Archbishop Lamy departed for Rome with the object of bringing Jesuit missionaries to New Mexico. At Rome, after daily endeavors, he succeeded at last in obtaining from the Rev. Beckx, prefect general of the Society of Jesus, three missionary priests, who were the never forgotten Fathers, Livio Vigilante, Rafael Bianchi and Donato M. Gasparri, with two lay brothers of the same order called Prisco Caso and Rafael Vezza. Said fathers, after their arrival at New Mexico gave several very fruitful missions and established themselves permanently at Las Vegas, where they founded a college (concerning which we shall speak in another part of this work) and La Revista Católica, a weekly religious review, the number of mission-

aries afterwards increasing and settling in Colorado, and other places, where they were entrusted with the spiritual administration of important curates.

The Jesuits—Mission of New Mexico.*

The mission of New Mexico was founded in the year 1867, and at present it numbers fifty-nine fathers, nine scholastic and twenty-six lay brothers.

Its origin is due to Most Reverend Archbishop Lamy, who on a visit to Rome, personally requested Very Rev. Father Beckx, general of the society, to establish a mission in his archdiocese. The request was granted without delay, and Neopolitan Province was ordered to send the first founders. Those selected were Father Livio Vigilante, Father Donato M. Gasparri, Father Raphael Bianchi, Bro. Prisco Caso and Bro. Raphael Vezza. They all joined His Grace on his return home and arrived with him in Santa Fé, August 15, 1867. Thence they proceeded to Bernalillo, where they administered the parish, till they were transferred to Old Albuquerque on the 21st of April, 1868. Thus Old Albuquerque became the first and later the Mother House of the whole mission.

The present field of labor assigned to the Fathers extends to the whole ecclesiastical Province of Santa Fé, which includes the suffragan dioceses of Denver and Tucson. The thriving City of Juarez, Mexico, being a recent addition.

The Catholic population of the Province of Santa Fé, with the present parish of El Paso, is estimated to be about 263, 985 souls, whilst the area is not less than 340,011 square miles.

The Mission has been governed by five Superiors, dependant on the Provincial of Naples, Father Livio Vigilante, (August 15, 1867, to September 2, 1869), Father Donato M. Gasparri, (September 2, 1869, to June 23, 1876), Father Raphael Baldassarre, (June 23, 1876, to September 12, 1880),

* NOTE.—This historical narration of the Jesuits' missionary labors in New Mexico, under the American government, is based upon the official documents of their Society, access to which was had through the kindness and with the assistance of Fathers A. M. Mandalari, S. J., T. Tommasini and other fathers of the Society; to all of whom I am gratefully indebted for this valuable information.—THE AUTHOR.

Father Aloysius M. Gentile, (September 12, 1880, to January 1, 1887), Father Joseph M. Marra, (January 1, 1887, to October 24, 1898), Father Charles M. Pinto, (October 24, 1898) and Rev. F. Joseph Marra, (February 20, 1909).

Father Vigilante's term of office lasted but a short time. He soon returned to the then Maryland Province, from which he had come to the mission. He died at Frederick, Md., July 8, 1895.

He was succeeded by Father Donato M. Gasparri, who was destined by Divine Providence to give the new-born mission stability, influence and development. His extraordinary abilities fully equipped him for his arduous task. When still a young Jesuit in the City of Naples, he gave a public specimen on the lives, Pontificates and principal events of all the Popes, from Saint Peter to Pious IX, with a brilliant success.

The following incident will certainly prove his strong personality. While he was giving a mission in the city of Santa Fé in the year 1881, the Vicar General was informed by the sudden arrival of a letter from a distant country, that a divorced man had so far deceived him and a young woman as to marry her with all the rites of the church. The wedding had taken place in the afternoon. Immediately after the ceremony the Vicar General and the sheriff were at a loss as to the best way of preventing a young woman's ruin, when it occurred to them that the whole matter might be referred to Father Gasparri. He took it in hand asking only for full power to act as effectively and quickly as he could. He accordingly, with a deputy's star on his breast, and followed by two policemen, went to the bride's house, when the wedding festivities were highest and loudest. The bridegroom was called to one side and ordered by the Father to choose at once between the penitentiary, which he deserved as a mean bigamist and a sudden flight from the city that very moment. Needless to add that the Father's order was obeyed. Father Gasparri died at Albuquerque, New Mexico, December 18, 1882.

Father R. Baldassarre was the third superior. His infirm constitution compelled him to return to Naples, at the expiration of his term of office. He died there March 9, 1886.

Father A. M. Gentile was appointed fourth superior. As he had made almost all his studies in Spain, he had the best opportunities for learning the Spanish language, so necessary in New Mexico. Hence he spoke it as a Spaniard and mastered it as a scholar. He was a religious in the strictest sense of the word, untiring in procuring the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. The discomforts of a missionary life were never known to interfere with his pious practices and spiritual exercises. He held the most responsible positions the mission could offer. He was missionary, master of novices, editor, and local superior different times. He died at Las Vegas, New Mexico, September 29, 1907, from nervous prostration contracted while giving missions in the malaria valleys in Sinaloa, Mexico.

Father J. M. Marra succeeded Father Gentile. Father Marra is a scholar of exquisite taste, a thoughtful and forceful writer and a through theologian. Much could be said about him and his successor Father C. M. Pinto, who at present is superior of El Paso, Texas, where he has accomplished a great deal for the glory of God, creating there five churches, and four parochial schools. But we must respect their modesty. When Father Marra's second term of office expired, the General of the Society raised him to the government of the Neopolitan Province. Father Marra was for years the editor-in-chief of the Revista Católica, prefect of studies of the Las Vegas College, and president of the Sacred Heart College, Denver, Colo. He is now again superior of all Jesuit Fathers in New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, and missions, with his headquarters at Las Vegas, N. M.

From their first arrival in New Mexico, the Fathers felt that Almighty God brought them here for a great purpose. They were to help the clergy firstly in defending and maintaining the Catholic faith of the Mexican people and secondly in opposing Protestant fanaticism and bigotry, which, aboard a railroad sytem already in construction was fast coming to this land of primitive religious simplicity. They accordingly adopted a military like plan, defensive and offensive, decided to start a weekly newspaper, to refute errors and calumnies; a college to educate the rising generation, and a series of missions to instruct and warn the mass of the people.

The most consoling results crowned the Fathers toils, proving at the same time that neither their forebodings were unfounded, nor the efficacy of their measures overrated. This plan of campaign in behalf of home and church, small though it may seem in Territory and population, absorbed the hearts of the first Fathers, and forms now the greatest glory of the mission and in the course of time will not be deemed unworthy of a place in the pages of history.

The Revista Católica.

The Revista Católica is a Spanish weekly, religious newspaper. It was first issued by Father Gasparri in Old Albuquerque in 1875. It is now published in Las Vegas. Till the time of its first appearance New Mexico was Catholic in its entirety. But just then the A. T. & S. F. system was first building its railroad toward New Mexico to bring civilization and communication with the East. Unfortunately these advantages were to be accompanied by Protestant bigotry as the recent events which occurred in the Philippine Islands fully demonstrate. It was not difficult to foresee that the boon of civilization, if desirable in many respects, would cause a religious strife in New Mexico.

The Revista Católica enters the arena in defense of Old Mother Church. It fought rigorously unmasking all errors and solving all difficulties against religion. If the people have not been robbed of their faith it is chiefly the influence of this weekly. Its reputation as an ably edited newspaper, is to be largely attributed to the skill and untiring efforts of Father J. M. Marra and Father A. M. Rossi. It has now 4550 subscribers. After thirty-four years of struggle with Protestant ministers, it is now as strenuous in the defense of the church as it was in the very beginning of its life.

The College.

The opening of a Catholic college for the education of youth was, in the opinion of the Fathers, the second means to be adopted for the preservation of the Catholic faith in New Mexico.

In the year 1877, the Las Vegas college was formally opened. A larger number of students than expected came

from all parts of the Territory to avail themselves of the opportunity offered them of receiving a thorough Catholic training. Young men belonging to most the prominent families were formed in that college during that ten years of its existence to that Catholic spirit which they now manifest in public life. Yet in the year 1888, the Las Vegas college was removed to Denver, assuming a new name and enlarging the field of its usefullness. Denver was destined then to become the Queen City of the Rocky Mountain region, and the metropolis of Colorado. Several reasons prompted the Fathers to make this step, the most cogent to them, perhaps was their earnest desire to introduce a higher course of studies according to the *ratio studiorum* of the Society, for which a larger city and a more popular State were undoubtedly better fitted.

Father Salvador Persone was the first president of both colleges. A more desirable site for the present College of the Sacred Heart could hardly have been chosen. The college is empowered to grant University and Collegiate degrees. It is intended for boarders, half-boarders and day-boarders. It has an attendance of 226 pupils and it has given 135 graduates to society and religion.

The Missions.

As soon as the diocesan clergy became acquainted with the Jesuit Fathers, or heard how much good their preaching was doing at Albuquerque, their first parish, did not fail to see that they were the God sent and long needed missionaries of the diocese. The Territory was to enter upon a period of transmission. Two religions, Catholicism and modern religious indifference would soon meet on common ground to struggle for the mastery of the Mexican population. The old and new would engage soon in the blood of battle. The native people were in danger of losing their faith, unless vigorous measures would be taken to instruct them and warn them against religious innovations. The Fathers were the soldiers sent by Almighty God to wage this holy war, and the missionary work among the people, the weapon to be brandished by them. Hence from their first arrival in New Mexico they were called upon a long series

of missions which enlarged a hundred-fold the scope of their work, popularized the name of the society, and, helped in preserving the Catholic faith. Every parish, every mission, every station of the Archdiocese of Santa Fé became gradually the scene of religious fervor. Later on the Fathers visited almost every Mexican parish in New Mexico, Colorado, Texas and Arizona. Finally they visited all California and the states of the Mexican frontier. In these latter states they had to teach the rudiments of religion to a large number of people who never before had the opportunity of making their first holy communion. They gave in all not less than 635 missions to Mexicans. Those who worked longest and hardest in this truly apostolic task were Father P. Tommasini, * Father A. M. Gentile, Father J. M. Montenarelli, and Father J. D. Aponte. Father Edward Barry, pastor of the Sacred Heart church, Denver, Colorado, is continuing now the same good work among the English speaking population of Colorado. He has so far given 39 missions.

The Parishes.

The mission is in charge of twenty parochial or quasi parochial churches in New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas. They are: 1st, church of St. Philip Neri, Old Albuquerque, New Mexico, Rev. P. Tommasini, pastor; 2nd, Holy Trinity church, Trinidad, Colorado, Rev. A. S. Personé, pastor; 3rd, St. Patrick's church, Pueblo, Colorado, Rev. J. B. Schimpf, pastor; 4th, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Pueblo, Colorado, Rev. L. M. Giglio, pastor; 5th, St. Francis Xavier's church, Pueblo, Colorado, Rev. F. X. Kowald, pastor; 6th, Sacred Heart church, Denver, Colorado, Rev. E. Barry pastor; 7th, Holy Family church, Denver, Colorado, Rev. L. Fede, pastor; 8th, Holy Name of Mary church, Del Norte, Colorado, Rev. J. N. Montenarelli, pastor; 9th, Our Lady of Guadalupe church, Conejos, Colorado, Rev. G. Massa, pastor; 10th, Sacred Heart church, El Paso, Texas, Rev. M. I. Zaguirre, pastor; 11th, Immaculate Conception church, El Paso, Texas, Rev. A. Roy, pastor; 12th, St. Ignatius church, El Paso, Texas

* Father P. Tommasini is now 76 years old, his first missionary work was performed in California where he preached 44 missions in 1877. In New Mexico he has preached 20 missions.—THE AUTHOR.

Rev. G. Bertolero, pastor; 13th, Guardian Angel church, El Paso, Texas, Rev. A. Gilbert, pastor; 14th, St. Rosalia church, El Paso, Texas, Rev. J. Lafon, pastor; 15th, Our Lady of Guadalupe church, St. Elizario, Texas, Rev. F. X. Tommasini, pastor; 16th, Our Lady of Mount Carmel church, Isleta, Texas, Rev. J. Cordova, pastor; 17th, Our Lady of Guadalupe, church, Juarez, Mexico, Rev. C. M. Pinto, pastor; 18th, Immaculate Conception church, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Rev. A. M. Mandalari, pastor; 19th, Sacred Heart church, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Rev. P. Tommasini, pastor; 20th, Alamosa, Colorado, Rev. F. Bueno, pastor.

The churches of Old Albuquerque, Juarez and Isleta are very old and deserve special mention.

The church of St. Philip Neri of Old Albuquerque was erected before the year 1706, the baptismal register in possession of the Fathers dating from that year. When the Jesuit Fathers were placed in charge of this church, Old Albuquerque was one of the most important towns of New Mexico. It has since lost all its historical antiquity. Albuquerque, a new American city sprang up at one mile distance usurping its name, inhabitants and importance. Old Albuquerque is now but a country village, and a "magni nominis umbra."

Nor is its history all glorious. The town had heen for years the unhappy receptacle of a United States garrison, which, although charged with the defense of the home and church from the sudden and brutal inroads of the Indians, put instead to flight that patriarchal simplicity of manners and strictness of morals so charmingly beautiful in the Mexican people. The Fathers had to till a field of briars. But God, who had given zeal to their hearts, crowned their labors with success. The parish of St Philip Neri is one of the glories of the mission.

In the year 1872, the first parochial school in the diocese was formally opened under the direction of Father Vito Tromby, S. J.

The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Juarez, Mexico, is the oldest of the missions. The settlement of El Paso del Norte, now Juarez, was established by the first conquerors of New Mexico. The present church was erected in 1645.

The Franciscan Fathers were in charge of the parish from the year 1662 till the close of the eighteenth century, when it passed into the hands of the diocesan clergy. The Jesuit Fathers were placed in charge of it in 1885. Very Rev. Father Pinto is pastor. He has beautified the old church, improved the rectory and revived the piety of the faithful to such a degree that it would be difficult to see traces of the abandoned church, ruinous rectory and lax congregation of two decades ago.

The church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Isleta, Texas, is also very old and historical. It was built in 1692, the parochial records dating from the 19th of May of that year. It was successfully in charge first of the Franciscan Fathers, and then of the diocesan clergy. The Jesuit Fathers came to administer to this parish in 1880.

We close this short sketch of the missions of New Mexico and Colorado by giving a summary of the Fathers' work as it appeared in last year's report.

The Fathers had built and conduct one college; attendance 266, graduates 135.

They are in charge of nineteen parochial or quasi-parochial churches and attend 121 missions or stations with 78,420 total Catholic population. They erected 14 parochial and 50 mission churches. In all these parochial and mission churches, 65 missions have so far been given in English and Spanish, about 165,213 communions every year are distributed to the faithful. Fifty-five sodalities are in a flourishing condition, and the Apostleship of Prayer is established and promoted with about 11,082 members.

The Fathers have also erected and conduct ten parochial schools which are taught by sisters. Attendance, 2,954; graduates, 143.

They give every year about forty retreats or tridums.

As regards for these works undertaken for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, and endured with apostolic spirit, all the Fathers desire is that they may find comfort in this life in the words of the apostle "gratia Dei in me vacua non fuit." And in the life to come rest, "laboribus suis," in the vision of God.

The Franciscans In Our Times.

The Franciscan Fathers of the Third Order are also found at present in New Mexico, having under their charge the curates of Peña Blanca, Jemes and Roswell, and occasionally giving missions in the parishes entrusted to other priests.

Sisters of Charity Orphan Asylums—Protestant Asylums.

New Mexico possesses several orphan asylums under the care of the sisters of the Catholic Church, as well as under the charge of ladies of the Protestant faith. The first sisters who opened orphan asylums in New Mexico were the Sisters of Charity. In the year 1865, the Most Illustrious Bishop Lamy succeeded in obtaining from the Mother-house of the Sisters of Charity, of Cedar Grove, four sisters whose names were: Sister Vicenta, Sister Teodosia, Sister Paulina and Sister Catalina. These sisters arrived in Santa Fé in September, 1865, and opened the first orphan asylum and hospital with Sister Teodosia as superioress. From that year down to the present time the sisters have increased in number and have established institutes for orphans with schools in several parts of the state, having built very costly asylums and sanatoriums, one in Santa Fé, and one in Albuquerque, the last mentioned being founded in 1870, due to the efforts of Father Manecani, S. J.

Orphan Asylum at Santa Fé.

The Sisters of Charity have charge at Santa Fé of a hospital and orphan asylum. In the hospital proper, poor and helpless patients are attended, their number reaching sometimes to more than a hundred a year. At the orphan asylum, orphan children are received, and are given food, raiment and instruction, their number varying from 46 to 80 a year.

Hospitals at Albuquerque, Silver City, Gallup, Las Vegas and Deming.

At Albuquerque the hospital is in charge of the Sisters of Charity. At Silver City the hospital is in care of the Sisters of Mercy. In the same city there is another hospital under the care of two ladies in which treatment is given to poor

sick persons. At Deming, Gallup and Las Vegas there are also hospitals under the care of private persons. All the establishments above noted receive funds for the maintenance of the poor and helpless from the public treasury. These remarks close this chapter, and we shall treat in the next of education, penal institutions, population and other matters.

CHAPTER X.

Primitive Teaching—Private School and First Public School Laws—Private Colleges—Barreiro's Report—Message of Governor Vigil—First School for Teaching English—Bishop Lamy—Second School for Teaching English—School for Girls—Sisters of Loretto—Incorporation of the Sisters of Loretto—Property and Improvements of the Sisters of Loretto and Their Value—Christian Brothers—The Brothers Start for New Mexico—Opening of the College—New Director—Brothers Geramius and Domiciano—New Director and New Era—The Good Done by the College—Silver Jubilee—Golden Jubilee—Sisters of Charity—Las Vegas College—(Colegio de Las Vegas)—Parochial School at Santa Fé—Public Schools—Superintendent of Public Instruction—County School Superintendent—School and Municipal Districts—The Counties of the Territory—Number of Students—Funds—Private Sectarian Schools—Pedagogical Institutions of the State of New Mexico—Additional Funds—Indian Schools—Summary—Penal and Other Institutions—Population of New Mexico at Different Epochs.

In this chapter the reader shall be presented in the first place with the history of education from the establishment of the first school in 1599 by the Franciscans who came along with Oñate.* The reader will remember to have read in former chapters extracts from the memorandum or account made by Father Fr. Benavides in the year 1630, to the King of Spain, in Madrid, in which said Father gave a narrative in detail of the industrial schools and shops which up to that date, the Franciscans had established in New Mexico, as well as of the minerals which had been discovered, and, finally, of the precise condition in which New Mexico was found at that epoch. In that report † Fr. Benavides tells us how many schools and work shops the Franciscans had in each pueblo.

* Although the Indians of New Mexico began to receive instruction in reading etc., as early as 1581, by Fr. Agustin Rodriguez and his companions as has already been stated (ante).—THE AUTHOR.

† That report is given as first appendix of this work.—THE AUTHOR.

But as the Spaniards were expelled in the year 1680, it must be understood that the first fruits of education implanted in New Mexico by the Franciscan Fathers ended with the expulsion of Otermin in the said year, 1680, without there remaining any possibility for the schools to continue until after the reconquest by De Vargas in 1692-1693, when the Franciscan Fathers again came to continue the education of the Indians and Spanish children.

We have already seen in the first chapter of the fourth book, of this work how, in the year 1721, public schools were established in New Mexico by decree of the King, directed by Franciscan Fathers, in all the pueblos, and Spanish settlements, thus widening the educational sphere which said Fathers re-established in New Mexico in 1693-4, the year of the reconquest by De Vargas; so that education in New Mexico was implanted in its soil by the Catholic Church prior to the year 1598-9. There being no other statistics (except those furnished by the Franciscan Fathers already quoted) which stretch further back than the year 1800, we have to take, as our starting point, from that date what we find in Barriero, Pino and Escudero, who wrote their works in the years 1812, 1832, and 1843, respectively.

In Pino * we read that by virtue of a royal decree of June 30th, 1777, and a brief of His Holiness, the Pope, of November 17, 1777, a building was erected for a college, or seminary for the education of religious persons, which is supposed to have been constructed in Santa Fé, as Pino says nothing about that, but does say that with the conclusion of the edifice everything came to an end, as not a school was ever opened in the seminary for lack of resources.

Private School in Santa Fé.

Attorney Barriero in his "Adición" to Pino's work on page 62, tells us that in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, there was a private school in Santa Fé, which he describes in this way:

> "At the home of Vicar General Don Juan Rafael Rascon, the young man Guadalupe Miranda (who subse-

* Pino "Not. Hist.," p. 31.

quently became Secretary of State.—The Author) renders this Territory a very important service in teaching to several young men the elements of Spanish grammar, Latin, and the rudiments of philosophy; the constancy of citizen Miranda deserves just eulogy, and it is deserved, no less, by the youths who avail themselves of this opportunity, for they struggle against great inconveniences, such as the lack of books, etc. May heaven grant New Mexico a scientific establishment in which her sons may be instructed according to the enlightenment of our century."

Barriero continues speaking of the criminal neglect in which the government had kept the youth of New Mexico, and referring to the subject of public schools, says:

"Comparatively speaking, nothing could be better endowed in the Territory than the establishment of schools; yet nothing is found in a more pitiable condition than the schools; no results from the primary teaching are evident; this misfortune being due, in part, to the neglect, jealousy, and ignorance of some of the teachers, as well as to the little zeal shown by the authorities."

Public Schools.

Speaking on the same subject Barriero makes an exposition showing the towns in the Territory which had public primary schools, and the salaries paid to teachers; from which we see that Santa Fé, San Miguel del Vado, Santa Cruz de La Cañada, Taos, Albuquerque, and Belen, were the only places in which public schools were kept, and that the pay to teachers was: In Santa Fé, $500 a year; in San Miguel del Vado, Taos, and Belen, $250 in each place; and in Santa Cruz and Albuqueque, $300 in each place.

From the above statement two conclusions may be drawn, viz: That the people of New Mexico, notwithstanding their injustifiable neglect by the government, and the continual peril to which the country was exposed on account of the incursions of the Indians, heartily desired to give its youth the best education possible, under the strained circumstances surrounding them and, secondly, that despite its lack of in-

dustries such as manufactures, and others expedients, they made great sacrifices for gathering the means of paying their teachers.

Private Schools—First Public School Law Approved April 27, 1822.

There were in New Mexico, besides the schools mentioned by Barreiro, other private schools whose preceptors were brought from Mexico and Spain, at private expense; among them was the school established by Don Geronimo Becerra, at Abiquiu, towards the close of the eighteenth, or the beginning of the nineteenth century. In that school many of the foremost men in New Mexico, of that epoch, were educated, among them Rev. Father Antonio José Martinez stands the most conspicuous—a man who subsequently cut such a prominent figure under the governments of Spain, Mexico and the United States; but it was not until April 27, 1822, that the first step was taken to again establish, by law, public schools in New Mexico. At its session of that date the "Diputación Provincial" approved such a law—which failed of producing any results through the lack of public funds. Some good however, was accomplished by it, because private wealthy citizens contributed liberally to keep it up for several years. Again in 1823, the "Diputación Provincial" passed a second school law for the establishment of a High School at El Paso (now Juarez). In that school Latin and Spanish grammars had to be taught. These laws we will now consider:

First School Law—April 27, 1822.

The law referred to was not a law as we now understand that term, no, it was a resolution of the assembly, in other words, a motion of one of its members as follows: "Mr. Vigil made the following proposition. I move that H. E. (His Excellency) take the necessary steps for the education of the youth in accordance with the authority with which he is invested, promoting the activities and performance of such an important matter by the Ayuntamientos (municipalities). The motion, after full discussion, was approved by directing the said Ayuntamientos to proceed without delay

to the formation of public schools, of primary grades, in accordance with the means of each community" (Pueblo.) *

Second Law on Education—March 17, 1823.

March 17, 1823, the asamblea, on motion, adopted a proposition submitted by the Ayuntamientos of El Paso (now City of Juarez), which settlement was then under the jurisdiction of New Mexico, for the establishment at that place of a high school for teaching grammar in both the Spanish and Latin languages. Don Luis Diaz de Lujan—who presented the proposition—agreeing to defray the expenses of the school and to teach the children of all those who would contribute to its support. The Ayuntamiento of El Paso was charged with the care, responsibility and compliance of this law. †

Private Colleges.

Two Catholic priests in the year 1826, established at their own expense, two colleges from which much good resulted for New Mexico, these priests being the Vicar, Agustin Fernández, at Santa Fé, and Padre Martinez, at Taos. From those colleges came many of the men who subsequently made laws for the country. In 1827, there were in New Mexico, in addition to the colleges above mentioned, seventeen schools

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NOTE—* "El Sr. Vigil hizo la proposición siguiente: Pido que se seiva S. E. promober la Educación de la jubentud como una de las atribuciones que le corresponden, probocando la actividad y desempeño de los Ayuntamientos en esta importantisima materia. Admitida á discusión se resolvio que se oficie á los expresados Ayuntamientos que evacúen cuanto ántes la formación de las Escuelas publicas, de primeras letras, segun las circumstancias de cada Pueblo—Session of April 27, 1822—Journal No. 11, page 8. Surveyor General's Office, Santa Fe, N. M.—THE AUTHOR.

† Sesion del dia 17 de Marzo de 1823. "Se procedio á la lecura de una proposición que á acordado el Ayuntamiento del Pueblo del Paso sobre la creación de un establecimiento para enseñar la gramática en las lenguas Castellana y Latina, segun el plan que á dicho Ayuntamiento á propuesto Don Luis Diaz de Lujan que se á ofrecido á dar la enseñanza á los niños sufragando los gastos de dicho establecimiento los mismos interesados, se resolvio se aprobara dicho plan y que se encargue dho Ayuntamiento de vigilar el cumplimiento del director y asistentes de los niños." Journal No. 40 page 40. Arch. in Surveyor General's office, Santa Fe, N. M.—THE AUTHOR.

with an equal number of teachers, and in 1844, schools had been established in all points of importance, Governor Don Mariano Martinez having, on that year, thrown the weight of his prestige, helping with his own money, in the establishment of public schools in Santa Fé, in which literary and military instruction was given, the governor, also, having brought two professors from Europe, whose names were Francisco Gonzales and Eduardo Taty.

Contributions and Appropriations to Pay Teachers—1824.

On December 17, 1824, the "asamblea departamental" appropriated the sum of $2,000.00 for the payment of salaries due school teachers. There were no funds available to pay them and the said amount of $2,000.00 was taken from the funds set apart for the support of the company of soldiers stationed in Santa Fé.

Public Schools Again Established.

At its session of September 10, 1825, the assembly decreed again the establishment of public schools in the Territory, but, for lack of funds, they were to depend on voluntary contributions. Fathers Antonio José Martinez and Juan Felipe Ortiz, both members of the assembly, were charged with the duty of organizing the schools and they were instructed to have them opened the following month.

Salary of Father Alvares.

On November 7, 1825, the asamblea agreed, by unanimous vote, to pay Rev. Sebastian Alvares the salary of $1,000.00 annually, for his services as director (principal) of the city public schools. Don Francisco Ortiz made the offer of a school house for ten years, free of rent, which offer was accepted.

Governor Francisco Xavier Donates $1,000.00.

At the session of April 13, 1826, there were no funds to pay the teachers, a contribution was taken up, Governor Xavier (Javier) contributing with the sum of $1,000.00.

Vicar Fernández Assumes Charge of the College.

The report of Vicar Agustin Fernández was considered by the asamblea on May 19, 1826. Father Fernández's report

showed that the rules of discipline for the public college in the Capital, Santa Fé, had been prepared, approved and were being enforced.

In the year 1827, there was besides the college one more public school in Santa Fé under the charge of Professor Teodocio Quintana. Professor Quintana, at the session of the assemblea of August of that year, reported that his predecessor had only reported to him an enrollment of 29 pupils. The alcaldes were directed to take the necessary steps to increase the enrollment and attendance of pupils. The foregoing review of educational conditions in New Mexico prior to 1846 is a true representation of the struggles and laudable efforts made by the people of the Territory during the darkest period of their history, when they had to face not only the savages who harassed them day and night, but poverty itself. Their constancy was truly marvelous.

It is, them, seen that, at the time of the annexation of New Mexico to the United States, the mental condition of New Mexico, from an educational viewpoint, was lamentable, and that for the purpose of remedying somewhat the sad situation, Don Donaciano Vigil, who was acting as governor after the murder of Governor Bent, recommended to the legislature, which met that year in Santa Fé, under the military government, that an appropriation should be made in order to foment the education of the youth of New Mexico. Governor Vigil uses the following words:

Message of Governor Vigil.

"Actually there is but one public school in the Territory, situated in the City of Santa Fé, and supported by the county funds. To this school all children may attend, but the funds of the county are insufficient to employ more than one teacher....."

"It stands to reason that when there are no private schools or academies, the means for obtaining an education are very limited; for this reason the means to give all an equal chance of being educated should be increased, that is, an even chance to the poor as well as to the rich; and, if it were possible, to establish a school, in each point, city and village in the Territory. If our government is to be republican, if it is

to be based upon democratic principles, and if the will of the majority is to be one day the law and government of the people, it is of the highest importance that that will be properly observed. The people must be enlightened.....so that every man may be able to read and inform himself of the events of the day and of the important subjects which relate to his government and country.....The world is progressing, and how shall we be able to draw the benefits of that advancement if we do not educate our people? True it is that the expedients which we can dispose of today are few, nevertheless, in order to promote so laudable an object, they can be increased and economized. All that the legislature may be able to do in favor of education, I most earnestly request them to do, assuring them that for that purpose I shall cooperate with my whole heart." *

First School for Teaching English—Bishop Lamy—Establishment of Public Schools.

Just as education was due to the Catholic church from the time of the first colonization of New Mexico to the date when the change of governments was effected (for neither the Spanish nor the Mexican governments did much for the promotion of education, but rather neglected it entirely, leaving it all to the church) so also, immediately after the change of flags, it was the Catholic church that took the first step for the establishment of schools in New Mexico. The treatment which New Mexico received at the hands of the American government from 1846 down to our own days, regarding education, despoils us of the right to censure the governments of Spain and Mexico for having neglected the education of New Mexico's children, for our government has done nothing except having, but very recently, aided us with a few thousands of dollars, annually, for the payment of our public schools; but those few thousand dollars have not come out of the national treasury, but from the sales and leases made by the government of our own public lands; so that all the education given in New Mexico, from the change of flags to the present time, is due primarily to the most illustrious Arch-

* Ritch. "New Mex."

bishop Lamy, of grateful memory; to the churches of other denominations, and to the sons of New Mexico themselves, who have, since 1863, organized a system of public schools throughout the Territory, our treasury furnishing the funds for the support of the same.

First Public School Law—1863.

In that year (1863) the first law was passed whereby the management of the schools was placed in the hands of the Governor, the Secretary of the Territory and Bishop Lamy, and from that year to this date, all the legislatures have been passing new laws for the broadening of education, so that today New Mexico is not behind any of the States of the Union in the intellectual advancement of its youth. In another part of this chapter we shall treat of the share the public schools have had in the intellectual development in New Mexico, as we must now turn back to our starting point, namely, the first English school established in New Mexico under the American flag.

First English School.

In the year 1851, when his Lordship, Bishop Lamy, had done away with the difficulties he met on his arrival, he took the first step to establish in New Mexico a school with the object of teaching English. He brought an English professor whose name was E. Noel, who opened a school at the Capital, and kept it in operation for several years. Several of the men who were educated in that school figured afterwards in public life, among them, Don Demetrio Perez, a respectable old gentleman who still lives at Las Vegas, New Mexico, he being the person who gave the author the information regarding the establishment of said school (which fact has been ignored by other historians of New Mexico through lack, perhaps, of any knowledge of it). Don Demetrio Perez has figured in public life in high positions.

Second English School.

In 1852, the second private school for teaching English was established in Santa Fé, its teacher being a lady named Howe,

but there was at the same time the public school already referred to, supra, and a private school conducted by a teacher named Pacheco. Things remained thus in the matter of schools until the year 1863, when the first school law already mentioned was passed. For female children the school of the Sisters of Loretto was next founded; to this school we shall now refer.

School for Girls—Sisters of Loretto.

His Lordship, Bishop Lamy, recognizing the urgent need that existed for the establishment of a school for girls, started for the east in the year 1852, for the purpose of attending the plenary council of Baltimore, and, also, with the object of bringing sisters for the purpose of establishing a convent at Santa Fé. Success crowned his wishes. He returned the same year bringing with him the first sisters who founded the school, or academy of Loretto in the Capital, and from which we have today ramifications in the principal parts of the State. *

First Sisters.

On June 27, 1852, six sisters accompanied by Bishop Lamy, started for New Mexico from the Mother-house of Loretto, in Kentucky. One of them was Sister Matilda, who came as superioress, but who died on the trip, between Kansas and Independence, a victim of cholera, a disease that attacked two other sisters, one of whom was obliged to return to Kentucky, and the other, Magdalena Hayden, was appointed superioress. With her along, the caravan left Independence on the first of August of that year, reaching Santa Fé on September 26th following, having suffered in the long trip across the plains almost unbearable hardships, and lost one of their number who died on the road, her remains being buried in the desert. On the first of January, 1853, the first school of the sisters, under the title of "Our Lady of Light," opened its doors to the girls of New Mexico in Archbishop's Lamy's own house, where the sisters kept the school until the year 1857, when they bought a two story house which stood in precisely the location where stands today the

* The information that follows has been obtained by the author from the mother superior of the principal convent at Santa Fé.

School of Immaculate Conception, Albuquerque, under the care of the Sisters of Charity.

main structure of the sumptuous and elegant buildings which form the Academy and Convent of Loretto, in the Capital. The small number of six sisters which originally came was gradually increased from year to year with the advent of new sisters and the ingress into the order of young Spanish-American girls of New Mexico, the sisters being thus enabled to establish convents in other parts of the Territory. They established a convent at Taos in 1873, in Mora, in 1864, and in the City of Denver, Colorado, in the same year. Those convents were followed by the following: One at Las Vegas, another at Las Cruces, another at Socorro, and another at San Elizario, Texas.

Deaths of Mothers Magdalena and Francisca Lamy.

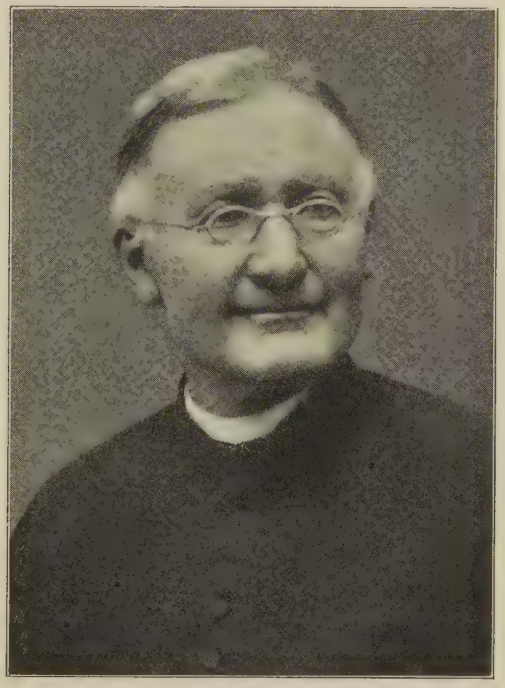
Sister Magdalena passed to a better life on October 27th, 1894, having suffered from almost complete paralysis from the year 1881.

She was succeeded by Sister Francisca Lamy, a niece to Archbishop Lamy, who was afterwards sent to Kentucky as assistant to the Mother Superior of the order, and who passed to her reward in Kentucky in March, 1912. The other mothers who have administered the convent, respectively, are Sister Catherine Connor, Sister Lucia Perea, Sister Bárbara, and Sister Rosina, the actual superioress.

For the purpose of exercising legal rights and of enjoying the protection of the law, the sisters of Loretto incorporated their school under the laws of New Mexico in 1874, from which date they have issued diplomas to their graduates.

Said sisters have, in the City of Santa Fé, the best school buildings this side of St. Louis, Missouri, namely; the beautiful and very costly chapel constructed in 1878, and about which we have already spoken, and the fine academy building which they erected in 1881. Both institutions are equipped with all modern conveniences and up-to-date furniture; they also built a three story brick convent in the year 1892, on the precise place where the first edifice or adobe house of two stories bought by them in 1857 stood before and which at that time was known by the name of "*Casa Americana*" (American house) all of which said property is worth about $88,000, without including in this amount the valuable library

which has over a thousand volumes of the best known authors. The number of young ladies—boarders and day-scholars—who attend the school is on an average, from 146 to 200. The value of the property of the sisters in other parts of the state, as given by the Superintendent of Public Instruction of New Mexico is as follows: The convent at



Rev. Peter Eguillon, second Vicar of New Mexico under Archbishop Lamy.

Las Cruces, $50,000; the convents at Socorro, Mora, Taos and Las Vegas, is not given in the official report of said superintendent but all of said convents are costly edifices.

Christian Brothers.

Before coming into the narrative of the advent of the Christian Brothers, it is but just to offer a word of gratitude and pleasing remembrance to two of the apostolic co-laborers of the Most Illustrious Bishop Lamy, who, during the

first years of the territorial government, under the American government, were real apostles and true missionaries, and, therefore, are worthy of a great share of the glory with which grateful history decks the brows of the Most Illustrious Bishop Lamy. They are Fathers P. J. Machebeuf, first vicar general of New Mexico, and his successor, Father

Rev. A. M. Mandalari, S. J. Pastor, Albuquerque, N. M.

Peter Eguillon. These two zealous missionaries co-operated with Bishop Lamy in a very efficient manner in the organization of the new ecclesiastical government and in the establishment of the schools of the Sisters and the Christian Brothers, the bringing of the Jesuits and other religious persons.

Now we must state that to the zeal of said Father Machebeuf and his successor Father Eguillon, New Mexico owes as

great a debt as the one she owes to Lamy. Machebeuf acted in his sacerdotal ministry in several points of New Mexico, first as Vicar General, then as curé of Albuquerque, afterwards was made bishop of Arizona, and, finally, was given the bishopric of Colorado, where he died. In 1858, Father Eguillon, at that time Vicar General of New Mexico, was sent to France by Bishop Lamy with the object of bringing Christian Brothers for the establishment of colleges in New Mexico. His trip to France gave the results which both he and Bishop Lamy longed for, as he obtained from Brother Phillip, Superior General of the Christian Brothers in France, the following brothers: Hilarion, Gondulph, Geramius and Galmier.

The Brothers Start for New Mexico.

On August 17th, 1859,* said Brothers sailed for America in company of Father Eguillon and nine priests (Rev. J. B. Salpointe, afterwards Archbishop, being one of them) whom Father Eguillon was bringing to New Mexico, arriving in New York without any difficulty at the end of the month and remaining in that place for some days to take a needed rest from the toils of their ocean trip, and resuming their journey with the addition of one more brother, Optatien, who had been added to them at that place by the brother director of the Christian Brothers in New York. They traversed the plains and deserts, undergoing all sorts of sufferings, besides being daily exposed to be murdered by the Indians, and arrived in Santa Fé, on October 27th of that year, after two months and two days of an annoying journey. His Lordship, the bishop, gave them lodging in his own dwelling until the next day, when the house in which they were to commence their first scholastic tasks, was delivered to them. That house was an adobe building situated in the same place where stands today the sumptuous structure which forms at present the main portion of Saint Michael's College, but as the house was not provided with the necessary and proper furniture, the brothers had to sleep, for several nights, on

*The narrative that follows is taken from Salpointe: "Soldiers of the Cross," and from the archives of St. Michael's College.

mattresses stretched out on the bare ground, there being no lumber floors in the house. Meanwhile the brothers took their meals at the bishop's. Two or three days after, the brothers commenced to repair the building, furnishing it with five chairs, five mattresses, five blankets, and a few benches, all of which was donated to them by his Lordship, Bishop Lamy, whose poverty was equal to that of the brothers.

Opening of the College—Brother Hilarion First Director.

The ninth of November, 1859, marks another luminous page in the history of New Mexico in its educational annals, as luminous as the one marked by the opening of the Convent of the Sisters of Loretto, on the first of January, 1853. On that day, pupils began to be received at St. Michael's College, with Brother Hilarion at the head; but as Brother Hilarion would not establish a school for boarders, for lack of means to keep it up, Archbishop Lamy took upon himself the responsibility of paying the Brothers from his own purse $800.00 for the five Brothers, a year, and gave them, at the same time, their food, lodging and washing; the food was to consist of coffee, bread, meat and vegetables. The college thus continued under such conditions for two years. On the 22nd of December, 1859, the school was opened to boarders giving the college great help, for the brothers could then account a number of pupils which varied from 100 to 250 day scholars and 30 boarders.

The New Directors.

On February 7th, 1862, Brother Hilarion had to return to France in obedience to the call of his superior, being succeeded by Brother Gondulph, who acted as director until September 10th, 1862, when he was succeeded by Brother Geramius. Brother Hilarion, at the time of his departure for France, left the college well furnished, with a valuable library, all the buildings in good condition, and without any debt. Brother Gondulph succeeded in increasing the prestige the college already had in the Territory, erected new buildings, put on new roofs, and a new wooden floor in the

Church of San Miguel, * and improved in other respects the condition of the college before leaving it in charge of brother Geramius, his successor.

Brothers Geramius and Domiciano.

Under the administration of these two Brothers who were directors, alternately, until 1870, the college continued to prosper, and with its progress, New Mexico continued to receive the benefits of true education. In June 1869, Brother Geramius was transferred to South America, as Directory of the Christian Brother's College, at Quito, in the Republic of Ecuador, Brother Domiciano assuming temporarily the charge of the college at Santa Fé, acting as director for only four months, or to the first of November, 1870.

New Director and New Era—Brother Botulph.

On November 1st, 1870, Brother Botulph became the president of the college, and was the director who acted longest, acting as such until the ninth of February, 1905, the date on which he died at the Capital, and was succeeded by Brother Hermes, who has also already descended to the tomb, his successor being Brother James Walter, and the latter's, Brother Edward, the actual president of the college.

Tribute to Brother Botulph.

The State owes Brother Botulph a great debt of gratitude, because it was he who, through incredible sacrifices, succeeded in constructing the fine buildings that today make up the College of Saint Michael, which, it may be said without any fear of contradiction, are the best of their class, not only in New Mexico, but in Colorado and Arizona, their cost being, including the fine library, not less than $200,000. Out of that sum, about $5,000 were collected for the construction of said buildings; for the purchase of modern school furnishing and the library by Brother Botulph, through individual contribution for which purpose he made several trips throughout all points in the Territory; the rest

*The reader is reminded that said Church of San Miguel is the same built by Oñate at the beginning of the seventeenth century—THE AUTHOR.

was realized by means of what the Brothers have been able to save from what they collect for tuition fees for the education given by them to their pupils.

The Good Done by the College.

The benefit which New Mexico has received through the education imparted by these Brothers is imponderable. From its halls thousands of young men have come forth who have done honor to the college; have done honor to New Mexico, and are a credit to Archbishop Lamy, his worthy successors in the Archiepiscopate, and, in no small degree, to all and each of the good Brothers who, by means of their valuable services, have left imperishable memories in thousands of grateful hearts, among which, is found that of the humblest of them, the author of this work, who avails himself of this opportunity to manifest his profound gratitude to the Most Illustrious Archbishop Lamy, in the first place, and to his never to be forgotten teachers, the Christian Brothers.

Silver Jubilee.

On October 29th, 1884, the college celebrated the Silver Jubilee or the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence, and on the days 19th, 20th and 21st of the month of June, 1909, it celebrated its Golden Jubilee, or the fiftieth year of its existence. The celebration in October, 1884, was confined to a musical feast by the college band, pontifical mass celebrated by his Lordship, Archbishop J. B. Salpointe, said prelate pronouncing at the same time a most tender and pathetic allocution on the establishment of the college and on the immense benefit received by the people of New Mexico through the same; the days' celebration closing with evening ceremonies, a feature of them being a great display of fireworks.

Golden Jubilee.

To the author of this work, the days 19, 20 and 21 of June, 1909, are the days of the most grateful remembrance in his life, as during those three days in the company of hundreds of his schoolmates, all of them already advanced in years, he was able to contribute his mite in giving splendor to the

grand celebration. This is not the place to give full swing to the sentiments and emotions which that reunion awakened in the heart of the author; the reader can very readily imagine them. The author will now give the description of said celebration by reproducing the programme, as published in periodicals edited in English and Spanish, and some comments by ex-alumni of said college who become the echo on that occasion of the sentiments of the great number of the Spanish-American and Anglo-American editors of New Mexico, educated in said college, and who vied with each other in dedicating phrases, pregnant with gratitude, in praise of their *alma mater*. From "El Independiente" of Las Vegas, N. M., July 17, 1909, we reproduce what follows:

"The following is the programme observed on the days 19th, 20th, and 21st of June, 1909:

June 19th.

"The reception committee receives the outside alumni at the depot, at 1:20 o'clock p. m. Annual reunion of the ex-alumni and visit to the city at 3 p. m. Base ball game—5 p. m. Reunion of the board of directors—8 p. m. Elocution contest by the alumni, actually students.

Sunday, June 20th.

8:30 a. m. Reunion of the old alumni at the college. 9:00 a. m. The ex-alumni and the present students march to the cathedral with the college band at their head. 9:30 a. m. Solemn Pontifical Mass, His Lordship, Archbishop Pitaval officiating; sermon by the chaplain of the college, Rev. Jules Deraches. 11:30 a. m. The students give a reception to the old alumni. 12:30 p. m. Refreshments after the old style of the college. 1:30 p. m. Reunion of the old alumni in which addresses were delivered. 5:15 p. m. Benediction of the Holy Sacrament at the College Chapel. 6 p. m. Reception banquet in the teaching hall. 6:15 p. m. Reception to Most Illustrious J. B. Pitaval, where he is welcomed by the governor of New Mexico.

Monday, June 21st.

9:30 a. m. Requiem Mass at the college chapel for the dead members of the faculty, the old students, and the bene-

factors of the college. Celebrant, Rev. G. H. Dougherty; sermon, by Rev. A. Fourchegú. 11:30 a. m. Reunion of the board of directors and the organization of the association of the college ex-alumni. 2:20 p. m. Annual examination exercises presided over by his Lordship, Archbishop Pitaval. Address to the graduates by ex-alumnus, Nestor Montoya. 8 p. m. Reception to the old alumni and their families by the governor of the Territory. Address of welcome by the mayor of the city.

Camilo Padilla—Revista Ilustrada.

The preceding programme was literally carried out. The "Alumni Association" was organized with Frank A. Hubbell presiding officer, a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee composed of one ex-alumni member from each county in the State. We give below the comments made by Mr. Camillo Padilla, editor of "La Revista Ilustrada," of El Paso, Texas, an ex-alumnus of the college, and, not to be lavish, we will say that the expressions of Mr. Padilla represented the spirit of the other editors, ex-alumni, Don Nestor Montoya of "La Bandera Americana," and of the other newspapers of New Mexico. In his "Revista Ilustrada," third year, numbers 4 and 5, after giving a sketch of the college, Mr. Padilla says:

"Few establishments of public instruction can count in the pages of their history such anniversaries of their foundation, as that which St. Michael's College of Santa Fe, N. M., is going to commemorate on the 19th, 20th and 21st of June of the current year.

"St. Michael's College was founded fifty years ago by the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine and from that remote epoch the institution has progressed in an astounding manner, several generations having passed through its halls, not only of New Mexico, but of many points in other States of the Union.

The most exalted personages in the politics, sciences, arts and industries of the Territory (now State) spent the years of their childhood in that establishment of instruction where they drank from the well-spring of the wisdom of their

teachers, the gallant science which raised them to the highest positions in New Mexico.

"Today there is not a single individual of our most conspicuous politicians, of our most able bankers, of our ablest men who has not been an alumnus of that important center of instruction where they learned how to make the struggle for existence; where all obstacles are overcome; where they fitted themselves to triumph on every line." * * *

Said editor, after mentioning the names of several gentlemen, prominent in the civic world, all of them ex-alumni of the college, and, after dedicating a few tender phrases in "remembrance" of the event, closes with these words:

"The director of this "Revista", also an alumnus of that prolific *alma mater*, the least, perhaps, that has come out from among that nide, desires to make present, through these brief lines, a cherished remembrance to the grand Spanish-American institution which commemorates today the beautiful anniversary of its "golden jubilee."

Monument to Brother Botulph.

The celebration of the jubilee closed with the approval of a resolution which left in the hands of a committee of ex-alumni of the college under the chairmanship of Mr. Flavio Silva, the erection of a marble monument in honor of the Benemeritus Brother Botulph. The monument was made of the best Carrara marble and dedicated with unusual and splendid ceremonies at Santa Fé, on the 22nd of June, A. D., 1911.

Besides the college at Santa Fé, the Christian Brothers have maintained for many years branch colleges at Mora, Las Vegas and Bernalillo, scattering throughout all those places the light of the knowledge of human and divine science.

Before beginning the history of education, in the public schools, it is but just to give due credit to other denominations which, like the Catholic church, have also done whatever has been in their power, to maintain schools in New Mexico for the benefit of their co-religionaries. The ineludible duty, however, still presses upon us of making mention of another

Brother Edward, President Saint Michael's College.

Brother Edward has been President of Saint Michael's College since 1911, and has been a Christain Brother since he became 21 years of age. Brother Edward immigrated to America in his early youth from Germany, received his education in Ohio. Taught school chiefly in Chicago, St. Paul, Minn., St. Joseph, Mo., and prior to his coming to New Mexico was principal of St. Vincent's High School, St. Louis, Missouri.

priest and another prelate, who, though they did not do as much as Archbishop Lamy in the development of education in a general sense, they certainly have done so in another way. Notwithstanding the great number of schools with which the Capital of New Mexico is endowed, (for it has in addition to the College of the Brothers and the Academy of the Sisters of Loretto, a great educational institution for the education of the Indians, established by the federal Government; another school of the same kind, Catholic in faith, in charge of the Sisters of St. Catherine; several schools of the Protestant denominations, a school conducted by the Sisters of Charity for the Orphans, and five public schools) all of that notwithstanding, another school was lacking, for the benefit of Catholic children that could not attend the above mentioned Catholic schools of the city on account of said schools being overcrowded, so that an additional school was built. Of that school we shall speak now.

Parochial Schools.

In 1892, the Most Illustrious Archbishop J. B. Salpointe established in Santa Fé three Parochial schools, and in 1893 he placed them under the charge of the Vicar General, now Monsignor, Antonio Fourchegú with whom, Father James H. Defouri, deceased, (may he rest in peace) did heartily cooperate by opening two schools for the children of the cathedral and for the children of the parish of Guadalupe, to which nearly 300 children attended. These schools were discontinued, temporarily, for lack of funds, the schools of both parishes being obliged, later on, to consolidate into a single one under the charge and responsibilty of said Vicar Fourchegú who kept them open with two sisters as teachers, where only female children were taught, with a salary of $40.00 per month, each, until the year 1903, when he, acting under the instructions, and with the financial aid of Archbishop Bourgade, then Archbishop of Santa Fé, and others erected a modern adobe school house at the cost of $5,000.00, and furnished it withall necessary and modern school utensils. This done the Parochial school of the parish of the cathedral became a permanent institution with an attendance of 240 pupils, of both sexes, and in charge of five sisters. In 1907,

Santa Fé in 1855.

1. South E. Corner of Plaza Park—2. Seligman & Clever Store, Established in 1855—3. Old Residence—See further on for other cuts of Santa Fé.

Father Fourchegú, acting under the authority, and with the financial aid of the Archbishop, erected, at the same place and joining the former building (both buildings being close to the cathedral,) a larger edifice, built of brick, two stories high, at the cost of $12,000.00, and installed, also, a heating plant costing $1,000.00, besides the necessary furnishings, which alone cost $1,530.00. The attendance at the present date (1912) being about 600, of both sexes, taught by seven sisters. To cover the expenses of salaries, etc., a small sum is paid for the tuition by the parents of the children.

Besides the Parochial school just mentioned, the Jesuit Fathers have, since many years past, constructed a very expensive Parochial school in Old Albuquerque, which is a modern and an up-to-date school in every respect. For details regarding this institution the reader is referred to that part of this work referring to the Jesuit Fathers.

Public School System.

The public school system of the State of New Mexico has been already presented to the reader from its origin to the time in which the territorial legislature passed its first laws for its establishment. In accordance with the law in force at present, the public schools of New Mexico are in charge of the following officers: A committee, or State Board of Education consisting of five members, who are the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, and five additional members, appointed by the governor, he, the governor, selecting the presidents of state educational institutions. This body divides the public funds of the general treasury among the several counties; prepares the regulations for conducting the examinations of teachers who apply for certificates, selects the text books for the public schools. The governor is the ex-officio president of the board, and the superintendent, the ex-officio secretary of the same.

Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The superintendent of public instruction is, truly, the official who has the active charge and management of the public schools in New Mexico. The governor had to appoint every two years under the territorial law the superintendent, with

the consent and approval of the legislative council, but now the said official is elected by the people like the other state officers. The duties of said superintendent are to make trips of inspection to the different counties of New Mexico, to look after the institutes, or normal schools for teachers; to prepare the courses of study that must be observed in the normal institutes of the counties and in the public schools of the state, to keep a record of the proceedings of the state board, and such other duties as are prescribed by law.

County School Superintendent.

There is elected in each county by popular vote a superintendent under whose charge are all the public schools of his county, subject, however, to the State superintendent. The county superintendent has charge of the school fund of his county, makes the distribution of same in the different districts of his county and is responsible for the government of the schools of his county to the state board.

School Districts and Municipalities.

Every county is divided into school districts; those districts have legal existence by virtue and effect of the law which declares them to be legal corporations, all having the powers, faculties and responsibilities corresponding to said institutions. In each district there are three directors, one of them being the presiding officer, a treasurer and a secretary. The county school superintendent is the superior officer to whom said boards of school directors are subject. In the municipalities, incorporated cities and towns, there is a board of education in charge of the schools of the municipality. The people also elect the members of these bodies, and they have their president, secretary and treasurer. There is in each municipality a superintendent of the schools of the municipality whose duties are, more or less, the same as those of the county school superintendent.

Number of Students and Condition of Funds.

According to the school census taken in 1910, there are over 93,815 persons, boys and girls, of school age from (5 to 21 years of age). Of this number 42,286 were enrolled in the

public schools of New Mexico at the close of the school year in June, 1910. Of the 42,385 pupils, 21,768 were Anglo-Americans; 20,397 Spanish-Americans, and 101 of African race. At the end of June, 1910, there was in the treasury, the sum of $194,224.94, that sum increasing the next year to $585,445.05. A large portion of that money comes into the treasury from the taxes paid by the people, and the other part from what was realized from the public lands through the agencies of the federal government, and now through the State.

Sectarian Private Schools.

The different sectarian denominations have schools in almost all points of the State distributed among the counties, cities, towns and villages. According to the last official statistics, Mr. J. E. Clark, Superintendent of Public Instruction, in his report corresponding to the 15th of June, 1908, says:

"The reports of these schools (sectarian private schools) are not complete, but we see by them that there are 1,127 pupils enrolled in mission schools, and 2,181 pupils in other schools which are not designated as mission schools. In the Government Indian schools, we have 1,626 pupils enrolled."

Besides the schools mentioned in the preceding paragraphs we have only the State educational institutes left to mention. They are the following:

Pedagogic Institutes of the State of New Mexico.

A university at the city of Albuquerque under the charge of five regents—a school of agriculture and mechanic arts at Las Cruces with an equal number of regents—a Normal school at Silver City—another of the same nature at Las Vegas, each with five regents—a mineralogical school at Socorro—a deaf and dumb college at Santa Fe—and another for the blind at Alamogordo—an orphan asylum at Belen—a military academy at Roswell—a penal and reform school at Springer for criminal young men—and another, the Spanish-American normal school, very recently established by chapter 97 of the laws of 1909, the author of that law being the Hon. L. Bradford Prince, who on thatyear, wasa member of the Senate. That school was established at El Rito, county of Rio Arriba. The school was opened for the first time in

September, 1909, with very limited resources, yet, through the untiring efforts of its board of regents, Messrs. L. Bradford Prince, Venceslao Jaramillo, Malaquias Martinez, J. H. Sloan, and Squire Hartt, it has had an unexpected success, for the first school term of the year 1912, there were 50 scholars, of both sexes.

Additional Funds.

Besides the amounts that enter into the treasury from the collection of taxes, as we have already said, the schools and educational institutions already mentioned receive, according to the last annual report of the Commissioner of Public Lands of the State, the following sums as proceeds from the sales and leases of the public lands of the State to-wit: The general public school fund received, $5,929.95; the University, $2,758.84; the Agricultural College, $1,383.70; the two Normal Colleges, $1,619.03; the Mineralogical School, $647.42; Military Academy, $752.58; the Reform School, $808.32; the College for the Blind, $836.97; the College for the Deaf and Dumb, $575.00.

Indian Schools.

There are in the State 25 Indian schools, besides those we have already enumerated, in charge of the general government, in which instruction is given in reading and writing, arts and trades, to 1933 pupils, boys and girls.

Recapitulation.

There are in the State over 1,000 public schools, in which are enrolled 50,000 pupils. There are 66 sectarian schools, with 5,000 pupils, 18 private schools, with 288 pupils. The value of all the scholastic institutions, as calculated by the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State is nearly $1,000,000, and the annual expenditures reach up to $275,000. The Federal schools for the Indians represent a value of $2,036,073. The sectarian and Catholic schools represent a value of $300,000.

Penal and Other Kinds of Institutions.

The State has, besides the institutions already noted, the following; a penitentiary, a hospital for sick miners, an insane asylum, which institutions receive, in addition to

what belongs to them from the State treasury, out of the sales and lease of the State lands, the following sums, namely: The hospital for sick miners $1,101.42; the penitentiary $155,46; the insane asylum, $638.87; the Capitol building, $1,250.34.

Counties in the State.

The State of New Mexico is composed of the following counties: Bernalillo, Chaves, Colfax, Curry, Doña Ana, Eddy, Grant, Guadalupe, Lincoln, Luna, McKinley, Mora, Otero, Quay, Rio Arriba, Roosevelt, Sandoval, San Juan, San Miguel, Santa Fé, Sierra, Socorro, Taos, Torrance, Union, and Valencia.

Population of New Mexico in Different Epochs, According to the Different Census of Which There is an Official Record.

According to the census taken by order of Governor Cubero in the year 1697, there were only 1500 Spaniards in New Mexico that year. * (ante)

In 1750—(according to Bancroft,) the population was: Spaniards 3,779; Indians, 15,921.

In 1789—The population, according to census ordered by Governor de la Concha in that year, was: Spaniards, 16,059; Indians, 8,806.—Total 24,865.

In 1827—The population according to the census, made in that year by order of Governor Antonio Narbona, including Spaniards and Indians.†

Farmers	6,588
Mechanics	1,236
Merchants	93
Surgeons	1
School Teachers	17
Day laborers	2,475
Curés (Priests)	17
Bachelors	13,409
Maidens	13,109
Married Men	7,677
Married Women	7,677
Widowers	713
Widows	854
Total	53,866

* See p. p. 90, 172, 221, 230, 244, 252, 274, 278, 300, 342, 459, 462, 642, 723—Bancroft's "Hist of Ariz., and New Mex."

† Pino: "Noticias Históricas," p. 57—(núm. 4) Nota de Barriero.

In 1840—According to the census ordered by General Manuel Armijo in that year, the population was, including Indians and Spaniards:*

	Men.	Women.
First District	17,227	15,898
Second District	11,013	10,566
Total	28,240	26,464
Grand Total		54,704

In 1850—Governor John Monroe, under the American government, for the purpose of the legislative apportionment, ordered a census to be taken, excluding the Indians, which was done with the following result:†

Counties.	Population.
Taos	11,683
Rio Arriba	8,946
Santa Fé	7,701
San Miguel	7,563
Santa Ana	6,444
Bernalillo	6,663
Valencia	5,917
Socorro	5,067
Total	60,984 ‡

In 1860—The population was the following:

Natives	73,856
From other states	1,168
Foreigners	5,479
Total	80,503

Or an increase in ten years of 19,519 inhabitants.

In 1870—Total, 90,573 §

* Pino: "Noticias Históricas," p. 55—Nota de Barriero.

† "Bulletin from the Gazette," Santa Fé, April 26, 1851.

‡ Though that was the population according to the official census, Helen Haines, "Hist. of New Mex.," tells us that it was in 1850—61,547.

§ Bancroft's "Hist of Ariz. and New Mex." p. 723.

In 1880—(Census)—Foreigners	8,948
Natives	100,773
Civilized Indians	9,772
Total	119,493
In 1890—Natives	119,320
Foreigners	12,539
Civilized Indians	8,554
Total	140,413

In 1900—(Census)—Total, 193,777.*

In 1910—According to the official census taken during the year 1910, the population of New Mexico reached the figure of 327,695, or, an increase of 133,919 in ten years. The population by counties in the year 1910, according to said official census, is the following: Bernalillo, 23,606; Chaves, 16,850; Colfax, 16,480; Curry, 12,400; Doña Ana, 12,893; Eddy, 12,400; Grant, 14,813; Guadalupe, 10,927; Lincoln, 7,822; Luna, 3,913; Mora, 12,611; McKinley, 12,963; Otero, 7,069; Quay, 14,912; Rio Arriba, 16,719; Roosevelt, 12,064; San Miguel, 22,930; Santa Fé, 14,770; Socorro, 14,761; Sierra, 3,526; San Juan, 8,504; Sandoval, 8,578; Taos, 12,008; Torrance, 10,119; Union, 4,528; Valencia, 13,320.†

In the said number —327,695—the population of the Indians of the state is included. That population according to information given to the author of this work by Mr. C. J. Crandall, Indian agent at Santa Fé, N. M., in September, 1910, reaches the figures 18,000, divided in the following manner: Pueblo Indians, 9,000; Apaches, 1,500; Navajoes, 7,500; Total, 18,000.

In the next chapter we shall treat in detail of the economical conditions of New Mexico from the beginning of her civilization to this day.

* Pac. Stat. Pub. Co's. "Hist. of New Mex." Vol. 1, p. 163.

† Taken from the official bulletin published in the New Mexican of Santa Fé, on the 5th of October, 1910.

CHAPTER XI.

History of the Commerce and Economical Condition of New Mexico From the First Times of its History to the Year 1812, as Written by Don Pedro Bautista Pino, as Included in His "Historical Notes and Statistics of the Old Province of New Mexico," Which he Presented to the Cortes of Spain, at Cádiz, in the Year 1812, to Which is Added an "Addition" by Antonio Barreiro in 1839 and Another Addition by José Agustin de Escudero both from Mexico, in 1843, all of Which is Found From Page 71 to Page 82 Inclusive of Said "Historical Notes and Statistics" of Said Don Pedro Bautista Pino, and the Statistics From 1843 to 1912—Commerce Under the American Government—Corporations—Banking—The Santa Fe Trail—Historical Society—Archaeological School—Other Incidents.

As the author considers the narratives of Pino, Barreiro, and Escudero invested with an official character, and from persons who are trustworthy and of great ability, and who had necessarily full knowledge of the commercial conditions of New Mexico at those times, has resolved to give the information and statistics such as they were given by Pino, Barreiro and Escudero,* thus giving the reader the original information, the source itself.

History shows us that up to the epoch in which Mr. Pino presented his "Historical Notes," in Cádiz, the commerce of New Mexico was not developed to a great extent; that her merchants depended almost completely from Chihuahua for the importation of their goods which they were wont to import by overcoming great obstacles and suffering innumerable sacrifices. Nothing is said by Pino concerning Lalande, the first foreign merchant who came to New Mexico, in 1804. That omission cannot be explained, for on that year

* The author of this work owes such valuable information to Attorney Eusebio Chácon, of Trinidad, Colo., (formerly of New Mexico) the possessor of Pino's "Historical Notes" a very marked favor, which said Mr. Chácon undeservedly made to this author for the benefit of history.

Pino was in Santa Fé. The system and method used by the Santa Fé merchants to import their merchandise is given to us by Pino in these words.

Route to Chihuahua.

"Experience has shown, that the ordinary precautions taken, to cover, without any danger, 40 days' journeys, through deserts, until reaching the nearest province, Chihuahua, are not sufficient. It has become necessary to arrange that most annoying voyage in the following manner. At 43 leagues from the Capital, at the stopping place named "Joya de Sevilleta," the parties interested in the journey, have to meet by the latter part of November, with their train loads, fire-arms, ammunitions, arrows, shields, horses, etc. Everything is reviewed; and if the number of 500 men, and over, is complete, the vanguard is selected, who must alternate, in the trip, as the vanguard, also the rearguard, and the center guard are named; those who must care for the horses and mules; those who must act as sentinels (generally over a hundred;) the scouts, who cleave their ears to the ground on dark nights to give notice if they hear or feel any footsteps, and thus avoid the surprises which they occasionally suffer. As regards the provisions needed, they consist of over 600 fanegas of flour made into toasted bread called "biscocho." More than a hundred head of cattle are killed and made into dry pounded meat, 150 fanegas of corn (called pinole), a corresponding quantity of beans, chick-pea, some mutton, also a goodly supply of barrels for hauling water in the desert places, like the one called "Del Muerto," of more than 90 miles without water. All these preparations have not at times sufficed for the caravans to escape the snares of their enemies."

Pino, next, cites the sum total of the merchandise imported annually from Asia, America and Europe, on an average, as it appears in a "report given in 1804, to the consulate at Veracruz" of what Mr. Pino calls, "Passive Commerce."

"Goods from Europe valued at.....	$ 61,000 00
Idem from Asia valued at	7,000 00
Idem from America valued at.....	34,000 00
Horses and mules for the military service	10,000 00
Total.....	$ 112,000 00"

Here Pino closes, and Attorney D. Antonio Barreiro follows with an "Addition" to what Pino says. Said "addition" is a very correct history of the first foreign merchants and of the introduction of American commerce into New Mexico and Chihuahua, as well as a graphic description of the voyages of the caravans and of the courage and intrepidity of the first merchants and adventurers; of those who followed them in that branch, and of how the Indians came to declare themselves enemies to the merchants. *

Commerce With the United States.

"The commerce of New Mexico must be considered under three aspects, to-wit: The foreign commerce which is carried on with North America; that carried on with neighboring Mexican states; and that carried on within its own interior.

Description of Trip.

"The commerce with the United States of North America is carried on by means of regulated caravans which arrive at Santa Fé usually in July. These caravans consist of ninety or one hundred wagons well loaded with goods and are escorted by the owners who select from among themselves a leader, to whom they render obedience on the road, for they try, at all hours, to travel with the greatest precaution so as not to be surprised by the numberless, barbarous and warlike nations that roam over the horrid deserts lying between New Mexico and Missouri, along a stretch of 250 leagues. In the evening when the caravans have stopped, they form with the wagons a circle within which the people and horses sleep; a number of competent sentries are kept on watch all night in order to fire on the enemy, in case of need, and thus save their lives and property.

Arrival at Santa Fé.

"By July, as I have said, they, generally, arrive at Santa Fé, and this is the occasion in which this Capital presents a pleasing and interesting aspect. Then numberless clothing stores are opened everywhere; a large number of persons are seen who come to this city, which looks like a fair, from El Paso

* Pino: "Noticias Históricas," p. 72.

del Norte, Sonora and from all points of the Territory. This is the time all the Anglo-American merchants return to do business, and then it is, finally, when a very brisk traffic is carried on. Goods become extremely cheap; many merchants, in order to return to the United States in August, sell at cost prices, practically, their surplus, and thus very advantageous purchases are made. Goods are sold for what they cost at Philadelphia or Saint Louis with scarcely a profit of 80, 90 or 100 per cent, and they are also wont to be sold with only a 50 per cent. These reckless, cheap sales have ruined many merchants, for their losses are from thirty to forty thousand dollars, as per calculation, the losses of the company that came in the year 1831, amounting to that sum.

Return Trip.

"By the month of August, the caravans return, only those merchants remaining who are interested in beaver hunting from which considerable exportations are made.

"As the exportation is not subject to national tax-duties, the American merchants on their return, endeavor to carry beaver instead of money, they getting thus two advantages: First that of not paying duty for exporting money, and secondly, that of carrying to their country an article which is there of much value to them, and which is not burdened by anything.

Origin of Caravans, 1831.

"These caravans had their origin in the year 1831, when some adventurers began to come into New Mexico; but, gradually, companies of men were successively organized, until finally rich merchants came in with large sums of money who initiated projects under another order of things different from the freighting business. In order to grade the progress of this commerce the inserted statement may well be seen, as the considerable increase in excise taxes, annually, will show the balances resulting in this particular.

"The commerce New Mexico carries on with the neighboring (Mexican) states is also worthy of attention; Sonora and Chihuahua being sufficiently supplied with the foreign goods carried herefrom; great benefit resulting to the

Americans who carry on that trade and who bring a large sum of money which circulates in the country both for the payment of the excise taxes on their return, as well as on account of the amounts which they expend in necessaries of life." *

Barreiro continues enumerating the advantages which the commerce of the Americans gave to New Mexico, Sonora and Chihuahua, and follows up his interesting narrative concerning the large sales of sheep, wool and other articles which the New Mexicans made at Durango. These sales were not of much benefit to New Mexico on account of the same having been monopolized by a few individuals, as Barreiro states it, in the following words:

Trade With Durango.

"The New Mexicans carry also quite an active trade with the neighboring States, for they annually take out their wethers, their hides, piñon, heavy wool fabrics, tobacco and other articles which they sell at good prices. There are individuals who have contracts in Durango, by which they deliver annually, 15,000 or more wethers, which when delivered brings them the sum of $1.12½ or more per head. The wether business is monopolized by a small number of persons, and so it is not considered of as much benefit as that carried on in pelts, heavy wool work, etc., because this is more equally distributed between all classes in New Mexico, specially in the lowest and middle class. One is certainly surprised at the general spirit noticed in the New Mexicans to carry on trade with the neighboring (Mexican) states, in October specially, a multitude of people is seen to go out, and scatter in all directions—some going to Chihuahua, some to Tepic or Guaymas; some even to the fairs of Aguascalientes and San Juan, some to Durango, and some, finally, as far as the Californias.

"The interior commerce of the country is regular, and the most general way of carrying it on is by means of exchange. Wethers command a very high price, even more than money when used to buy the articles desired; to this we must add

* Barreiro: "Historical Notes," of Pino p. 73.

the fact that this traffic is carried on generally on credit, from one year to another, and even for a longer time. I have stated the cheapness of foreign goods; but the domestic articles, such as chocolate, rice, sugar, oil, almonds and others of this class are very dear, and, on some occasions, very scarce, although these articles are nearly always of an inferior quality.*

The New Mexicans had, too, considerable traffic with the nomadic tribes. Their commerce with those Indians consisted of various articles, trinkets, for which they received, in exchange, hides and pelts of good marketable value. Nevertheless, the Mexican merchants engaged in trading with said Indians, could not realize considerable profits from the pelts so bought from the Indians, because of the lack of means of exportation, where that industry suffered a great deal, and the development of that branch of commerce was greatly retarded. Commenting on this point, Barriero says:

"Commerce that is now carried on with savages should also require our attention; with vermillion, knives, biscuit, bread toasted in the oven, awls and other trinkets, exquisite pelts are bought, which are sold to advantage, and which could be put to great uses if the enlightment of the country was different; if there were means for the consumption and exportation of so rich and abundant market currying, piles could be taken out, at a very small cost, that would load whole droves. What an immense field has Mexico open for developing that industry! What germs of prosperity are everywhere presented to us! Even those most remote places which are occupied by the savages invite us with precious articles, but with which we are as yet unacquainted."†

Origin of Commerce With the United States—1804.

Barreiro now enters upon very interesting details regarding the origin of the commerce between New Mexico and the United States. The narrative of that portion of the history of our commerce may be said to have sprung in the year 1804.

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*Barreiro in "Noticias Hist." de Pino, p. 73.

†Barreiro in "Hist. Not." of Pino, pp. 73, 74.

Advent of First Merchant from Illinois—Lalande, 1804.

In that year a French merchant, named Lalande, proceeding from Kaskaskia, State of Illinois, came to Santa Fé, with merchandise belonging to a rich merchant called William Morrison. Lalande arrived in Santa Fé, not as a free merchant, but as a prisoner; he had been arrested by the Spanish authorities and was thus conducted to the Capital * were he established himself permanently. Afterwards another foreign merchant named Pursely, came in 1805.

Pike and McKnight and Glenn.

The formal inland commerce, between Mexico and the United States, according to Barreiro, had no known origin, and rather seems to have been the result of a casualty than that of a premeditated plan of commerce. No knowledge concerning it was obtained until after Pike had made his report. Jacob Pursely then crossed the regions to the west of the Mississippi, with some Indians, to the immediate neighborhood of the source of the Platte river, in the Rocky mountains, and from them learning of New Mexico, he started with some of them, and arrived in Santa Fé in 1805, where he remained for many years.

Lalande Marries in Santa Fé—His Death—Barreiro our Authority.

Although, according to Pike, Pursely was the first American who visited the plains of the Spanish Provinces, we have seen that a merchant from Kaskaskia had already sent out, in 1804, a French criole named Lalande (supra) to Santa Fé as the place of his distination. The latter, unheeding the instructions he had received, and careing only for his own interest, remained in the country until his death, leaving a large family in Santa Fé and considerable riches. Pike's animated descriptions of the country's advantages caused an expedition to start on foot in 1812, composed of several Americans, at the head of whom was one, McKnight, who followed the trail marked out by Pike. As they thought that they would not need any permit from the Spanish government to traverse the Territory, and that the transit of

* Bancroft: "Hist. of Ariz., and New Mexico," p. 29.

foreigners would not be exposed to any embarassments, they introduced their goods, disregarding the rights of the Mexican government, for which reason they were arrested as spies, and were sent as prisoners, to Chihuahua, where they remained until the year 1821, when they were set at liberty and allowed to return home. The news carried by them, on their return induced others to undertake a like expedition, among whose number was one named Glenn, an Ohio merchant, who, after suffering many privations and overcoming numberless obstacles, arrived in Santa Fé in the same year, 1821.

Becknell Follows—1821.

In the same year, Becknell, also a merchant, accompanied by four adventurers left the the town of Franklin, Missouri, en route for Santa Fé, where he sold at a good price the few goods he had brought with him, returning alone to the United States the next year. Up to that date the commerce of New Mexico had been carried on with the Mexican provinces in the interior by way of Veracruz, but at such high prices that a yard of common calico was worth two dollars.

Cooper Visits Taos—1822.

Next came Cooper and his sons, accompanied by 15 others, headed for Taos, with some four thousand dollars in merchandise, which they conveyed on horses, and arrived at their place of destination without any remarkable occurrence during the summer of the year 1822.

Becknell Returns to New Mexico.

Becknell, with thirty others, and with considerable merchandise, amounting to $50,000.00, made another expedition, to New Mexico, in 1822, shortly after Colonel Cooper, though with different success, for wishing to shorten the road, he got into the deserts situated between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers without any other guide than a magnetic compass, nor any more water than what he could carry along himself. When the water gave out they suffered such privations that they had to kill their dogs and cut off the ears of their mules to appease their thirst with the blood of these animals. Not

knowing the proximity at which they were to the Cimarron river, they resolved to turn back to the Arkansas, in which voyage they would have perished if the sight of a buffalo had not made them conscious that water was close by. This circumstance caused some of them to go in search of it, and on finding it, carried some to the others who thus refreshed, were able to continue their route along the Arkansas till they reached Taos where they arrived without any other difficulty to surmount.*

Commerce With United States Enhanced, 1822—Wagons Used.

In the year 1822, the commerce between New Mexico and the United States was greatly enhanced, because in that year wagons began to be used; this circumstance gave considerable impulse to the trade between the two countries. On that same year the savage Indians initiated the series of incursions and attacks on the caravans, which lasted for many years. Barreiro charges the merchants with the blame and cause of the breaking of the hostilities with the the Indians. On that point Barreiro says:

Merchants Cause of Indian Wars.

"From the year 1822, the commerce of Santa Fé, so to speak, began; and from this epoch on the thing more worthy of attention has been the idea of transporting merchandise in wagons, an idea carried into effect, in 1824, by a company of 80 intelligent Missouri merchants, who were the first to set the example followed afterwards by the rest. Twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars might have been the value of the merchandise of the former which they conveyed partly on mules, partly in wagons, and partly in carts. The caravan arrived in Santa Fé with much less difficulty than was expected, on account of that being the first trial made and all the expeditions, at first, had no other inconveniences than those of the road, but afterwards they were also compelled to repulse the attacks of the Indians, which attacks were provoked by the merchants themselves, who, instead of cultivating friendly relations with the few and, at the same time

* Barreiro: in "Historical Notes" of Pino. p. 75.

peaceful Indians that remained, they would kill, whenever the occasion presented itself, in cold blood, any Indian that fell into their power, only because some one of his tribe had done them or some of their friends some outrage.

United States Troops Escort the Caravans—Escudero's Trip to Washington, 1825.

"This circumstance compelled them thereafter to join in caravans, for mutual protection, and to solicit the protection of the government of the United States, which was granted, at different periods, from 1827 to 1833, a few escorts under the commands of Riley, Wilson and Cook, respectively, is the only protection which the government has given to the commerce of Santa Fé.

"This protection was asked for in the year 1825, by several communications addressed to the President of the United States, and, among these, those of Mr. Bentham to the senate, quoted by Mr. Gregg, in his work "The Commerce of the Prairies," but it was also opportunely and energetically solicited, on our part, as we were going to make it known satisfactorily, by our fellow patriots, in order to render, at least, a tribute of justice (which in life he did not receive) to the memory of a person who was commissioned for that purpose by the political government of New Mexico, and made the trip to Washington at his expense, and suffered in this troublesome expedition at a considerable loss of property.

Governor Baca Sends Escudero to Washington.

"This person was the attorney, Don Manuel Simon de Escudero, a resident of Chihuahua, to whom, while sojourning in the City of Santa Fé, New Mexico, on the 9th of June, 1825, the political chief of the Territory, Don Bertolomé Baca, addressed him a most pathetic communication in which his patriotism was appealed to, to accept the commission he conferred on him, of going to the United States of North America, in accordance with the orders that upon that point the supreme government of the nation had given, for the purpose of obtaining the protection needed by the caravans which traveled across the desert, and of insuring our borders against the invasions of the savage Indians who were

hostile to both. Attorney Escudero accepted the commission and gratuitously discharged it, setting out without delay, on his journey to Washington. On passing through St. Louis, Missouri, where Mr. W. Clarke, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, resided, he thought it convenient to acquaint him with the object of his mission, and the latter answered him, in a note of September 25th, of the same year, that the government of the United States sincerely wished to prevent the damages caused by the Indians, and that when peace and security were established in the frontiers, it would be possible to carry on trade between the two countries with complete freedom; wherefore he did not doubt that New Mexico's solicitude would be well received by the government of the United States; but that, as this matter was beyond his power, since the right of treating with foreign nations belonged exclusively to the President, it seemed more opportune to him that he (Mr. Escudero) should address himself to the President, who was already aware of the damages caused by the savage Indians; and to that effect he (Mr. Clarke) showed Escudero a copy of a letter which the Secretary of War of that republic (the United States) had addressed to Mr. Clarke himself, in which he manifested to him the great interest the government at Washington had in repressing the raids of the savage Indians, and in seeing that Mexicans, who passed over to trade with the United States, should be treated in the most benevolent manner possible; assuring Mr. Escudero, in closing, that he had already been ordered to establish a military detachment at the crossing of the Arkansas, through which the caravans from North America traveled to New Mexico and to Old Mexico, in order to protect them against the Indians, and that commissioners had been sent to pacify the latter and to place the road in safety."

Escudero undertook his trip to Washington, and there succeeded in interesting the representative of the Mexican government in co-operating with himself in all that related to the success of Escudero's embassy. From Washington, Escudero left for Mexico, to urge a more active co-operation on the part of the Mexican government. That trip of

Escudero and the advantages which redounded therefrom are described by Barreiro in these words:

"In virtue of this communication, Mr. Escudero continued his journey to Washington, where he met Mr. Pablo Obregon, in charge of the Mexican legation, with whom he came to an understanding regarding the success of his mission, and with this object in view, he acquainted him with it and with the documents concerning the same, which he had in his possession. Mr. Obregon answered him on January 5th, 1826, to the effect that the Mexican government had the same intentions, and cherished the idea of giving security to the frontier states, promising him, in consequence, to take up this subject upon his responsibility, which, however, Mr. Escudero continued to press actively on his part, and later communicated the result thereof to the government of Mexico, through Mr. Obregon himself, as it is shown by the note sent to him by that minister, dated on the 12th of the month and year mentioned, at Washington, the copies of which we have at sight.

"Although it is believed that St. Louis is the emporium of the commerce of Santa Fé, it has been so solely on account of some merchants who start out from its immediate vicinities. Franklin, situated on the Missouri river, and some neighboring towns, were so until 1831, from which point the inconveniences of traveling a hundred miles more, in opposition to the facility of navigation by the Missouri river, caused Independence, a town situated twelve miles from the Indian frontier and at about two or three from said river, to become the place of equipment, landing, and departure, where the merchants provide themselves with mules, oxen, wagons, and other things necessary to undertake their expeditions, carrying flour, bacon, sugar and salt.

Interesting Description of the Journey.

"The transport wagons most in use are made in Pittsburg and are drawn generally by eight mules, or an equal number of oxen. The man who first made use of the latter animals was Captain Riley; and there are divers opinions as to which of the two classes of animals are the most useful. Ordinarily

oxen are believed to be the best; both on account of what they are able to endure, as because the formation of their hoof makes them more apt for bad roads, like these, where it was observed how much the poor animals endured; and there were some persons who were struck with the original occurrence of putting moccassins on them like those used by the Indians, but of a different skin, for those used by the Indians were made of buffalo hide without tanning, while the latter were made of Cibolo hide perfectly tanned. After all these preliminaries are completed, the merchants attend to the leasing of the wagons, which they obtain without much difficulty, on account of the confidence placed on the well known good faith of the conductors. As regards the horses or mules to draw the wagons, they are also easily obtained, and, as it is said, their manner of harnessing them for the road is the same as used in trips in the interior. Some merchants, however, are very original in the harnessing of their mules.

"After all these bothers, they take the road in the direction of Council Grove, ordinarily suffering the inconvenience of rain and deterioration of the merchandise; and, in order to avoid it, they take care that the wagons have an awning or cover made of Osnabur canvass. Many have felt the distressing effects of not minding this precaution, and there are some who prefer the Mackinaw canvass, both because they sell it well without paying any custom duties, and because it is a part of the wagon. The rains injure the animals, also, for, if the wagons get swamped, they can hardly be pulled out.

"Another common danger in crossing the branches of the Osage river is the meeting of (Kansas) Indians which from that point on commit a thousand depredations upon the travelers, robbing them of their goods or coin.

Camping Places.

"The perspective presented by the caravan on entering Council Grove, (so called from the council which meets there of the most respectable persons) is indeed picturesque. Imagine an infinite number of wagons, open, or uncovered, where men of all classes of society are to be seen, and few persons of

the fair sex, and an idea may be had of the wonder which such a sight must produce to the inhabitants of that town. These are the Osage Indians who come there in bands following the trail left on the road by multitudes of wagons. The travelers must exercise great care with them, for, despite the treaties which they have made with the United States they never fail to insult the weak and the indefensible.

"At said town the caravan takes its supply of what is more necessary to continue on the road; for until that point is reached, not even the poorest cabin is to be seen, and, further on, there is such a total lack of wood that it is not to be found until near the mountains of New Mexico.

"Having done all this, they prepare to start from Council Grove, bound for their point of destination, and, after they have endured the laziness of the conductors and the perversity of the mules, they at last take the road, and the first thing met with after twelve miles travel is "Diamond Spring" which is a clear water spring close to a small creek. At twenty miles, the "Cottonwood" is crossed, where the caravan becomes joyful on account of the pure air there breathed, notwithstanding the fact, that when night is to be spent at this point, a high ground must be selected for that purpose, on account of the frequency of the rains which, as we have said, never fail to cause great damages. The travelers, when they arrive, are very desirous of hunting, but are generally disappointed, for, excepting the wild peacock, no other kind of animals are found there.

"On the second day of the journey what is found to be more deserving of mention on account of its renown, though not because of its importance, is the "Little Arkansas," a rivulet whose stream is five or six yards in width, at most.

"When they are about to arrive, some of the men of the caravan are in the habit of separating and of making, by destroying the banks, some sorts of improvised bridges over which the wagons cross. Further ahead the "Cow" is seen, another rivulet, similar in every respect to the preceding one, and crossed in the same manner. The fertile valley of the Arkansas is then entered, distant two hundred and seventy miles from Independence, where the finest perspective is enjoyed, particularly if compared with the

aridity observed all along this desert, as far as Walnut creek, whose waters, it is said, are very healthy.

"The next day the road goes through a plain abounding in buffaloes and very appropriate for hunting. At a distance of 15 miles, the traveler's attention is fixed on "Pawnee Rock," so called on account of a battle which, it is related, the Pawnee Indians fought at this place with another tribe

Rev. Agustin Truchard, Third Assistant Vicar of New Mexico. Died in France in 1911.

of Indians. Inscribed on said rock may be found the names of several travelers who have passed through there.

"After Pawnee Rock has been passed, the caravan reaches a lane called "Ash," where a place is found named Caché (to hide), because one of the first travelers, in an attack by the Indians, hid there the goods he carried. Following the road, the Arkansas is on one side and the Cimarron on the other. Here the travelers take a supply of water for the

Church of San Felipe de Neri, Albuquerque, under the charge of the Jesuit Fathers.

rest of the journey water being scarce from there on. For this reason when "Upper Spring" is at last reached, the travelers feel quite pleased. Santa Fé is finally arrived at, though not without the great inconvenience, caused on entering it by the exacting of duties charged at the garitas (custom houses), the same being so excessive that sometimes they have gone as high up as a hundred per cent, so that the merchant has to be satisfied with the profits he may be able to make on selling his merchandise in the city. The city at first sight has a most fascinating aspect on account of the activity observed in all the shops and stores.

"Although every class of merchandise is found and used there, nevertheless, unbleached and bleached cotton has a better market; for, although calicoes are sold at a very high price and readily, yet the trade in domestic cotton is better. It must, however, be born in mind that American goods have better sales than English goods." *

Santa Fé Had Factories.

After giving a geographical description of Santa Fé and of relating the unfavorable condition in which agriculture was found, Barreiro gives us a detailed account of the articles manufactured at the Capital, Santa Fé, whereby it is seen that, in spite of our boasted civilization, of the great advance we have made in all the branches of industry at the present time, there are not, as in those times, at least in Santa Fé, any factories wherein were made many things which, had the industry of that branch been kept up, the City of Santa Fé would not be today in the need of importing the articles which were formerly manufactured there. Though it be true that those industries were of benefit only to the inhabitants of New Mexico, it is also true, that on account of the high taxes the government charged the merchants, the articles manufactured at the Capital could not be exported. Barreiro speaking on that subject, says:

"So far as regards the manufacturing industry, which is more advanced than the others, it comprises the manu-

* Barreiro: In "Hist. Not." of Pino, p. 79.

facture of blankets, the most marketable being those made in imitation of the Navajoes and of those of Saltillo (a city in Old Mexico). These are used by everybody in the country, and are used by them like the Spaniards use the cloak. They also make carpets with black and white squares, used generally as floor covers, while the poor people use them for dresses.

"They manufacture other clothes but they are all of the same style; the taxes laid on the merchants have caused this industry to be almost ignored." *

Barreiro then gives us correct information concerning the resources collected through the "custom house," as follows:

Income—Statistics from 1820 to 1832.

"Statement showing the sums collected from the subaltern commissaryship, through imposts, from the first of July, 1820, to May, 1832.

Years.	Cash.	Debts.	Smuggling Deposits.
From July 1st 1820, To the end of June 1830.	$25,834.00	$00,000.00	$ 2,958.00
From July 1830, To July 1831.	35,706.74	16,209.46	00,000.00
From July 1831, To May 1832.	25,227.00	39,607.43	00,000.00"

Number of American Merchants in New Mexico in 1839.

An omission is observed in Barreiro's narratives which we have given in regard to the foreign merchants that were in New Mexico at the time when Gregg wrote his work "Commerce of the Prairies" (from which work Barreiro took this information) for Gregg's work was written and published in the year 1839. Gregg says that the number of American merchants in New Mexico at those times was quite respect-

* Barreiro, in "Hist. Not." of Pino, p. 79.

able, the same being distributed among Santa Fé, San Miguel, Las Vegas and Taos, among them were Ledoux, St. Vrain, Waldo, and many others whose names appear in another part of this work; as the epochs of the Spanish and the Mexican governments are covered by this narrative, that is, starting from the epoch in which Pino wrote his "Historical and Statistical Notes" in 1812, to the year 1846, when the change of flags was effected, we will give the reader, in closing this chapter, a concise narrative of our commerce and its development in New Mexico from the time the Territory came to form a part of the American Union, to our days.

Commerce Under the American Government.

We have already seen that the first wagons were introduced into New Mexico in the year 1824; we have, also, seen that in that year, there were 26 wagons with a hundred men employed to manage them in the trade between Santa Fé and Missouri, and that the amount of merchandise imported that year from Missouri was valued at $35,000; that the number of wagons went gradually on the increase from year to year, and a corresponding increase of trade, so that in 1846, when the American army entered New Mexico, the number of wagons employed in the caravans reached the figure of 444, and the value of merchandise ascended in that year to $1,752,250; while commerce received, upon the annexation of New Mexico to the American Republic, such a radical impulse that the difference between the two governments was immediately noticed, the same redounding in favor of the American government. By detailing the annual commerce and its increase, the reader will see how the traffic between the United States, New Mexico and Chihuahua expanded. Before the year 1824, which we have already noted, the trade with the United States was insignificant, the means of conduction being by loaded mules. There being no positive statistics, other than those already given, previous to the year 1822, we can only give that which is known from the year 1822 to the year 1823. The sum of merchandise imported in 1822 and 1823 amounted to $15,000 in 1822, and $12,000 in

1823. Now we will give in tabulated form the sums to which merchandise thus imported amounted per year, commencing in the year 1825. The tabulary follows:

Year.	Amount.	No. wagons employed.
1825	$ 65,000.00	35
1826	90,000.00	60
1827	85,000.00	55
1828	150,000.00	100
1829	60,000.00	30
1830	120,000.00	70
1831	250,000.00	130
1832	140,000.00	70
1833	180,000.00	105
1834	150,000.00	80
1835	140,000.00	75
1836	130,000.00	70
1837	150,000.00	80
1838	90,000.00	50
1839	250,000.00	130
1840	50,000.00	30
1841	150,000.00	60
1842	160,000.00	70
1843	450,000.00	230

Between the years 1843 and 1846 it amounted to $1,752,250, as we have said.*

First Railroads in New Mexico.

Manufacturing industries, in the sense in which they ought to be understood, do not exist, nor have ever existed in New Mexico. Some saw and flour mills, as well as some brick kilns are to be found, but their joint value cannot be said to reach $1,000,000, so that that branch of the mercantile industry has not advanced much until the change of governments. The main trade of New Mexico at the present time consists in the importation of merchandise from the eastern states, for the

*Haines' "Hist. of New Mex." p. 154.

ordinary consumption of the mining camps and other industries, and for the needs of the inhabitants of the state. From 1846 to 1876, or, in the thirty years that intervened between the change of governments and the advent of railroad lines, no truthful statistics are found about the increase of commercial traffic, for the reason that since 1846 no duties have been paid, and, consequently, no account was kept of the importations and exportations; nevertheless, by calculations made by Bancroft * there is reason to believe that at the time of the entry of the first railroad line, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, to the year 1876, it was not under $2,000,000, a year.

In that year (1876) the celebrated annual trips of the caravans ceased, the same being replaced by the railroad, the Territory receiving, by the change, the first and most beneficial impulse which served as an incentive for the material development of the principal industries—stock-raising, mining and agriculture.

With the coming of the railroad the values of all property were enhanced, although not to the degree that was to be expected, for the simple reason that the said railroad line, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, being a trunk line and having California and the Pacific coast as its terminal, its owners did not take kindly to the unfolding of the industries of New Mexico, dedicating all their efforts to the enhancement of the population and wealth of the flourishing state of California. All that notwithstanding, the Territory continued progressing in an astonishing manner, so much so that, to the year 1890, there were already several railroad lines that traversed the Territory, making a total sum of 1,264 miles and a half, and bringing into the Territory all of them together, a total of 152,524,565 pounds.† enabling us to assert that, at the present date, the number of railroad miles in the State is not under the double of the figures which we have just given, from which the reader may be able to form his own idea as in 1905, according to official statistics, there were 2,556½ miles of railroad valued at $500,000,000.

In the year 1910, according to the official information given

* Bancroft: "Hist. of Ariz. and New Mex." p. 671.

† Gov. L. B. Prince Rep. Secy. of Interior, 1890 p. 22.

to the author of this work by C. V. Safford, the traveling auditor of New Mexico, there are in New Mexico:

Trunk and auxiliary railroad lines	13
Mileage, and telegraphic and telephone lines in active operation of said lines	2,758
Industrial railroad lines	9
Mileage of said lines	165
Total railroad lines	22
Total mileage in operation	2,923
Total telegraphic and telephone lines	4,734

The actual value of said lines reaches up to $77,000,000. From that sum a tax is collected at the rate of an appraisement upon 20 per cent of said sum of $77,000,000. According to said auditor, said railroad lines represent 24.218 per cent of the whole property of the State subject to taxation.

Incorporated Corporations for Pecuniary Ends.

According to an official communication addressed to the author of this work by Mr. Nathan Jaffa, Secretary of New Mexico, dated at Santa Fé, on May 19th, 1910, there were at that date 1358 companies and corporations organized and incorporated under the laws of New Mexico for pecuniary ends divided in this manner:

Companies for certifying Real Estate Titles	25
Banks and Trust Companies	39
Loan and Building Associations	12
Construction and Idem Associations	14
Mercantile Companies	219
Manufacturing Companies	125
Irrigation Companies	70
Mining and Foundry Companies	380
Stock Raising and Farming Agriculture Companies	103
Railroad Companies	45
Telegraph and Telephone Companies	28
Hotels	6
Light, Gas and Fuel Companies	41
Saving Companies	149
Publishing Companies	21
Miscellaneous	71
Grand total	1,358

Banks and Banking.

From this showing, the reader will have no difficulty in understanding that for the existence of such a large number of companies and corporations, the economical and industrial condition of the State must be very satisfactory, all of which gives assurance of a more hopeful future, specially at this time that New Mexico is made a State of the American Union.

We shall now give the condition of the banking industry, which, among all civilized nations, is the most certain index of the economical development of nations and political entities. By an official letter of said financial auditor of New Mexico to this author dated May 19, 1910, it is seen that there were, at that date, in New Mexico the following banks, viz:

National Banks	41
Territorial Banks	39
Total	80

The capital, resources and liabilities of said banking institutions, according to said auditor, ascends to a cash capital of $3,251,900.

Resources and liabilities $25,266,487.

Speaking of the financial condition of New Mexico in his said letter, Mr. Safford closes with these words:

"The fact is worthy of mention that, during the last nine years, not one single territorial bank has been closed through lack of resources. Only one of the national banks has gone into liquidation, and that without its stock holders suffering any great loss. During the same period of time, a private bank, which was not under my jurisdiction, also went into liquidation, its depositors suffering a small loss. Considering well what is exhibited, says the auditor, our financial record could not be more favorable."

Real and Personal Property Values.

The enhancement of real and personal estate values (movable and immovable property) subject to taxation has been

more remarkable from the year 1881 onward. According to the report rendered to the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Henry M. Teller, by Lionel Sheldon, Governor of New Mexico, dated September 6th, 1883, it is thus shown.

Year 1881 real estate subject to taxation..$14,088,554
Year 1882 real estate subject to taxation.. 20,441,395
Year 1883 real estate subject to taxation.. 27,137,003

Thus, the increase of the value of said properties went on growing from year to year until the year 1889, when it reached the figure of $46,041,010. In 1909 it came to $58,500,000, and 1910 it went up to $62,800,000.

Historical Society and Newspaper Press.

The Historical Society of New Mexico was organized in the year 1859, Colonel J. B. Graysen being its founder and first president. It became dismembered during the civil war, and was not reorganized until the year 1880, in December, when it celebrated its twenty-first anniversary by electing Hon. L. B. Prince, as its president. Mr. Prince has continued in that post until the present time, and the flourishing condition in which that society is found to day, is due to him. In 1884, the Territory assigned to it the rooms which were formerly used for legislative purposes—the two eastern halls of the "old palace." As the collection of historical objects increased, other compartments of the building were added to it, until it actually occupies the eastern half of said building. It owns a collection of gems and antique relics of an immense historical value, from prehistoric times, among which is found a public collection of very old Spanish manuscripts. Its library comprises the most rare works and of great merit, the same being considered the best between New York and San Francisco.

The Press.

The newspaper press of New Mexico, English and Spanish, has progressed marvelously. There are to be found today 134 newspapers, as daily and weekly publications.

Archaeological School and Museum of New Mexico.

At the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, held in Chicago, December 31, 1907, the council decided to found a school of American Archaeology. Already this great international organization had established schools in Athens, Rome and Jerusalem, and its action in deciding to establish an organization for the study of the ancient civilizations of America, was hailed with great satisfaction throughout the United States. After several months spent in considering the claims of various cities for the location of the institution, the managing committee of the school decided upon the old Spanish-American capital of Santa Fé for its location. Here was found the richest archaeological district in the United States, a place from which the study of the ancient civilizations of America could be conducted in the field with the least inconvenience and expense, and with the most substantial results. Moreover, the Territory of New Mexico, through its legislature, generously placed at the disposition of the school, the old Palace of the Governors, which was constructed in the early part of the seventeenth century for the residence of the Spanish governors, and for three hundred years has been the seat of authority under Spanish, Mexican and American rule, successively. It is the noblest remaining monument to the memory of the Spanish founders of the civilization of the southwest. With proper alteration it was found to be admirably adapted to the purposes of a School and Museum of Archaeology. The modern improvements in the way of paneled window and door casings, mantles, etc., have been removed, and the style of the Spanish founders has been adhered to as strictly as possible in the restoration. The ancient vigas and hand-chopped slabs forming the ceilings of the various rooms have been again brought to light, and one may now behold the ancient Palace of the Governors more primitive in appearance than it has been for the last hundred years, and yet in a state of repair that will ensure its endurance for many centuries to come. It seems most fitting that this venerable structure should be made to dis-

play the history of the southwest for the past centuries, and this, it is understood, is to be its destiny.

The Territorial legislature in thus establishing this archaeological school in New Mexico, under an act entitled "An Act to Establish a Museum for the Territory of New Mexico," (Chap. 4, Laws of N. M. 1909) approved February 19, 1909, appropriated the annual sum of $5,000 for the care and improvement of the building, grounds and museum, the obtaining of collections, books and equipment for the museum, the preservation of archaeological sites in New Mexico, the publication of investigations and for incidental expenses necessary to the administration of the museum (Sec. 8 of said Chap. 4 supra). These annual appropriations are to be paid by warrant from the auditor of public accounts on presentation of vouchers properly signed by the secretary and treasurer of the Board of Regents in charge of the museum.

The Santa Fé Trail—Its End—Formally Dedicated at the City of Santa Fé, August 21, 1911—Prayer by Rev. Jules Deraches—Miss Madeline Mills, Daughter of Governor Mills, Uncovers the Historical Slab in the Presence of a Great Concourse of People—Several Addresses Are Made.

(From the New Mexican, August 26, 1911).

"In the presence of the governor of New Mexico, of many prominent citizens, and of a great concourse of people, the dedication of the slab bearing the inscription which marks the end of the Santa Fé trail, took place last Monday.

"The veil over the inscription was withdrawn by Miss Madeline Mills, daughter of Governor Mills, she appearing very appropriately in white dress at the moment of removing this, the last and most remarkable of the granite fingers which marks to future generations the famous trail which ends here.

"At the opening of the exercises, Rev. Jules Deraches, chaplain of St. Vincent's Sanitarium, offered prayer. Mrs. L. Bradford Prince spoke next, she formally delivering the monument to the governor of the new state. Messrs. Seligman, Catron, Nestor Montoya and Ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince followed with addresses."

The Wagon Route—Santa Fé Trail—Trip of, and Reception to Williams, the Historian.

A special meeting of the city council was held, Monday, August 28, 1911, at the court house, which was called by the mayor of the city, in order to give an appropriate welcome to Dr. Walter Williams, dean of the college press of the University of Missouri, and a noted historian and writer in reviews, who crossed the Santa Fé trail in an automobile with the purpose of gathering data and information for a book regarding the trail, and also to promote the project of a transcontinental cart or vehicle road with the trail as one of its great links.

A little after ten o'clock in the morning, Dean Williams, his son Moss Williams, and his secretary, Miss Quinn, reached the court house. Williams was introduced to the mayor and council of the city by the local editor of the New Mexican who gave information of Williams' mission to this place, and of the peculiar feat he had just accomplished, as the first man in the world who had traveled over all the trail in an automobile.

Mr. Williams, then, addressed the mayor and aldermen stating that it was a great pleasure to him to see here faces that were familiar to him. He said that he had with him a letter from the mayor at the end of the trail, in Old Franklin, Missouri. He explained the objects of his trip, and stated that one of them was to gather new material in reference to the trail, and that he had had the good luck of meeting many persons who gave him valuable information.

City Council and Citizens Extend Warm Welcome—Santa Fé Trail Discussed by Distinguished Guest—Messrs. T. B. Catron and Benjamin M. Read—August 28, 1911—Mayor's Address.

In reply to Mr. Williams, Mayor Seligman said: "It gives me much pleasure and it is indeed an honor for me to welcome you to Santa Fé, the City of the Holy Faith and the end of the Santa Fé trail. And as the first to travel this ancient and honored trail in a motor driven vehicle, I welcome you.

"This trip of yours teaches a lesson—the fire and resolution of long ago .....

"Your mission, Mr. Williams, is most praiseworthy and manifests a zeal which cannot but redound to the credit of its author and be of vast importance to the several states and cities interested. I assure you that the pioneers, the citizens of today, the city council and the motherhood of Santa Fé appreciate your efforts in the noble and grand work you have undertaken to connect this country ocean to ocean by a great transcontinental, throbbing highway!

"Only a few days ago we celebrated the marking, by a suitable memorial stone, the end of the Santa Fé trail so far as it related to the highway itself. And now we are at work to further memorialize the trail in marking the spot by erecting a suitable memorial arch. For the old Santa Fé trail cannot be too much in evidence, it cannot be too highly honored or exalted. Santa Fé, the ancient city, is one of the most progressive, and Santa Fé is the most unique, and yet the most beautiful city, we think, in the country, and extends to you, sir, her hospitality."

Following the mayor's greeting, Mr. Williams asked the mayor to be so kind as to write a letter back to the mayor of Old Franklin, Missouri. Mr. Williams added that he felt that Missouri would be a greater state than it is if it had not parted with so many of its citizens who came to New Mexico and the southwest.

Mr. Catron's Address.

Mayor Seligman then asked Mr. Catron to say a few words. Mr. Catron talked for half an hour or more, telling of incidents relative to the old trail, the heroes who crossed it, the men who made famous rides over it, and how he had lived at Boonville and there heard so much of Santa Fé that he finally moved here in 1866, traveling over the trail.

He said that the trail had never been worked on to any great extent; no large sum of money had been expended "fixing it up." He compared it to the ancient trails or roads of the past and said that it undoubtedly eclipsed anything the Romans built in length and today eclipsed anything they left.

He paid a tribute to roads in general calling them "the beginning of commerce, the marks of civilization." He said:

"The public must have communication, but we are beyond the idea of using these highways for business. We have railroads to transact that, to carry our freight. But we need them for auto traffic and the auto has come to stay....."

Discussed Statehood.

Before closing Mr. Catron said:

"Mr. Williams, the people of your state like the people of others states, through their representatives in Congress have told what we may do and what we may not do for a long time but soon we are going to have a voice in telling you what to do. We are going to have Senators and Congress men of our own and these will have a say about the governing of others as others have governed us."

Mr. B. M. Read on the Trail.

He said in part:

"Mr. Mayor, Members of the City Council, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been requested to say a few words on the Santa Fé trail. I might say first of all that the popular belief that Mr. Becknell was the first merchant to cross the trail is erroneous. Missouri was not the first state in the Union to introduce American merchandise in New Mexico. That honor, without detracting the credit which might rightfully belong to Missouri goes to Illinois. A merchant from Kaskaskia, Illinois, sent in 1804, a Frenchman named Lalande with American goods to New Mexico. Lalande was arrested by the Spanish soldiers before reaching Santa Fé. In Santa Fé his goods, or part of them, were confiscated. The balance he sold, kept the money, settled in Santa Fé and married a Spanish lady. The same year another merchant came to Santa Fé from Missouri, his name was Pursley. He was more successful, sold his goods and went back to Missouri. The next man to come to New Mexico, not as a merchant, but as an explorer, was Colonel Zebulon Pike, in 1805. Pike was arrested by the Spanish authorities near the place where now stands the town of Alamosa, Colorado, and taken to Chihuahua as a prisoner. Then came the first expedition of American traders headed by McKnight, also from Missouri. This was in 1812. McKnight and all the

members of his party were also made prisoners, their goods confiscated and they were taken to Mexico where they remained until 1821. That year, 1821, two more expeditions of American traders from Missouri came to Santa Fé, headed by Glenn and Becknell respectively, and another headed by Cooper and his sons, came to Taos—also from Missouri. Up to this date only mule pack trains had been used. In 1822, 80 merchants of Missouri organized formally the trade over the Santa Fé trail and sent to Santa Fé $300,000 worth of American goods, using for the first time wagon trains. That same year the trade by wagons was extended from Santa Fé to Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango, Mexico. In June, 1825, Governor Bartolomé Baca, sent as special envoy by order of the Mexican government, Mr. Simon Manuel Escudero to interest the American government in the establishment of military escorts to protect the freighters from Independence to Fort Bent, the Mexican government obliging itself to furnish troops from Fort Bent to Santa Fé.

"In Washington, Escudero was assisted by Señor Pablo Obregon, then in charge of the Mexican legation there. Escudero's mission was successful, the American government furnishing the requested protection and from 1827 to 1833 American soldiers, under the command of Colonels Riley, Watson and Cook, respectively, protected the freight trains as far as Bent's Fort, and from there to Santa Fé the Mexican soldiers escorted them. That is succinctly, a brief history of the Santa Fé trail in so far as it relates to trade. Now with reference to its connection with the establishment of the overland mail, express and passenger traffic over the same trail it would be impossible to go now into details, not wishing to take up your time with a full statement on that point, but would simply state, that in the year 1887, a man by the name of A. L. Carpenter, who was from 1863 to 1866, the head manager of the overland mail, express and passenger traffic from Kansas City to Santa Fé, wrote a complete history of the trade, giving a detailed account of the number of stations, passenger fare, which was $175 for each passenger from Kansas City to Santa Fé, with an allowance of 40 pounds for baggage and a pair of blankets, and the express

charges for carrying money which was $85 per $1,000 ($1 per pound for gold and silver bullion.)

"The line was then owned by Sanderson and Barlow and it necessitated 13 days and 6 hours to make the trip from Kansas City to Santa Fé. Mr. Carpenter's articles were published October, 1887, in the Kansas City Journal, one year after the famous overland express office of Sanderson and Barlow, at the corner of Second and Union streets, in Kansas City, had been destroyed by the cyclone of 1886 which killed 30 persons. I have the article alluded to."

In the next chapter we shall deal with the subject of grants, state government and officers, administration of justice, of the question of statehood, and other matters of general interest.

CHAPTER XII.

Grants or Donations of Land—Government, Officers, and Administration of Justice—Under the Mexican Government—Under the American Government—Tribunals of Justice—Sheriffs and Constables—Governors Under Military Government—Under the Organic Law—Secretaries of State—Judges of the Supreme Court—Delegates in Congress—Territorial Legislatures and Their Presiding Officers—Bar Association—Celebration of Marshall's Anniversary—Statehood Question.

From the first times of the conquest, the Spanish government realized the necessity of being liberal in the act of donating lands with the object of peopling the Territory and furthering civilization by means of agriculture. Thus it was that it covered the Territory with grants to particular individuals, imposing always the condition that settlements should be established which never were to be abandoned. Neither the Spanish, nor the Mexican government, ever intended that the ownership over those grants should ever be of others than of the legitimate descendants of the original grantees, but with the change of governments, 1848, the Territory passed over to the American government, which, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, bound itself to protect said grantees and their successors. In fulfillment of that obligation, the American congress decreed on July 22, 1854, the establishment of a surveyor general dispatch, with a surveyor general at its head, for the purpose of having all public lands surveyed, as well as those which belonged to private individuals, and the President appointed a Mr. Pelham as the first surveyor general. The latter immediately after his arrival, caused a general surveying of the public lands to be made, defining at the same time the boundaries of the private grants, where by it was learned that the total area of public lands was 2,293,142 acres of land, and the total area of the Territory 77,568,640 acres or 121,291 square miles. The said surveyor general was empowered

to receive the claims of the grantees, to examine them, and to approve or disapprove the grants, his opinion being subject to the action of the congress of the United States. Many were the grants approved by said surveyor and the congress of the United States until the year 1891, when by an act approved by the congress on the third day of March, a tribunal was established with the sole object of examining, approving or disapproving said grants in the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, the passage of such an act having been occasioned by the great confusion, that on account of said grants, existed in the matter of titles to land in said Territories from which great obstacles resulted in the development of the industries of both Territories. The number of grants that had been filed in the office of the surveyor general, until the date of the formation of said tribunal, reached the figure of 198 among the approved and disapproved grants. Said tribunal or land grant court, was organized in the city of Santa Fé, in July, 1891, and closed its sessions, in the year 1904, having approved 2,051,526 acres of land and disapproved 33,439,493. With the closing of said tribunal the chaotic condition of things in reference to the permanent settlement of said grants remained forever removed and New Mexico entered more fully into the development of all its industries.

Government Officers and Administration of Justice.

During the incumbency of the Spanish government, the civil and political government of the Territory was almost exclusively in the hands of the governor, who was at the same time both political and military governor. According to Pino the civil and political government was organized in the following manner:

"The whole province was divided into seven alcaldeships, the alcaldes serving without salaries, and subject to the political and military governor, without an attorney general nor even a secretary, because there is none in the whole province. He, the governor, has as coadjutors (helpers) two lieutenants and two ensigns.

"From the decisions of the governor there is no appeal in civil or criminal cases other than to the audience of Guadala-

jara, about 500 leagues distant. In military affairs it was for many years subject to the viceroyship of Mexico (800 leagues), until the high court of internal provinces was established in Chihuahua (240 leagues)." *

Under the Mexican Government—Territorial Deputation a Nullity for Want of Authority—Delegates, Etc., to Mexican Congress, Etc.

In the year 1827, after the independence of Mexico, the administration of justice was carried on in accordance with the laws of the Mexican Republic. Let Attorney Barreiro give us the description of the new regime of government under the Mexican Republic. Barreiro speaks:

"Political government in New Mexico is entrusted to a chief whom the government appoints and removes at will, without the latter having a formal secretary; in general it is believed that the political chief is the judge of alcaldes, and is also an appellate tribunal to which the litigants have recourse to ask redress from judgments which they consider unjust; from this error the consequence comes that the said chief is always busy with ridiculous presentations and has his hands full of impertinent complaints against the judges (alcaldes); if a political chief wishes to abuse this authority, conferred on him by ignorance, how many evils will he not cause?".....

Territorial Deputation.

"This body is a nullity, because it has not enough authority to act by itself; hence it follows that without a new law or regulation under a different principle, the powers of the deputation which it possesses now by chapter 20 of the decree of June 23, 1813,—are absolutely useless, some because they are inconsistent with our system of government, others, because they are insufficient for the needs of the country.

"I decline to speak to the government more extensively upon this particular subject, because as I am informed, the territorial deputy, Presbyter Antonio José Martinez, made an exposition which the deputation approved and sent over to this government wherein he demonstrates with various

* Pino: "History Notes," p. 25.

reasons the uselessness of said deputation, and the advantage, of having its powers merged into those of the aldermen and political chief." *

The above remarks show the systems of civil and political government, until the year 1846, when General Kearny established temporarilly a territorial government, about

Right Rev. Antonio Fourchegú,
,Vicar General of New Mexico since 1884. Elevated to the ecclesiastical dignity of Domestic Prelate to the Pope, June, 1911.

which the reader is already well informed. Before taking up again the form of government which obtained in New Mexico after Kearny organized the territorial government, it is proper for us to dwell, as far as existing data will justify, into the recognition given New Mexico by the Mexican central government in the national and state legislatures.

* Barreiro: "In Hist. Not." of Pino, p. 26.

New Mexico was, it seems, at all times represented in the National Congress by a delegate ("Diputado Territorial,") and in the legislature of Durango and Chihuahua (when these two and New Mexico were formed into the "Provincia Interina" and afterwards when New Mexico was made a territory but dependent on Chihuahua's legislature) by senators and representatives. Of these officials and the manner of their election we will now occupy our attention. The reader will bear in mind that we are dealing with incomplete, informal, irregular, and chaotically kept records and confused official documents, now in the archives in the surveyor general's office.

Delegates to the Cortes (Congress).

Imperial was the first form of government of Mexico after its independence from Spain, consequently its first national legislature was called "Cortes," as is the national congress of Spain called to this day.

Lorenzo Gutierrez.

The journal of the "Diputación Provincial" of August 29, 1822, shows that on that day "a report from ex-Delegate—"Ex-Diputado"—from this Province, Sr. Lorenzo Gutierrez, was read setting forth the matters transacted by him in favor of this Province in the "Diputación de Durango." Gutierrez so far as can be ascertained was not a resident of New Mexico. There is nothing to show when and how he became New Mexico's first representative.

Representatives Peréz Serrano Aguirre and Rivas.

The next mention of representatives is made at the session of December 20, 1823, when Messrs. Francisco Peréz Serrano Aguirre and Francisco Rivas made claim for the reimbursement to the national treasury of the sum of $2,354.00, which amount had been paid by said treasury for their services "as representatives from this Province." This claim was left in abeyance until the session of January 9, 1824, when it was refused. In this last mentioned session, Rivas is mentioned as "suplente" (proxy). Rivas' claim was allowed afterwards (session of April 24, 1824).

Juan Bautista Vigil, Delegate to Durango.

Again on April 12, 1824, the journal of the "Diputación" shows that "it was agreed that Delegate (Diputado) Juan Bautista Vigil go the capital of the 'Estado del Norte' (Northern State). The sum of $1,000 was appropriated to pay for his services." This was done on motion of Governor Bartolomé Baca, the presiding officer.

The Durango Deputation Elects Delegate and Names Manuel Armijo as Proxy—Suggestion for New State.

At the session of July 18, 1824, a communication from the "Diputación" of Durango was read in which the New Mexico assembly was notified that the Durango assembly (Diputación) had elected the regular delegate for New Mexico to that assembly and Manuel Armijo as proxy. A decree from the Durango assembly was also read in which it was provided that Durango should be erected into a state by itself and declaring Emperor Iturbide an outlaw and a traitor.

New Mexico is Made Territory—Delegate Vigil's Message—Delegate Alarid.

At the session of August 10, 1824, a communication from Juan Bautista Vigil was read informing the assembly of the unexpected change and mentioning José Rafael Alarid, who it appears, was New Mexico's representative in Mexico. The law erecting New Mexico into a territory was read and Vigil was ordered to come back to Santa Fé.

Don Santiago Abreu Mentioned as Delegate.

Again the New Mexico assembly at its session of November 18, 1824, took up the delegate question. At that session the journal shows that an official communication "had been sent to Delegate (Diputado) Dn. Santiago Abreu." But nothing can be found on the date and manner of Abreu's election, yet there is no doubt that he was then New Mexico's delegate to the Mexican Congress, for the matter is again referred to at the session held on December 17, 1824, the journal showing that "Mr. President referred to the election

for a delegate to the Cortes (National Congress) held by the 'ayuntamiento' (municipality) of La Cañada (Santa Cruz precinct in northern Santa Fé county) which resulted in favor of the citizen, Santiago Abreu."

Proxy Rado Asks to be Named Successor to Alarid.

Manuel de Jesus Rado was Alarid's proxy, the journal of the assembly of March 9, 1825, showing that Alarid's term had expired and Abreu had not as yet reached the City of Mexico, whereupon Rado petitioned the New Mexico deputation to authorize him to take Alarid's place, the deputation answered him in the negative, citing as a reason the fact that the supreme government had suggested the continuation in office of Delegate Alarid until the regularly elected delegate from New Mexico should take his seat, or until the House of Representatives should decree its judgment regarding the investigation, then going on, of an infraction of the election laws at the election held in October of the previous year, 1824.

José Antonio Chavez Elected Delegate—His Election is Contested.

At the session of the "Diputación" held on the 21st of October, 1826, page 133 of the journal shows that José Antonio Chavez had been elected delegate to the Cortes; a communication from said Chavez was read advising the assembly of the date of his departure for Mexico, and bidding good by to the assembly, but the assembly declined to act upon said communication until the contest or dispute over his election was settled by the Cortes. The election was, as near as I can surmise from the journals of the assembly and other official documents, contested by Rafael Sarracino, who was successful as will appear further on. (This is the logical inference drawn by me.—THE AUTHOR.)

Sarracino is Declared Elected.

In November, 1830, at a session held on that day a communication from Sarracino was read, the journal reads (page 48) thus: "A communication from General Rafael Sarracino, addressed to H. E. (His Excellency) advising him of his election was received, etc."

Election of Senators.

Nothing more is recited by the journals of the assembly on the election of delegates and until the session held on May 9, 1845. At that session a decree of the secretary of state, dated March 9, 1845, was presented. The decree authorized the departmental assemblies to elect a senator to succeed Senator Sebastian Camacho. The election was had by vote (but nothing definite is stated as to who voted) Attorney Juan Nepomuceno Urguides was elected unanimously. Whether this senator, or his predecessor had been residents of New Mexico nothing appears in the journal nor to what legislature the senator was elected, but the presumption is reasonable that both were from Chihuahua, and that New Mexico had been annexed to Chihuahua for senatorial purposes.

On the first day of October of the same year, 1845, the journal shows that by virtue of Article 34 of "Bases Originales" (Original Basis) the following named were elected senators, but no showing is made how the election was held, for what legislature nor the tenure of office. Senators elected—Bishop Dn. N. Madrid, Marcelino Castañeda, Bonillo Arcillga, Manuel de la Balda, Pedro José Escalante, Juan Nepomuceno Urquides, Juan Antonio Pescador, Juan Nepomuceno Flores, Fernando Ramirez, Ignacio Mijures, Miguel Zubiran, Pedro Olivares, Leandro Siqueiros and Antonio Ocha. Each of these represented a separate branch of industry, all branches, from the mercantile to the agricultural being mentioned. The journal, though, is silent as to manner of election and place of residence of these men. Certain it is, to all familiar with our history, that none of them were residents of New Mexico, whence the conclusion that the alleged election of these candidates was a mere ratification of their election in the State of Chihuahua. There was another, the last, election held in New Mexico on October 7, 1845, for delegate and members of the assembly, but further reference to said election is omitted because special mention is made thereof in another part of this work, a picture of the certificate of said election being published therewith, as the reader will remember.

Father Martinez, Diego Archuleta and Father Juan Felipe Ortiz.

There is a general belief that both Father Antonio José Martinez, from Taos, N. M., and Diego Archuleta and Rev. Juan Felipe Ortiz, at one time represented New Mexico. I have failed in all my constant investigations to find any record of their election, or appointment, as such, but have every reason to believe that such was the case. I base my judgment first, as to Father Martinez, on the reliable information of the old and highly respected Captain Chácon, of Trinidad, Colorado, who in a letter to me of December, 1911, affirms that both Martinez and Archuleta had been delegates to Mexico, and this belief is supported, as to Father Martinez, by at least one historian of repute; Barreiro in his "Adiciones" to Pino's "Noticias Historicas," at page 26, commenting on the powers of the provincial deputations, cites Father Martinez's opinion regarding these deputations, and in doing so says: "The Territorial Deputy, Presbyter Antonio José Martinez, etc., etc." This would seem conclusive proof at least as to Father Martinez. Now, as to Don Diego Archuleta and Rev. Juan Felipe Ortiz, I rely on the statement made in a letter written to me by Don Demetrio Pérez, dated Las Vegas, N. M., Dec. 26, 1911, in which he says (translation): "I know that Don Diego was delegate to the Mexican Congress after Vicar Juan Felipe Ortiz's term had expired as such delegate, and this must have been from 1842 to 1843."*

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*NOTE—Don Demetrio is now a very old man; he is the son of Governor Albino Pérez (assassinated in 1837, ante) was ten years old when he came to New Mexico, in the spring of the year 1835. He heard his father read his first inaugural address (so he states it to me in another letter) in Santa Fé, when he assumed charge of the government, in the spring of 1835. In his letter, relative to Diego Archuleta and Father Ortiz, Don Demetrio says: "Respondiendo á su pregunta si sé ó no, si el finado Padre Martinez y Don Diego Archuleta, finado tambien, representaron á Nuevo Mexico, como Diputados ó Delegados en el Congreso Mexicano. Sé que Dn. Diego si fue, despues que el Sr. Vicario Don Juan Felipe Ortiz concluyó su termino como tal diputado, y esto tal vez seria en los años de 1842 ó 1843. Nunca supe que el Padre Martinez fuera Diputado al Congreso Mexicano.—THE AUTHOR.

Rev. Lansing Bloom.

Rev. Lansing Bloom has made a special study of "New Mexico Under the Mexican Government" and the reader is referred to his work for a further study of that period. Mr. Bloom resides in Jemes, N. M.

Under the American Government.

Besides what is said in the last phrase of the preceding paragraph, from the time of the organization of the civil government under the organic law of 1851, the government was established in the following manner:

Courts of Justice.

The judicial department was administered by four courts which are: A justice of the peace which acts in each precinct of the different counties for a term of two years, elected by the people. A prefect, or judge of probate, also elected by the people for two years, in whose charge are the affairs of the administration of the estate of deceased persons, the disposition of orphan minors and their property. A district court which under the organic act was presided over by one of the judges of the supreme court of the Territory, but is now presided over by a regularly elected district judge under the state constitution, each district consisting of several counties. The Territory was divided into seven judicial districts, each district having the following counties: First district, Santa Fé, Rio Arriba, San Juan, Taos and Torrance; second district, Bernalillo, McKinley and Sandoval; third district, Doña Ana, Grant and Luna; fourth district, San Miguel, Colfax, Mora and Union; fifth district, Chaves, Curry, Eddy and Roosevelt; sixth district, Otero, Guadalupe, Lincoln and Quay; seventh district, Socorro, Sierra and Valencia.* The clerk of the probate court in each county acts now, under the state constitution, besides being also the clerk of the board of county commissioners, as clerk for the district court within his county. The other officials being one district attorney for each judicial district.

* Under the state constitution New Mexico has been redistricted. The number and order of the new judicial districts is mentioned and given in another part of this work.—THE AUTHOR.

Deaf and Dumb School, Santa Fe.

Courts.

The last, or highest court of justice is the supreme court which is now composed of three judges elected by the people. Under the territorial form of government it was composed of the judges of the respective judicial districts, one of them was appointed by the president as chief justice and the others as associate justices.

Sheriffs and Constables.

A sheriff is elected in each county at the same time the other county officials are elected for a term of four years. In like manner are constables elected in each precinct of every county, and likewise a justice of the peace is elected in each precinct. The duties of these officials are prescribed and defined by law.

Political Department—Counties.

New Mexico is now divided into 26 counties, namely: Bernalillo, organized January 6, 1852, with its county seat at the city of Albuquerque; Chaves, organized February, 1867, county seat, Roswell; Colfax, organized January 25th, 1869, county seat, Raton; Curry, organized February 25th, 1909, county seat, Clovis; Doña Ana, organized February, 1857, county seat, Las Cruces; Eddy, organized February 25th, 1887, county seat, Carlsbad; Grant, organized January 30th, 1868, county seat, Silver City; Guadalupe, organized February 23, 1905, county seat, Santa Rosa; Lincoln, organized February 13, 1880, county seat, Lincoln; Luna, organized March 16, 1901, county seat, Deming; McKinley, organized February 23, 1899, county seat, Gallup; Mora, organized January 6, 1852, county seat, Mora; Otero, organized January 30, 1899, county seat, Alamogordo; Quay, organized February 28, 1903, county seat, Tucumcari; Rio Arriba, organized January 6, 1852, county seat, first, Plaza del Alcalde, acutally, Tierra Amarilla; Roosevelt, organized February 28th, 1903, county seat, Portales; Sandoval, organized March 10, 1903, county seat, Bernalillo; San Juan, organized February 24, 1887, county seat, Aztec; San Miguel, organized January 6, 1852, county seat, Las Vegas; Santa Fé, organized January 6, 1852, county seat, Santa Fé; Sierra, organized April 3, 1884,

School for the Blind, Alamogordo,

county seat, Hillsboro; Socorro, organized January 6, 1852, county seat, Socorro; Taos, organized January 6, 1852, county seat, Taos; Torrance, organized March 16, 1903, county seat, Estancia; Union, organized February 28, 1895, county seat, Clayton; Valencia, organized January 6, 1852, county seat, Los Lunas. Each one of these counties is governed by a board of commissioners elected by the electors (voters) of each county.

Legislative and Executive Departments.

The laws of New Mexico have been, until this date, enacted by a legislature which meets every two years, and which, in the first years of the American government, met once every year. It was composed of 24 members of the house and 12 senators or members of the legislative council, elected by the voters of the Territory. The acts of said legislature did not become laws until they received the sanction of the governor, subject also to the approval of congress. Congress authorized from the national treasury the per diem and mileage paid to its members. Congress passed in the year of 1911, an act enabling New Mexico to erect itself into a state, the legislature, which met in Santa Fé on the 11th of March, 1912, was the first State Legislature. The legislatures during the last sixty years of the territorial government numbered 38.

The executive government is in the hands of the governor and the secretary of the state who are under the State Constitution elected by the people (see state election post). Governor William J. Mills and Secretary Nathan Jaffa were the last officials under the territorial law and Mr. William C. McDonald the first State Governor, and Mr. Ezequiel C. de Baca the first Lieutenant Governor, both Democrats, elected at the first state election, held on the 7th day of November, 1911, (post) over their opponents, H. O. Bursum and Malaquias Martinez, Republicans.

List of Governors Under Military Appointment.

Charles Bent, (appointed by General Kearny) 1846-47; Donaciano Vigil, (appointed by Col. Price) 1847-48; J. M. Washington, commander of the department, 1848-49; John Munroe, commandant of the department, 1849-51.

Under the Organic Law.

James S. Calhoun, 1851-52; John Greiner, (secretary of the territory ad interim) 1852; William Carr Lane, 1852-53; Davis Meriwether, 1853-57; Abraham Rencher, 1857-61; Henry Connelly, 1861-66; Robert B. Mitchell, 1866-69; William A. Pile, 1869-71; Marsch Giddings, 1871-75; William G. Ritch, (secretary of government ad interim) 1875; Samuel B. Axtell, 1875-78; Lew Wallace, 1878-81; Lionel A. Sheldon, 1881-85; Edmund G. Ross, 1885-89; L. Bradford Prince, 1889 93; William T. Thornton, 1893-97; Miguel A. Otero, Jr., 1897-1906; Herbert J. Hagerman, 1906-07; James W. Raynolds, (secretary of government ad interim) 1907; George Curry, 1907-10; W. J. Mills, 1910-11.

Secretaries of the Territory.

Donaciano Vigil, 1846-51; Hugh H. Smith, 1851; William S. Allen, 1851-52; John Greiner, 1852-53; William S. Messervy, 1853-54; W. H. H. Davis, 1854-57; A. M. Jackson, 1857-61; Miguel A. Otero, Sr., 1861; James H. Holmes, 1861-62; W. F. M. Arny, 1862-67; H. H. Heath, 1867-70; Henry Wetter, 1870-72; F. W. Arny, 1872-73; Wm. G. Ritch, 1873-84; Samuel A. Losh, 1884-85; Geo. W. Lane, 1885-89; B. M. Thomas, 1889-92; L. Alexander, 1892-93; Lorin Miller, 1893-97; Geo. H. Wallace, 1897-1901; Jas. W. Raynolds, 1901-07; Nathan Jaffa, 1907-12, last under the territorial government; Antonio J. Lucero, first secretary of state, elected November 7, 1911, entered into the performance of his official duties in January, 1912, for five years.

Chief Justices of the Supreme Court—Appointed.

Joab B. Houghton, 1846 (appointed by General Kearny); Grafton Baker, 1851; J. J. Davenport, 1858; Kirby Benedict, 1858; John P. Slough, 1866; John S. Watts, 1868; Joseph G. Palen, 1868; Henry L. Waldo, 1876; Chas. McCandless, 1878; L. Bradford Prince, 1879; Samuel B. Axtell, 1882; Wm. Vincent, 1885; Elisha V. Long, 1885; Jas. O'Brien, 1889; Thos. J. Smith, 1893; Wm. J. Mills, 1898; W. H. Pope, 1910-1911, last under territorial government; Clarence J. Roberts first State Chief Justice (who was elected November 7, 1911, at

first State election with Frank W. Parker and Richard H. Hanna as judges of the first State Supreme Court) selected by his associates as Chief Justice, January 11, 1912, (see "organization of the first State Supreme Court." Post).

Territorial Delegates to Congress.

Messervy and Weightman already mentioned, José Manuel Gallegos, 1853-55; Miguel A. Otero, Sr., 1856-61; John L. Watts, 1861-63; Francisco Perea, 1863-65; J. Franco Chavez, 1865-69; Chas. P. Clever, 1869-71; J. Franco Chavez, 1871, (contested Clever's election and was successful); José Manuel Gallegos, 1871-73; Stephen B. Elkins, 1873-77; Trinidad Romero, 1877-79; Mariano S. Otero, 1879-81; Tranquilino Luna, 1881-83; F. A. Manzanares, 1883-85; Antonio Joseph, 1885-95; Thomas B. Catron, 1895-97; H. B. Fergusson 1897-99; Pedro Perea, 1899-01; Bernard S. Rodey, 1901-05; William H. Andrews, 1905-11, last delegate.

Territorial Legislatures and Their Presiding Officers.

1847, (under military government) Antonio Sandoval, President of the Senate; William S. Angey, Speaker of the House.

1851, (under civil government) Antonio José Martinez, President of the Senate; Theodore D. Wheaton, Speaker of the House.

1853, James H. Quinn, President of the Senate; Theodore D. Wheaton, Speaker of the House.

1855, José Antonio Baca y Pino, President of the Senate; Facundo Pino, Speaker of the House.

1855, (second session) Facundo Pino, President of the Senate; Celedonio Valdez, Speaker of the House.

1856, Facundo Pino, President of the Senate; José Serafin Ramirez, Speaker of the House.

1857, Donaciano Vigil, President of the Senate; Merrill Ashrust, Speaker of the House.

1858, Lafayette Head, President of the Senate; José G Gallegos, Speaker of the House.

1859, José G. Gallegos, President of the Senate; Levi Keithly, Speaker of the house, part of the session, and Celso C. Medina, the last part of the session.

1860, José G. Gallegos, President of the Senate; José Manuel Gallegos, Speaker of the House.

1861, Facundo Pino, President of the Senate; José Manuel Gallegos, Speaker of the House.

1862, Facundo Pino, President of the Senate; José Manuel Gallegos, Speaker of the House.

1863, Diego Archuleta, President of the Senate; Vicente Garcia, Speaker of the House.

1864, Diego Archuleta, President of the Senate; Pedro Valdez, Speaker of the House.

1865, Miguel E. Pino, President of the Senate; Samuel Ellison, Speaker of the House.

1866, Miguel E. Pino, President of the Senate; R. M. Stephens, Speaker of the House.

1867, Anastacio Sandoval, President of the Senate; José Manuel Gallegos, Speaker of the House.

1868, Severo Baca, President of the Senate; R. M. Stephens, Speaker of the House.

1869, Nicolas Pino, President of the Senate; Gregorio N. Otero, Speaker of the House.

1871, Severo Baca, President of the Senate; Milnor Rudulph, Speaker of the House, part of session, Gregorio N. Otero the other part.

1873, Pedro Sanchez, President of the Senate; Gregorio N. Otero, Speaker of the House.

1875, Pedro Sanchez, President of the Senate; Roman Baca, Speaker of the House.

1878, Santiago Baca, President of the Senate; Juan B. Patron, Speaker of the House.

1880, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; Rafael Romero, Speaker of the House.

1882, Severo Baca, President of the Senate; Pedro Sanchez, Speaker of the House.

1884, José Armijo y Vigil, President of the Senate; Amado Chavez, Speaker of the House.

1886, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; Manuel C. de Baca, Speaker of the House.

1888, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; Albert J. Fountain, Speaker of the House.

1890, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; William Burns, Speaker of the House.

1892, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; A. L. Branch, Speaker of the House.

1894, George Curry, President of the Senate; William Dame, Speaker of the House.

1897, Antonio Joseph, President of the Senate; W. H. H. Llewellyn, Speaker of the House.

1899, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; Maximiliano Luna, Speaker of the House.

1901, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; Benjamin M. Read (author of this work), Speaker of the House.

1903, J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate; Nestor Montoya, Speaker of the House.

1905, John S. Clark, President of the Senate; Carl A. Dalies, Speaker of the House.

1907, Charles A. Spiess, President of the Senate; Roman L. Baca, Speaker of the House.

1909, Charles A. Spiess, President of the Senate, Epimenio Miera, Speaker of the House.

This was the last legislature under the Territorial government.

Bar Association.

The Bar of New Mexico, has over 150 attorneys. In the year 1887, on the 19th of July, the Bar Association of New Mexico was organized with the following socii: H. L. Waldo, W. C. Hazeldine, W. B. Childers, Wm. Breeden, E. L. Bartlett, E. C. Wade, F. Downs, W. H. Whiteman, L. B. Prince, Max Frost, F. W. Clancy, J. P. Victory, E A. Fiske, W. M. Berger, B. M. Read (the author of this work), W. H. Patterson, C. H. Gildersleeve, Joseph Bell and Neil Field—its presidents being: H. L. Waldo, F. W. Clancy, E. L. Bartlett, Richard H. Hanna, Judge Vincent, Simon B. Newcomb, Frank Springer, Frank W. Clancy, William C. Hazeldine, A. B. Elliott, L. A. Jones, James G. Fitch, Thomas B. Catron, N. B. Field, A. B. Fall, R. E. Twitchell, E. A. Fiske, A. B. Freeman, W. B. Childers, A. H. Harllee, William C. Rigley, G. A. Richardson, A. B. Renehan, A. B. McMillan in 1910.

Celebration of Marshall's Anniversary.

On February 4th, 1901, the supreme court of the Territory adopted a resolution in which the presiding officers of the legislature which was then in session, Messrs. J. Francisco Chavez, President of the Senate, and Benjamin M. Read, Speaker of the House, were requested the use of the legislative halls, asking, at the same time, said officers to appoint, in their respective bodies, an orator to deliver an address on the night of that day, commemorative of the chief justice of the supreme court. The invitation was accepted, the Senate appointing its president, J. Francisco Chavez, and the House its speaker, Benjamin M. Read. On the night of that day the exercises were had in the Capitol building, in the hall of representatives, in which the appropriate addresses for the occasion were delivered by Chief Justice William J. Mills, Mr. Frank Springer, member of the senate, Don Francisco Chavez, president of the same body, and Benjamin M. Read, speaker of the house, and Mr. E. A. Fiske.

Statehood Question—History of the Struggle—First and Second Statehood Conventions.

The war with Mexico closed, as we have already seen, with the treaty of peace made at the City of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the 2nd of February, 1848. That same year, in the month of October, the first convention met in Santa Fé on the tenth of the same month, and the people declared through their representatives in that convention, (ante), in favor of statehood. That was the first step taken. The next step was taken, as it has been said in another part of this work, in June, 1850, when the second constitutional convention met in Santa Fé, in which the officers of state were elected (ante). The steps taken by the people to secure statehood were prompted first, by the desire of exercising the full rights of citizenship; secondly, by the promise made them by General Kearny, when he took possession of New Mexico in 1846, (ante) and, finally, by article 9th of the treaty of peace already mentioned, with the Mexican Republic, which article reads as follows:

"The Mexicans in the aforesaid Territories, who shall not

retain the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, as stipulated in the foregoing article, shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and shall be admitted in opportune time (at the discretion of the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, in accordance with the principles of the constitution, and, in the meanwhile, they shall be protected in the enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without any restriction."

From the year 1850 to the year of 1911, the struggle to obtain the fulfillment of that promise was continuous, and, it may be said, almost desperate. Almost all the Presidents of the United States, from that epoch down, had recommended the fulfillment of that article of the treaty with Mexico. The two political parties, the Democratic and the Republican, promised very frequently the approval of an enabling act, but their declarations were mere empty promises. The New Mexico legislature began to petition Congress on the subject ever since 1847. In 1870 the legislature of the Territory decreed that a constitution should be submitted to the vote of the people for their adoption, but nothing was done. In 1872, the legislature again provided that the constitution that had been prepared in 1870, should be re-submitted to the people, but the time or limit which the law fixed for the counting of the votes having expired, the election was of no effect and the movement failed once more by effect of the law.

Elkin's Mistake.

In the year 1875, Mr. Stephen B. Elkins (afterwards Senator in the National Congress from the State of West Virginia) was delegate from New Mexico in Congress, managed to obtain an enabling act, which, after being already certain of passage by both legislative bodies, failed through an indiscretion of Mr. Elkins. At the critical moment, the passage of a law, which affected the interests of the southern states was being acted on, and as the members of Congress from that section of the Union favored the admission of New Mexico, Mr. Elkins inadvertently made some remarks which wounded the feelings of the members of the southern states,

they, said members, next casting their votes against the enabling act.

In 1888, another enabling act was introduced by Representative William M. Springer, of Illinois, with the same result as Mr. Elkins' act.

Third Statehood Convention, 1889.

In 1889, the New Mexico Legislature authorized the reassembling of another constitutional convention at Santa Fé; the election for delegates to said convention was held; the delegates assembled in Santa Fé, remaining in session from September 3 to September 21. A constitution prepared by said convention was adopted by the majority of the people but Congress refused to approve it.

Other delegates, among them, Don Antonio Joseph, T. B. Catron, H. B. Fergusson, Tranquilino Luna and Pedro Perea, tried during their respective terms in Congress, to obtain the adoption of a constitution, all getting the same result—a huge failure.

President Taft Succeeds in Having Congress Approve an Enabling Act, 1910.

Finally, in the year 1910, New Mexico obtained justice at the hands of the American government. Owing to the continuous and very valuable services of New Mexico's Delegate in Congress, William H. Andrews, aided by the foremost men in the Territory of both political parties, New Mexico managed to keep up the agitation in favor of statehood for New Mexico and Arizona, until President Taft, in compliance with the promise previously made by the Republican party in its national convention, urged, recommended and demanded from Congress the adoption of an enabling act, which was approved June 20, of that year. It is, then, only just, to recognize the debt New Mexico owes to Mr. W. H. Taft, the President, for his valuable and timely co-operation. In virtue of that law, the governor of New Mexico, issued on the 29th day of June, 1910, his proclamation for an election of 100 delegates to the constitutional convention, in accordance with an apportionment made by the governor, the chief justice and

the secretary of the Territory on the 28th of the month of June. Said election was to be held on the 6th of September, 1910.

First Statehood Election—Election of Delegates.

The election was held on Tuesday, September 6, 1910, in accordance with the proclamation, and the following delegates were elected:

Francis E. Wood, Herbert F. Raynolds, Nestor Montoya, E. S. Stover, A. A. Sedillo, M. L. Stern, Anastacio Gutierrez, H. B. Fergusson, Green B. Patterson, G. A. Richardson, John I. Hinkle, Emmett Patten, C. J. Roberts, Norman Bartlett, Geo. Brown, T. H. O'Brien, Chas. Springer, Francisco Gauna, T. J. Mabry, J. W. Childers, Frank W. Parker, Isidoro Armijo, W. E. Garrison, C. E. Miller, M. P. Skeen, C. R. Brice, W. D. Murray, A. H. Harllee, J. B. Gilchrist, W. B. Walton, J. G. Clancy, Raymundo Harrison, Salome Martinez, Tranquilino Labadie, John Capping, J. J. Aragon, A. H. Hudspeth, J. N. Upton, Gregory Page, Juan Navarro, Daniel Cassidy, Anastacio Medina, Emanuel Lucero, Fred S. Brown, A. B. Fall, J. A. Lawson, Geo. E. Moffett, Reed Holloman, Chas. Kohn, C. F. Saxon, J. L. House, C. C. Davidson, T. D. Burns, V. Jaramillo, J. A. Lucero, Perfecto Esquivel, Samuel Eldodt, J. H. Crist, W. E. Lindsey, James Hall, Alejandro Sandoval, Epimenio Miera, R. W. Heflin, M. D. Taylor, C. M. Crampton, J. M. Cunningham, Harry W. Kelly, S. B. Davis, A. Roybal, Luciano Maes, C. A. Spiess, E. Romero, Margarito Romero, N. Segura, T. B. Catron, J. D. Sena, G. W. Prichard, B. F. Pankey, Victor Ortega, F. H. Winston, E. D. Titman, A. Abeytia, F. Romero, H. O. Bursum, H. M. Dougherty, J. G. Fitch, N. McKean, Malaquias Martinez, S. Hartt, O. G. Martinez, W. McIntosh, A. B. McDonald, Acasio Gallegos, E. Gallegos, C. Vigil, F. C. Fields, G. W. Baker, Solomon Luna, J. Becker, Silvestre Mirabal.

Fourth and Last Convention.

The convention met in Santa Fé on the 3rd day of October, 1910, presided over by C. A. Spiess, with Geo. W. Armijo, secretary, and Rev. Julius Hartman as chaplain and adopted a republican constitution, in its form of goverment.

Election on the Adoption or Rejection—Result of the Vote—Official Canvass—Constitution Adopted—Governor Mills Goes to Washington.

On January 21, 1911, the constitution was submitted to the vote of the people, and was approved by a large majority of votes.

The official returns of the vote, for and against the constitution in the election of January 21, 1911, were canvassed by Governor Mills, Secretary Jaffa, and Chief Justice Pope, and showed that the total vote was 45,141, of which 31,742 were cast for the constitution and 13,399 against it, the total majority for the constitution being 18,433. The counties of Lincoln, Roosevelt, San Juan and Sierra gave small majorities against the constitution, the total majority in the four counties against it being 483.

The canvass of the vote commenced at 10 o'clock in the morning in the office of the secretary, and closed a little after noon-time. All the poll-books were examined, and the totals were added by means of an adding machine. Governor Mills received a certified copy of the returns by counties and precincts, and with them a copy of the constitution, in order to deliver them to President Taft. The governor started on Monday, February 6th, for Washington where he arrived Thursday, February 9, 1911, and delivered the said certified copy of the constitution to the President the same day.

President Taft approved the constitution, after having heard the protests against same presented by the Prohibitionists, on February 24, 1911, and on the same day sent the following message to congress:

President's Message.

"To the senate and house of representatives:

"The act which gave the people of New Mexico authority to write a constitution and organize a state government so that its inhabitants might be admitted to the union, with rights and privileges equal to those granted to the original states, approved June 20, 1910, provides that after the constitution has been approved, in accordance with the provisions expressed in that act, the same be submitted to the

President and Congress of the United States, by a certified copy of same, for the President and Congress to approve, or if the President approves and Congress does not disapprove it during the next regular session of that body, that, in such event the President shall give the governor certified information of the result, and that he, the governor shall then publish his proclamation for the election of officers of state and county, etc.

"The constitution has been presented to me drawn in accordance with the act of Congress, which has been approved by the electors of New Mexico, and a certified copy of same has been also presented to Congress, that it may be approved in conformity with what the act provides.

"As the 'Enabling Act' expressly requires the action of the President, I herewith transmit to you a copy of the constitution, which has been already presented to Congress, as I have been informed, in accordance with the provisions of the act, which has received my formal approval.

WM. H. TAFT.

From the White House, February 24, 1911."

Congress Adjourns Without Approving the Constitution.

In the last momemts of the regular session of the sixty-first congress, the 4th of March, 1911, the senate took in consideration the approval of the resolution which the day before had been approved by the house, whereby the constitution of New Mexico had been declared approved. Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, presented an amendment to the resolution which included the constitution of Arizona. Following a very warm discussion the vote was taken, with a result of 45 votes against, and 39 votes in favor of approving the amendment. The effect of the disapproval of the amendment was to delay the admission of New Mexico to the Union. The constitution having been approved by the President, remained in force, and it but needed the approval or disapproval by the next Congress.

Again a Ray of Hope Appears—The Flood Resolution.

Congress met in special session in April, 1911, and at once the tactics were resumed looking for the success of New Mex-

College of Agriculture, Las Cruces.

ico's admission, but on account of the discord among some of the political coxcombs of the Territory, a most bitter fight was inaugurated, which resulted in the adoption of amendments by the house of representatives with which the senate did not agree. From that month, (April, 1911), the fight continued to the month of July, (1911), when the house by a very large majority approved a resolution drawn by Congressman Flood, of Virginia, whereby the admission of New Mexico and Arizona was authorized on condition that New Mexico in its election of state officers should submit to the people the proposition that the constitution might be amended with less difficulty than was provided in the original constitution. That resolution was rejected by the senate, and another one offered by Senator Nelson as a substitute.

The Nelson Resolution.

The Nelson resolution authorized the admission of New Mexico unconditionally ratifying the expression of approval by the 18,000 votes majority given in the Territory in favor of the constitution. It also authorized the admission of Arizona, eliminating from its constitution the clause in reference to the recall. The Nelson resolution kindled the political flame, and embittered the dispositions of the legislators to such a pitch that for several days the question was warmly debated, the question reaching its climax on August 10, by the rejection of the Nelson resolution, and the approval of the Flood resolution with slight amendments. The House concurred the next day (August 11) with the action of the senate. The presiding officers of the house and senate then signed the resolution and the same was at once forwarded to President Taft for his approval or disapproval.

Taft Disapproves the Resolution.

On August 15th, Taft returned the resolution to congress accompanied by a message in which he gave his reasons for not approving it, namely:

That because of the clause in reference to the recall in the constitution of Arizona he refused to approve the resolution; and that, with regard to New Mexico, he considered a constitution approved by a majority of over 18,000 votes as one of

Military Institute, Roswell.

the best constitutions of the nation, and that he had already previously approved it with great pleasure, but that, inasmuch as the admission of New Mexico was now included in the Flood resolution, he could not approve it.

New Attempt—The Smith Resolution.

On the same day (August 15) Senator Smith presented another resolution, more or less identical with the Nelson resolution for the admission of both territories. The result was the appointment of a committee of both bodies (August 16) with the object of expunging from the Flood resolution the matter that was repugnant to the recalcitrants of both parties and to President Taft. Said committee met on the 17th, and, following a long and animated discussion, it approved the proposition of eliminating entirely the alluded clause from Arizona's constitution, and in leaving the proviso which authorized a new vote in New Mexico as to whether or not, our constitution should be so amended as to be more easily altered, changed or modified. The committee sent its report of what had been agreed to, to the senate on the same day; the report was received, and submitted to the consideration of the senate the next day, Friday the 18th. On that day the senate approved the resolution by a vote of 53 to 8, and was sent to the house on the same day.

The House Approves the Resolution.

On Saturday, August 19th, in a debate, full to overflowing with criminations and recriminations, the house unanimously approved the resolution. Without loss of time it was signed by the presiding officers of both bodies, and was then forwarded to President Taft for his approval.

August 21, 1911—A Glorious Day.

On Monday, August 21, A. D. 1911, at three o'clock p. m., President Taft affixed his signature to the resolution giving us thereby our complete political autonomy, and authorizing the appearance of our star in the beautiful and glorious American banner, closing thus the grand fight which for sixty-three consecutive years our patriotic and suffering people had sus-

tained, while the American government also was finally fulfilling the solemn obligation which it had imposed upon itself by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The 21st day of August, therefore, shall shine in the annals of our history with the same effulgence that issues, from the star, in our flag, which represents our political entity in the American federation.

Official Notification.

On the 26th of August, (1911) Governor Mills received semi-official advices from President Taft to the effect that the enabling act was in force, and ordering him to issue a proclamation for the election of State officers. On the same day Governor Mills received the following telegram from the President.

President Taft's Message of Good Wishes.

"White House, Washington, D. C., August 21.

"My Dear Governor Mills,—I acknowledge receipt of your telegram of this morning, and I feelingly thank you for your kindly expression, regarding my approval of the statehood bill as revised.

"I felt a great pleasure in accelerating, with my signature, the admission to the federation, and cherish the best wishes for the wellfare and prosperity of the people of New Mexico, which very soon will be a state.

"With the kindest regards I am sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

"Hon. William J. Mills, Governor of New Mexico, Santa Fé, New Mexico."

The Pen Wherewith the Act Was Signed.

On the same day, August 27, ex-Governor Prince received a letter from Delegate W. H. Andrews, dated at Washington, August 22nd, 1911, (See Santa Fe New Mexican corresponding to August 25th, 1911), advising him that, by the mail of that same date, he had sent to Mr. Prince the pen which the President had used to sign the enabling act. The same was sent to Mr. Prince for its preservation in the New Mexico Historical Society.

Proclamation for the First State Election.

On August 29th, 1911, by communication signed by President Taft, the governor of New Mexico was officially advised of the passage of the resolution for the admission of New Mexico into the American Federation, and on the 30th of the same month, Governor Mills issued his proclamation for the election of two representatives to the Federal congress, and of the state and county officers, etc., in accordance with the constitution of New Mexico. The proclamation fixed the 7th day of November, 1911, for said election, the electors were also to vote for, or against the provision as to whether or not the state constitution may be amended with less difficulty, as it is provided for, in the resolution of Congress.

Political Conventions—Nominations of State Officers.

So soon as the proclamation was published the political parties made the necessary preparations for the meeting of their conventions to nominate the congressmen and State officials. After the official calls, the Republicans met in convention in Las Vegas and the Democrats in Santa Fé in the latter part of September and the earlier part of October, 1911, respectively, the candidates nominated being as follows:

By the Republican Party.

For Governor—Holm O. Bursum, of Socorro county.

For Lieutenant Governor—Malaquias Martinez, Taos county.

For Secretary of State—Secundino Romero, San Miguel county.

For Auditor—W. D. Sargent, Rio Arriba county.

For Treasurer—Sylvestre Mirabal, Valencia county.

For Attorney General—Frank W. Clancy, Bernalillo county.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction—Andrew B. Stroup, Bernalillo county.

For Commissioner of Public Lands—Robert P. Ervien, Union county.

For Supreme Court Judges—Frank W. Parker, Doña Ana

county; C. J. Roberts, Colfax county; Edward R. Wright, Otero county.

For Corporation Commissioners—George W. Armijo, Santa Fé county; Hugh Williams, Luna county; M. S. Groves, Eddy county.

For Congress—George Curry, Lincoln county; Elfego Baca, Bernalillo county.

By the Democratic Party.

For Governor—William C. McDonald, Lincoln county.

For Lieutenant Governor—E. C. De Baca, San Miguel county.

For Secretary of State—Antonio J. Lucero, San Miguel county.

For State Auditor—Frank A. Manzanares, Guadalupe county.*

For State Treasurer—O. N. Marron, of Bernalillo county.

For State Superintendent of Schools—Alvan N. White, Grant county.

For Attorney General—W. R. McGill, Roosevelt county.

For Commissioner of Public Lands—John L. Emerson, Eddy county.

For Justices of the Supreme Court—Summers Burkhart, Bernalillo county; W. A. Dunn, Chaves county; Richard H. Hanna, Santa Fé county.

For Corporation Commissioners—O. L. Owen, Curry county; Seferino Martinez, Colfax county; George H. Van Stone, Torrance county.

For Congress—H. B. Fergusson, Bernalillo county; Paz Valverde, Union county.

Campaign of Slander.

The nomination of candidates for congress and State offices thus made, the campaign was formally launched, and to say that it was warm and bitter would be a moderate characterization. It was a campaign where slander, vilification and personalities were resorted to the extent that in the history of disreputable political contests in the United States its

*Manzanares resigned before election day and Francisco Delgado, of Santa Fé, was put on the ticket in his place.—THE AUTHOR.

equal cannot be named, for not even the famous and degrading Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884 can come near it. The election was held on November 7, 1911, as provided for it in the proclamation.

Board of Canvassers.

The 27th day of November (1911) was set for the canvassing of the vote. The canvassing board, which consisted of Governor Mills, Chief Justice Pope and Secretary Jaffa met in the Capitol building, in the City of Santa Fé, on that day, and began the official counting of the vote. The counting lasted from day to day until the 16th day of December, 1911, and was conducted publicly and in the presence of the candidates and attorneys representing both political parties.

The 19th day of December, 1911, was set as argument day; on that day the arguments by the attorneys representing both political parties, respectively, began regarding the objections interposed and motions made by them while the vote was being canvassed. These objections and motions were interposed and made for the purpose of having the board reject, or throw out, some precints in some cases and in others to allow certain candidates a certain number of votes which the judges of election had refused to count in their favor on the ground that the name of the candidates so counted out was not the name voted for. This character of irregularities were somewhat numerous. In other instances the result of the election had been changed by the judges of election, the precinct of Carthage, Socorro county, being one where the judges of election, John B. McKinley, R. H. McIntire and Luis Silva, and their clerks, Dr. William Hart and John Webb, admitted to the board (vide Santa Fé New Mexican of December 22, 1911) that "the vote had been changed so that one of the candidates lost six votes and that others increased in different cases from three to six over the correct returns." Similar irregularities were argued and passed upon by the board, the board holding sessions each day for the hearing of these arguments. In precinct No. 1 (Clayton) of Union county, the board found that the poll books had not been certified to by the judges of election, and the said judges with their clerks were subpoenaed by the

board in order to have them sign the said poll books. They appeared before the board but only one of the judges and one of the clerks showed their willingness to sign whilst the other two judges and the other clerk declined to do so giving in writing, their reasons, whereupon the board ordered the matter referred to the district court having competent jurisdiction over that county. The opinion of the board was expressed by Chief Justice W. H. Pope on the day mentioned.

Referred to the Courts—Judge McFie Declines to Act.

The matter of the Clayton precinct election imbroglio was finally, by agreement of all parties concerned, referred to John R. McFie, judge of the first judicial district court, for final judicial adjudication, but Judge McFie on the 27th day of December, (1911), "for reasons personal to himself," and also because he believed he had no jurisdiction, declined to take cognizance of the matter. The question of jurisdiction having thus come into the case both sides agreed that Judge C. J. Roberts, judge of the fourth judicial district, wherein lies Clayton, was the only judge empowered to pass upon the question. Judge Roberts, who was then in Trinidad, Colorado, was, therefore, immediately wired to come to Santa Fé, which he did, arriving the next day, (December 28), and he at once heard the case and decided "that the judges and the clerks shall sign the returns."

Canvassing Board Meets—Certificates Issued—Engrossed Certificates of Result of Election Sent to the President of the United States by the Congressmen Elect.

December 29, 1911, at two o'clock the official canvassing board met at the Capitol. Governor Mills and Territorial Secretary Jaffa, present; Chief Justice W. H. Pope absent. The decision of Judge C. J. Roberts in the Clayton dispute was formerly presented and election Judge Eaton signed for himself and the other election judge and clerk who were absent. This precinct was then included and the count closed.

Before adjourning the board issued certificates of election to the successful candidates and placed the certificate of the

result of the election in the hands of Congressmen Fergusson and Curry who left for Washington on the evening of December 30, (1911) to deliver the same to President Taft.

The total vote cast for state officers is as follows:

For Governor, W. C. McDonald, Democrat, 31,036; H. O. Bursum, Republican, 28,019; McDonald's plurality 3,017.

For Congressmen, George Curry, Republican, 30,162; H. B. Fergusson, Democrat, 29,999; Elfego Baca, Republican, 28,836; Paz Valverde, Democrat, 28,353; Curry's plurality 1809; Fergusson's plurality 1163.

For Lieutenant Governor, Malaquias Martinez, Republican, 28,906; E. C. de Baca, Democrat, 29,642; de Baca's plurality 1736.

For Secretary of State, Secundino Romero, Republican, 28,392; Antonio Lucero, Democrat, 29,692; Lucero's plurality 760.

For State Auditor, William G. Sargent, Republican, 29,574; Francisco Delgado, Democrat, 29,133; Sargent's pluralty 441

For State Treasurer, Silvestre Mirabal, Republican, 28,977; O. N. Marron, Democrat, 29,867; Marron's plurality, 890.

For Attorney General, Frank W. Clancy, Republican, 30,162; W. R. McGill, Democrat, 28,721; Clancy's plurality 1441.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction, A. B. Stroup, Republican, 29,411; A. N. White, Democrat, 29,522; White's plurality 111.

For Commissioner of Public Lands, R. P. Ervien, Republican, 29,706; J. L. Emerson, Democrat, 29,242; Ervien's plurality 464.

For Justices of the Supreme Court, Frank W. Parker, Republican 29,583; C. J. Roberts, Republican, 29,681; E. R. Wright, Republican, 29,541; R. H. Hanna, Progressive Republican, 29,674; Summers Burkhart, Democrat, 29,453; W. A. Dunn, Democrat, 29,423; Parker's plurality 130; Robert's 258; Hanna's 133.

For Corporation Commissioners, G. W. Armijo, Republican, 29,108; H. H. Williams, Republican, 29,835; M. S. Groves, Republican, 29,783; George H. Van Stone, Progressive Republican, 29,451; O. L. Owen, Democrat, 28,509; Seferino Martinez, Democrat, 28,577. Through a mistake in printing,

1032 votes were cast for Sol Owen and could not be counted for O. L. Owen. Williams' plurality 1326; Groves' 1206, Van Stone's, 343.

The Blue Ballot—Majorities.

The vote on the amendment of the constitution was the heaviest cast, the blue ballot receiving 57,728 votes of which 34,897 were for it and 22,831 against it.

The majorities range as follows:

Blue Ballot	12,066
McDonald	1,230
Roberts	258
Hanna	133
Parker	130
Curry	64

All other successful candidates were elected by pluralities. The plurality ranged as follows:

Blue Ballot	12,066
McDonald	3,017
Curry	1,809
De Baca	1,736
Clancy	1,441
Williams	1,326
Groves	1,206
Fergusson	1,163
Marron	890
Lucero	760
Ervien	464
Sargent	441
Van Stone	343
Roberts	258
Hanna	133
Parker	130
White	111

List of State Officers and Standing of the Two Parties.

Governor, W. C. McDonald, Democrat.
Lieutenant Governor, E. C. de Baca, Democrat.
Secretary of State, Antonio Lucero, Democrat.
State Treasurer, O. N. Marron, Democrat.

Superintendent of Public Instruction, Alvan N. White, Democrat.

State Auditor, William G. Sargent, Republican.

Attorney General, Frank W. Clancy, Republican.

Land Commissioner, Robert P. Ervien, Republican.

Supreme court, Clarence J. Roberts and Frank W. Parker, Republicans, Richard H. Hanna, Progressive Republican.

Corporation Commissioners, Hugh H. Williams and M. S. Groves, Republicans, and George H. Van Stone, Progressive Republican.

The Republicans have eight, the Progressive Republicans two and the Democrats six of these officers, the Republicans controlling the state supreme court and the state corporation commission, the Democrats having not a single member on these two bodies.

Certificates for district judges were issued to four Republicans, one Progressive Republican and three Democrats.

Certificates for district attorneys were issued to five Republicans and three Democrats.

Certificates to the State Senate were given to fifteen Republicans, A. C. Abeytia in Socorro county, being defeated, two Progressive Republicans and seven Democrats; to membership in the House to thirty Republicans, three Progressive Republicans and sixteen Democrats, the Democrats having elected less than one-third of the membership in either house.

The Amendment to the Constitution is Officially Announced.

On the same day that the canvassing board sent its certificate of the result of the election to the President of the United States, December 30, 1911, governor William J. Mills, complying with the duty imposed by the Flood resolution upon him, declared, that the constitution had been amended, by the adoption of said resolution; this he did by issuing an official proclamation.

The Certificate Reaches the President.

On January 4, (1912) the certificate of the result of New Mexico's first legal state election was delivered to President Taft by Congressmen Fergusson and Curry, accompanied

by Delegate W. H. Andrews and other friends of New Mexico then sojourning in Washington. From a telegram received in Santa Fé, and published in the Santa Fé New Mexican of that date, it was learned that "President Taft was much interested, for it was the first time he has had a chance to add another star to the American flag."

Order to Prepare the Formal Proclamation.

From the same telegram it was learned that President Taft at once instructed the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, "to draw the formal proclamation of admission," the President expressing himself desirous "to sign the proclamation at 10 a. m. tomorrow, (January 5)."

It Was Short But Very Annoying.

Friday, January 5th, 1912, nearly every man, woman and child in the Capital City, Santa Fé, at 8 a. m. (which was 10 a. m. in Washington) looked the very picture of happiness; the day was extremely cold, but that did not hinder the people from going out to the bulletin board, postoffice, telegraph offices and to all other places where telegrams were likely to be received from Washington, all asking these questions: "Are we in?" "Has President Taft signed the proclamation?" No one could answer. Later in the forenoon anxiety was noticeable in every face; finally the rumor that the issuing of the proclamation had been postponed to 2 p. m. gained some circulation and relieved the anxiety which had began to make some people fear that some unforseen obstacle had again blocked the way. The hour of 2 p. m. arrived and no telegram came from Washington and so the crowds gave vent to their fear of another disappointment, and so it was for the evening paper, the Santa Fe New Mexican, came out that day earlier than usual with these significant words in large black type letters:

"Hoodoo Works to Last Minute."

Under this heading this telegram appeared: "Washington, D. C., Jan. 5.—Delegate W. H. Andrews has just received word from the White House that the Department of Justice wanted delay on the statehood proclamation until they could

arrange to dismiss the demurrers and appeals in the old timber cases. The President is vexed and displeased, and said he will not hold up a state's admission on any such old cases and will not wait longer than next week at the latest." The attitude of President Taft had the effect of inspiring everyone with the hope that the next Monday, January 8, the last bondage link of the chain of suffering would be cast to the winds and the long fight finished.

Justice is Done at Last.

The displeasure of President Taft had the effect of prompting the attorney general of the United States to immediately take the necessary steps to remove the obstacles without further delay. The demurrers and "old timber cases" referred to were pending in the supreme court of New Mexico, so on the evening of the 5th of January, after the president had so clearly expressed his vexation at the action of the Department of Justice, the acting attorney general wired the clerk of the supreme court of New Mexico the following instructions:

Attorney General's Telegram.

"Washington D. C. January 5, 1912.

Clerk Supreme Court.

Issue at once writ of error to review judgment rendered by district court, sixth judicial district last month, dismissing bill of complaint in cause number 14, entitled United States against the Alamogordo Lumber Company, a corporation. Absolutely necessary writ should issue to-night to prevent delay in signing proclamation for admission of New Mexico as state. Answer to-night.

KNAEBEL, acting attorney general."

The instructions were immediately complied with, the last obstacle removed and the President was the next day (January 6) notified that the proclamation was ready for his signature.

The Proclamation is Signed—New Mexico Becomes the 47th Star in the Glorious American Flag.

It was Saturday, the 6th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twelve, at the hour of

1:35 p. m. (Washington time, and 11:35 a. m., New Mexico time) and just 61 years 6 months and eighteen days since the first statehood convention had been held in New Mexico (June 20, 1850) and 63 years 11 months and 5 days from the day the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed (February 2, 1848) that the rights and privileges of American citizenship were extended to New Mexico.

On that day, and at the time stated, President Taft, in the presence of Delegate W. H. Andrews, Congressmen Curry and Fergusson, four members of the cabinet and other friends of New Mexico, affixed his signature to the proclamation admitting New Mexico to the American Union. The pen used by the President was made of gold with pearl handle which Delegate Andrews furnished the President with. After signing the proclamation the President remarked: "Well, it is all over. I am glad (speaking to Delegate Andrews and our Congressmen) to give you life, I hope you will be healthy." The New Mexico delegate (whose official functions as such had just ceased) and our Congressmen thanked the President on their behalf and on behalf of the people of New Mexico.

Archbishop Pitaval Thanks the President.

In Santa Fé everybody was rejoicing, and the first person to express his gratitude to the President was the Most Rev. J. B. Pitaval, Archbishop of Santa Fé, who at once wired the following message:

"SANTA FÉ, N. M., January 6, 1912.

"President Taft, Washington, D. C.

"I rejoice with the people of New Mexico over your proclamation. Heartiest congratulations.

ARCHBISHOP J. B. PITAVAL."

Thus ended the noble and patriotic fight initiated by the people of New Mexico over sixty-one years ago. Good and sufficient reasons did our people have to celebrate the 6th day of January, 1912, as the most memorable day in its history, for on that day the long desired transformation from a mere province-like colony into a sovereign state was realized. It was a recognition to which the people of New Mexico on all occasions proved its right and worthiness to, it was a recognition which had been unjustly withheld from them.

The President's Proclamation.*

WHEREAS the congress of the United States did by an act approved on the twentieth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and ten, authorize the people of the Territory of New Mexico to form a constitution and state government, and provide for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original states upon certain conditions in said act specified:

AND WHEREAS said people did adopt a constitution and ask admission into the union:

AND WHEREAS the congress of the United States did pass a joint resolution, which was approved on the twenty-first day of August, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, for the admission of the state of New Mexico into the union, which resolution required that the electors of New Mexico should vote upon an amendment of their state constitution, which was proposed and set forth at length in said resolution of congress, as a condition precedent to the admission of said state, and that they should so vote at the same time that the first general election as provided for in the said constitution should be held:

AND WHEREAS it appears from information laid before me that said first general state election was held on the seventh day of November, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, and that the returns of said election upon said amendment were made and canvassed as in section five of said resolution of congress provided:

AND WHEREAS the governor of New Mexico has certified to me the result of said election upon said amendment and of the said general election:

AND WHEREAS the conditions imposed by the said act of congress approved on the twentieth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and ten, and by the said joint resolution of congress have been fully complied with:

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*The officially certified copy of the foregoing Proclamation is on file in the office of Hon. Antonio Lucero, Secretary of the State of New Mexico, through whose courtesy I was able to reproduce same herein. —THE AUTHOR.

NOW THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, President of the United States of America, do, in accordance with the provisions of the act of congress and the joint resolution of congress herein named, declare and proclaim the fact that the fundamental conditions imposed by congress on the state of New Mexico to entitle that state to admission have been ratified and accepted, and that the admission of the state into the union on an equal footing with the other states is now complete.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twelve and of the Independence of of the United States of America, the one hundred and thirty-sixth.

(SEAL)

By the president: WM. H. TAFT.

P. C. KNOX,
Secretary of State.

No. 8613.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(EMBLEM)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

I CERTIFY that the document hereunto annexed is a true copy from the original in the archives of this department.

(A proclamation by the President of the United States, dated January 6, 1912, admitting the state of New Mexico into the union.)

In testimony whereof I, P. C. Knox, secretary of state, have hereunto caused the seal of the department of state to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Chief Clerk of the said department, at the city of Washington, this 22nd day of January, 1912.

(SEAL)

(Signed) P. C. KNOX,
Secretary of State.

By (Signed) WM. MCNEIR,
Chief Clerk.

New Mexico's Congressmen Take Their Seats.

On Monday, January 8, (1912) at 12:04 p. m., according to a telegram from Washington, published in the daily papers of New Mexico on that day, Congressman Sulzer, from New York, addressing the Speaker of the House of Representatives said: "Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to present to the House, Representatives-elect George Curry and H. B. Fergusson from New Mexico." Mr. Sulzer then escorted Messrs. Curry and Fergusson to the front of the speaker's desk and the oath of office was administered to them by Speaker Clark, after which ceremony desks were assigned to the newly sworn members "in the rear row of seats on the Republican side," amidst cheers from both sides of the House.

Organization of the First State Supreme Court.

Under the state constitution the first supreme court of New Mexico is composed of three judges, their term of office was determined by casting lots, the longest term being nine years, short time five years and the third, or middle term, of seven years, the judge drawing the short term being the one upon whom falls the honor of being the Chief Justice. The salaries of these judges are fixed in the constitution at $6,000 each annually.

Clarence J. Roberts, First Chief Justice.

On the 11th day of January, 1912, the Territorial Supreme Court met for the last time at the capitol in Santa Fé at 8:30 p. m., and after transacting the last business, to close that court forever, the crier of the court in a loud voice announced, or rather pronounced, the Territorial Supreme court out of existence in the following words: "*Hear ye! Hear ye!* The Honorable Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico is adjourned *sine die.*" The new supreme court was then organized, after the three judges had been sworn in by retiring Associate Justice John R. McFie. The new supreme court judges had previously cast lots which gave them the following terms: Clarence J. Roberts, short term of five years, which made him Chief Justice. Richard H. Hanna, seven year term and Frank W. Parker the long term, nine

years. The new court immediately held its first session by electing its clerk and one bailiff and adjourning until January 17, (1912) at 10 a. m.

Third Greatest Event in the History of New Mexico—State Government Formally Organized—W. C. McDonald, the First Governor Qualifies as Such.

The 30th day of April, 1598, marks in our history the first of the three greatest events for it was on that day that Don Juan de Oñate entered New Mexico and took formal and solemn possession of the country in the name of Don Felipe Segundo, (Philip the Second) King of Spain, which act of possession was followed by the establishment of colonies and the conversion of the Pueblo Indians.

The Second Greatest Event.

The next greatest event in our history was the coming of General Kearny and his taking formal possession of New Mexico, in Santa Fé, August 18, 1846, on which date the change of flags took place and the people of New Mexico received the promise of ample protection from Indian raids and depredations, as well as the promise of true and complete autonomy. From that promise, and the solemn obligation assumed by the American government in the treaty with Mexico in 1848, sprang the hope with which the fight for admission to the union was maintained, and which came to a happy end with the solemn change of governments—from territorial to state government—on the 15th day of January, A. D. 1912, that memorable date marking in our history

The Third Greatest Event.

As the reader has already seen several of the state officials had already entered into the discharge of their duties, these were our two congressmen and the judges of the state supreme court, but the government proper remained under the old territorial officials, said officials having been, in fact, the first state officials, *de facto if not de jure*, until the 15th day of January, 1912, when all the state officials elect, from governor down, qualified, establishing thus the state government by which the people of New Mexico came into the possession

of the greatest of political rights, that of full fledged American citizens by having such government as the immortal Lincoln characterized as a free government. "A Government of the People, by the People and for the People." We will now give a detailed account of the doings on that, the 3rd most memorable day in our history, the 15th of January, 1912.

Inauguration of State Officials.

William C. McDonald, governor elect, was given an ovation. The full report of his inauguration was published in the Capital's daily, The Santa Fe New Mexican, on the day of the occurrence, and in the other dailies of New Mexico.

The following list comprises the full set of the other state officials who qualified and entered into the performance of their respective duties:

Lieutenant Governor, Esequiel C. de Baca, democrat.

Secretary of State, Antonio Lucero, democrat, succeeding Nathan Jaffa, republican.

Attorney General Frank W. Clancy, republican, succeeding himself.

State Auditor, William G. Sargent, republican, succeeding himself.

State Treasurer, O. N. Marron, democrat, succeeding Rufus J. Palen, republican.

Superintendent of Instruction, Alvan N. White, democrat, succeeding James E. Clark, progressive republican.

Commissioner of Public Lands, R. P. Ervien, republican, succeeding himself.

Corporation Commission, Hugh H. Williams, republican, M. S. Groves, republican, George H. Van Stone, progressive republican.

President Taft Thanks Archbishop Pitaval.

Appreciative of the telegram of congratulation sent him by Archbishop Pitaval, supra, President Taft by letter dated January 7, 1912, writes the Archbishop thus:

"The White House, Washington D. C., January 7, 1912.

"My Dear Archbishop Pitaval—The President has received

your telegram of the 6th. inst. and asks me to thank you for sending it. It gave him great pleasure to sign the proclamation admitting New Mexico into the Union as a state.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES D. HILLES,
Secretary to the President."

Underneath President Taft wrote himself these words:
"Thank you, Archbishop! Wm. H. T."

The 47th Star, New Mexico.

Ode written and set to music by Rev. Julius Hartman, assistant Parish Priest to the Pastor of Guadalupe Church, Santa Fé. Sung immediatly after the inaugural address of Governor McDonald, by a chorus composed of young ladies and men, all competent singers, and arranged as a living American flag:

The 47th Star, New Mexico.

I.

Country dear, where the eternal sun shines;
There one finds what is creation's best.
Where fair, distant, lofty mountain-outlines
Touch the heaven's canopy,
And eyes on vast plains rest;
'Tis this country we hallow,
New Mexico.

Generations struggled hard
To make its people free,
Till at last, Columbia's Guard
Sounds Liberty.

II.

Country dear, now gleam thy new star's pure ray
From the blue vault of God's mighty dome.
Night is past, there dawns for thee a new day.
Undimmed, keep thy radiance all
In time to come.
Be our guide, does darkness fall;
Lead to our home.

III.

Country dear, where ancient races' feet trod
This ever calm and silent fairy-land.
Here apostle—soldiers of the true God
Planted on its hills the cross,
Blood stained its burning sand.
Now the Union's banner floats
O'er free man's land.
Guard this land against the foe,
O God its barque Thou steer;
And sail on New Mexico,
Grow without fear.

IV.

Country dear, fare on and prosper ever,
Happiness, peace, dwell beneath thy sky.
Duty, virtue, love for thee may never
Part from me, this is my pray'r;
And on the day I die,
May I find in this land fair
A place to lie.

Meeting of the First State Legislature.

Pursuant to the call issued by Governor McDonald, the first State legislature met in Santa Fé, the Capital, on the 11th day of March, A. D., 1912, and Hon. Roman Liberato Baca was elected Speaker of the House, the Lieutenant Governor, Hon. Ezequiel C. de Baca, being, by a constitutional provision, the President of the Senate.

Membership of the First State Legislature—Their Residence and Politics.

SENATORS.

John S. Clark, East Las Vegas, Republican.
Juan Navarro, Mora, Republican.
Louis C. Ilfeld, Las Vegas, Republican.
Thomas D. Burns, Tierra Amarilla, Republican.
Joseph F. Sulzer, Albuquerque, Progressive Republican.
Epimenio A. Miera, Cuba, Republican.
Isaac Barth, Albuquerque, Democrat.
E. C. Crampton, Raton, Republican.
Eugenio B. Gallegos, Clayton, Republican.
Benjamin F. Pankey, Lamy, Republican.

Squire Hartt, Jr., Ranches of Taos, Republican.
Boleslo Romero, Los Lunas, Republican.
Charles J. Laughren, Deming, Republican.
Abelino Romero, San Marcial, Progressive Republican.
William M. McCoy, Mountainair, Republican.
Herbert B. Holt, Las Cruces, Republican.
Gregory Page, Gallup, Republican.
John M. Bowman, Alamogordo, Republican.
James F. Hinkle, Roswell, Democrat.
Fred F. Doepp, Carlsbad, Democrat.
A. J. Evans, Portales, Democrat.
C. H. Alldredge, Tucumcari, Democrat.
T. J. Mabry, Clovis, Democrat.
W. B. Walton, Silver City, Democrat.

REPRESENTATIVES.

Zacarias Padilla, Los Lunas, Republican.
Miguel E. Baca, Los Lunas, Republican.
Conrad N. Hilton, San Antonio, Republican.
Thomas F. Cooney, Mogollon, Republican.
Tomas A. Gurule, Albuquerque, Democrat.
John Baron Burg, Albuquerque, Democrat.
Rafael Garcia, Albuquerque, Democrat.
Roman L. Baca, Santa Fé, Republican.
Charles C. Catron, Santa Fé, Republican.
Julian Trujillo, Chimayo, Republican.
J. P. Lucero, Lumberton, Republican.
George W. Tripp, East Las Vegas, Republican.
José Lobato, Tecolote, Republican.
Francisco Quintana, Las Vegas, Republican.
Blas Sanchez, Wagon Mound, Republican.
Remigio Lopez, Roy, Democrat.
J. R. Skidmore, Raton, Republican.
M. C. Martinez, Raton, Democrat.
Manuel Cordova, Taos, Republican.
Luis R. Montoya, Taos, Republican.
Marcos C. de Baca, Bernalillo, Progressive Republican.
O. T. Toombs, Clayton, Republican.
J. D. Casados, Clapham, Democrat.
James W. Chaves, Willard, Republican.

Juan J. Clancy, Puerto de Luna, Republican.
John Young, Gallup, Republican.
Duncan McGillivray, Crown Point, Republican.
W. H. H. Llewellyn, Las Cruces, Republican.
Presiliano Moreno, Las Cruces, Republican.
James V. Tully, Glencoe, Republican.
Charles P. Downs, Alamogordo, Republican.
J. W. Mullens, Roswell, Democrat.
J. T. Evans, Roswell, Democrat.
W. E. Rogers, Roswell, Democrat.
Hugh M. Gage, Carlsbad, Democrat.
Florence Love, Loving, Democrat.
P. E. Carter, Portales, Democrat.
S. J. Smith, Deming, Democrat.
A. S. Goodell, Silver City, Democrat.
Robert H. Boulware, Silver City, Democrat.
George H. Tucker, Hillsboro, Democrat.
W. H. Chrisman, Aztec, Republican.
J. W. Campbell, Tucumcari, Democrat.
J. L. House, House, Democrat.
Antonio D. Vargas, Ojo Caliente, Republican.
Tranquilino Labadie, Santa Rosa, Republican.
Manuel P. Manzanares, Fort Sumner, Republican.
W. E. Blanchard, Arabella, Republican.
W. W. Nichols, Clovis, Democrat.

Election of First Senators to the United States Senate.

The State Legislature after a somewhat stormy session of eight days on the 27th day March, 1912, elected Hon. Thomas Benton Catron, from Santa Fé, and Hon. Albert B. Fall, from Three Rivers, Otero county, as the first United States Senators from the sovereign State of New Mexico. The two United States Senators thus elected were on the 2nd day of April, 1912, seated in the Senate of the United States thus making of New Mexico a full fledged state of the great American Union.

May Our Star Spangled Banner be Forever the Symbol of True Liberty —Account of the Fight.

During the eight legislative days, March 19th to 27th, (one Sunday the 24th, not counted) the senatorial contest

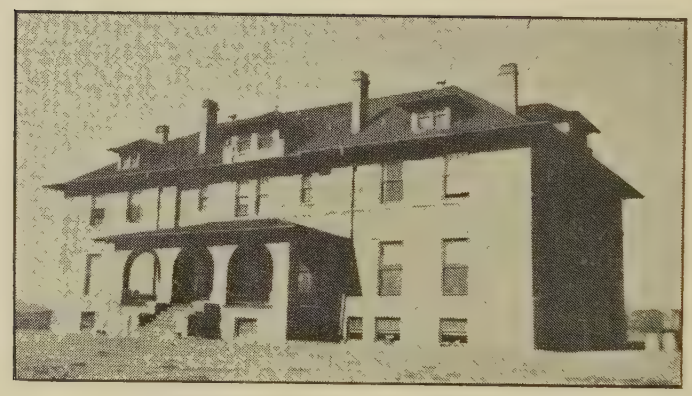
was interesting and very complicated. There were many candidates, but the leading ones from the start were the two finally elected, Catron and Fall, ex-delegate in Congress from New Mexico, W. H. Andrews, ex-Governor W. J. Mills, Octaviano A. Larrazolo, ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince, Malaquias Martinez, Roman L. Baca, Speaker of the House, Eugenio Romero, with two or three others who received one vote each. These were republicans. On the democratic side of the legislature, Judge N. B. Laughlin, and other prominent democrats, received a complimentary vote. A. A. Jones and Felix Martinez received the solid vote from the democratic and progressive members, which numbered twenty-six altogether. Don Solomon Luna although not a candidate refused for several days the toga. He was the unanimous choice of the republican members, but having promised to support Catron and Fall remained faithful to them until through his efforts all factions were brought together, thus effecting the election of Catron and Fall. *

* In connection with the election of United States Senators a great scandal was developed from an effort made on the part of certain republican politicians to cause the arrest and unseating of the following four members of the House of Representatives: Manuel Córdova and Luis R. Montoya, members from Taos county and J. P. Lucero, and Julian Trujillo, members from Rio Arriba county, on charges made by one Elfego Baca accusing said men of soliciting money in consideration of their support for certain candidates for the office of United States Senators. The author of this work and Geo. W. Prichard defended the accused men before the special committee of the House and E. R. Wright represented the House of Representatives. After a trial which lasted ten days, March 20th to March 29, 1912, the accused were exonerated. The following is a concise report of the trial as published by the press of New Mexico immediately after the trial:

"Nothing has occurred during the session of the legislature that has created more interest and unalloyed satisfaction to the people who love a square deal than the re-seating of the four members in the lower house. On the 19th day of March, Trujillo, Lucero, Montoya and Córdova, all republican representatives from Taos and Rio Arriba counties, were charged with accepting bribes. They were arrested and put in jail at the instance of the executive committee of the republican party. These four men were deprived of voting for their preference for United States Senators and from participating in any proceedings of the legislature for nineteen days.

"There was no evidence during the investigation of this case to

prove beyond a doubt, that the four men had accepted a bribe. The only witness for the prosecution who gave a clear and concise statement of everything that transpired was Hon. Charles A. Spiess. His evidence was implicitly credited and from it nothing could be deduced that would prove the the men guilty of the crime charged. Other witnesses corroborated the testimony of Mr. Spiess."—THE AUTHOR.



Spanish-American School, El Rito.

CHAPTER XIII.

Historical Chain Composed of Disconnected Incidents—Puerto de Luna is Settled—Troubles With the Indians—Visit of a Distinguished Mexican General—La Roca del Moro—Aubry-Weightman Tragedy—Tragic Death of Beck and Gorman.

As the heading of this chapter indicates the narratives given in it, will be in the shape of historical incidents that, because of the fact of their being of a semi-local character, the author did not deem them as proper matter to be introduced in the body of the work. They form, however, a very interesting part of our history, because they present, in a striking manner, the sufferings and vicissitudes which formed part of the lives of the families that first came to New Mexico to people many of the villages far away from the centers of population, many of them disregarding the danger of incursions of the Indians, and their attacks on individuals who happened to thus isolate themselves so to speak, from their neighbors. In relating all these incidents, the author has aimed, so far as it has been possible for him so to do, to give the narratives just as the same were given him by the very persons who either witnessed the acts, or had an opportunity of getting the information contemporaneously with the occurrence.

Settlement of Puerto de Luna—Troubles With the Indians—By Fabian Brito, Age, 70 years.

"In the winter of 1862, a committee of thirteen men was sent to examine the place where Puerto de Luna stands, with instructions to give a report of its conveniences for the establishment of a colony of several families, and in the spring of the year following, the first families arrived there, consisting of the families of the following settlers, Don Melquiades Ramirez, Sixto Ramirez, Mercedes Carvajal, Fabian Brito, Pablo Pacheco and Miguel Chavez.

"In the spring of that year they made a dyke across the

Rio de Pecos, constructing an acequia therefrom to irrigate their lands, which they cultivated with great success, but they did not wait long before bands of savage Indians, chiefly from the Navajoe tribe commenced to attack them, for during the summer of that year they attacked the herder employed in caring for the stock of the village, and killed him, but were pursued by the people and all the animals taken back, the Indians taking to flight on being overtaken by the people. They came afterwards and killed a boy who was also employed in herding animals; but the alarm being at once given, they were again quickly pursued, preventing them from driving away any animals. One of the best shots of the settlers succeeded in killing an Indian before he, the Indian, escaped in the darkness of night to the neighboring hill, for these Indians always waited till sun-down in order to attack their victims.

"During the winter of the same year other settlers arrived, about five families more, and took possession of the lands on the east side of the river, built an acequia (ditch) to irrigate them, dividing the land among themselves in such quantities as each was able to cultivate. The first flour mill was established on the west side of the river by Don Melquiades Ramirez. The mill was worked by water-power from the acequia.

"In the spring of 1864, the Indians made another incursion and carried away many of the horses, but they were pursued very closely and were overtaken the next day in the plains to the west where they were given battle, the result of which was the killing of three Indians, the others escaping because they had the best horses. One of our men was slightly wounded.

"In the spring of 1866, intelligence reached Puerto de Luna that the Navajoes had carried away a flock of sheep belonging to the late "Cuate Rael," of Antonchico. Ten men started out at once, and twelve more on foot in search of them, and overtook the Indians on the other side of Salado Creek (Arroyo Salado). The Indians were about twenty-five in number, and when our men first caught sight of them, they tried to flank us in order to cut out our escape. Our men succeeded in discovering the plan without being seen by the Indians; but a contrary and somewhat tempestuous wind gave the Indians all the advantage, and they availed themselves

School of Mines, Socorro.

of it; for rushing onward with the flock of sheep they raised an immense cloud of dust which hid them from the sight of our men and safe from being hurt; while our men remained in the uncovered portion of the ground in such position as to make a sure target for the Indian shooters. Soon two of our men were wounded. Seeing this disadvantage, and that the sun was about to set, while the men on foot would not be able to arrive soon to their aid, they had to abandon the assault without any other success than that of having rescued a shepherd whom the Indians had captured with the same flock, and whom they had obliged to haul water for the journey, pricking him with their lances to make him travel when already exhausted by fatigue."

The Visit of General Palacio.

From the day in which the change of flags was effected, the soil of New Mexico had never again been trodden by a general of the Mexican army, until the year 1886, when the Capital was visited by the famed general, distinguished statesman and erudite man of letters, General Vicente Riva Palacio. In the civic and military history of the Mexican Republic, the figure of the sympathetic General Palacio stands in bold relief among the many great men of Mexico. Palacio was great in the world of letters, in the military career, and as a diplomat. As a learned man, he was author of many important works of literature and poetry; as a soldier, he covered himself with glory during the war of intervention, he being the man who received the sword of the vanquished Emperor Maximilian.

As a diplomat his fame is well established in the history of nations, acting in that post, when his life ended, as minister plenipotentiary in the court of Spain a little after he had passed through New Mexico in 1886. On July 24th of that year, General Palacio arrived in Santa Fé, en route for Spain and Portugal, to which kingdoms he was going as minister. He was accompanied by all the members of the Mexican legation, namely: Mr. Icaza, secretary of the legation, Messrs. Galvan, Miranda and Sevilla, who formed part of the legation, and Mr. B. V. Whiting, who had been a resident of Santa Fé from 1849 to 1861. General Palacio was received with military honors by General Bradley, who was then

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

commanding officer of the military district of New Mexico. On the evening of the same day, the people of Santa Fé, without race distinction, gave General Palacio and the members of the legation a royal serenade in which addresses of welcome were delivered by Judge L. Bradford Prince, in English, and Larkin G. Read, in Spanish. The answer given by the general to the fine reception and welcome tendered him was couched in the following words;*

"Brothers, Sirs, and Gentlemen:—I thank you all for this benevolent reception. When I left Mexico I had already determined to visit Santa Fé—the metropolis of New Mexico —for three reasons: First, because it is a historical center abounding in tender remembrances of past times; second, because in this place are three-fourths of a population, through whose veins circulates the same blood running through my veins; and third, because the fame of its hospitality is known the world over, and I cherished a profound desire of becoming acquainted with its people.

My Mexican Brothers: It is highly gratifying to me to see you this evening face to face; I have for you the most profound sympathy, because you are flesh of my flesh and bone of my bones. I am very much pleased to see you living prosperous and happy under the shadow of the American Ensign, a post where destiny has placed you; but remember that beyond the 'Bravo' are you brothers, contented and happy, too; courage, then, and be loyal citizens to the most liberal government under the sun, and under whose protection you are treading on the march of progress. I have today been treated with warm hospitality; I have shaken hands with your military officers, and at that moment, I was convinced that we will never stand face to face in the field of battle, but we shall certainly combat shoulder to shoulder for American independence. Harmony is the name of these two great nations of the American continent; foreign powers may try to involve us in strife, but we shall always live in harmony, because harmony means the commercial interest of the United States. To the post of duty which my country has assigned me, I shall carry in my memory the recollection of the kindnesses of

* See the "Boletin Popular" of Santa Fé, the 10th of July, 1886.

our American brothers on this occasion, and if God grants me life to return, my greatest satisfaction shall be to again shake the hand of these people."

At the close of this address, which was received with applause and cheers, by the large concourse, the general received the hand-shake of a large number of his old fellow-citizens, and shortly after, retired for the night to his apartments.

The next day, the general and his party, accompanied by several officers and citizens, visited all the points of interest in Santa Fé, and, in the night, left for New York, from which point they were to set sail for Spain, where he died. Before leaving, the general left for publication, the note that follows:

"Santa Fe, N. M., July 25, 1886.

"To the People:

"On leaving this fine city, without being able to take special leave of each of the persons who have honored me with such extraordinary demonstrations of sympathy, I avail myself of the newspaper press to say that, engraven in my heart by the hand of gratitude, I carry the noble, brilliant and cordial hospitality which I received from this city and which I shall never forget.

VICENTE RIVA PALACIO."

La Roca del Moro.

There is in the western part of New Mexico, and near the dividing line between New Mexico and Arizona, a monstrous rock, which, like a tower or light house, shoots up from the bottom of a valley rising to the height of 225 feet and commanding a view of all the country for many miles around. That rock forms, undoubtedly, one of the most important pages in the history of New Mexico, as it was, for the conquerors, or at least the greater part of them, what the light house is for sailors. Many miles before reaching the valleys of Zuñi, the conquerors beheld the rock to which they gave the name of "La Roca del Moro," (the Rock of the Moor) and so it was that it came to be the guiding object of the Spaniards in their entries into New Mexico. In said rock there is a very large cave in which the Spaniards were wont

to lodge, each of them leaving engraven in the rock, with a sharp steel tool, their names and dates of visit to the same. The first inscription reads thus:

"The very illustrious Governor and Captain General of the Province of New Mexico, for our Lord the King, returning

Parochial School, Santa Fe, under the care of the Sisters of Loretto, with Monsignor Antonio Fourchegú in charge.

from the pueblos of Zuñi, on the 25th day of July, 1629. At their request he left them in peace, imploring the favor as vassals of his majesty, and they offered him again their submission. All of which he did with the wisdom, zeal and prudence of the scrupulous and gallant, Christian soldier."

In the lower part of the inscription just noted, the autographs of Diego Nuñez Vellido, Joseph Ramos, Diego

Zapata, and Bartolomé Naranjo may be seen engraven. That inscription is followed by another one which says:

"By this place Governor Don Manuel Silva Nieto passed with the wagons of the King, our Lord, who, with the indisputable might of his arm, has subdued that which was impossible, a thing that he alone could have accomplished, on August 9, 1629, of which fact I went and carried testimony to Zuñi."

In another part of the same rock the inscription is found which Oñate made in the year 1605, in his voyage to San Gabriel, New Mexico, from the Pacific Ocean. It reads thus:

"Through this place the Commandant, Don Juan Oñate, passed from the discovery of the South Sea, on the 16th day of April, 1605."

Almost touching Oñate's inscription is found the inscription chiselled there by Don Diego de Vargas, in these words:

"Here stood General Don Diego de Vargas, who conquered for our Holy Faith and the royal crown of Spain, the whole of New Mexico, at his own expense, in the year 1692."

In like manner another inscription is found from the Governor General, Don Juan Pais Hurtado, engraven on July 14th, 1736, in which is read:

"On the 14th day of July, 1736, General Juan Pais Hurtado, the official visitor, passed through here accompanied by Corporal Joseph Truxillo." There is another inscription which, according to the dictum of historians, was engraved by the son of Governor Hurtado, in these words, in 1739. "On the 5th day of the month of June of this year, 1739, Don Ramon Pais Hurtado passed through here, bound for Zuñi."

One of the best engraved inscriptions is the one made by Juan Archuleta. About the years 1630 or 1631, the Indians put to death Father Letrado, concerning which occurrence the reader has already been informed in another part of this work, and Captain Juan Archuleta was sent from Santa Fé, with an escort of soldiers, to punish the Indians for having killed Father Letrado. Archuleta and his soldiers were at the rock, and there Archuleta engraved the following inscription:

"They passed through here on the 23rd of March, 1632, to avenge the death of Father Letrado."

Other inscriptions are noted, but not being discernible,

according to trustworthy reports of persons who have recently visited the rock, they ought not to be recorded in history.*

Aubry–Weightman Tragedy—Death of Aubry.

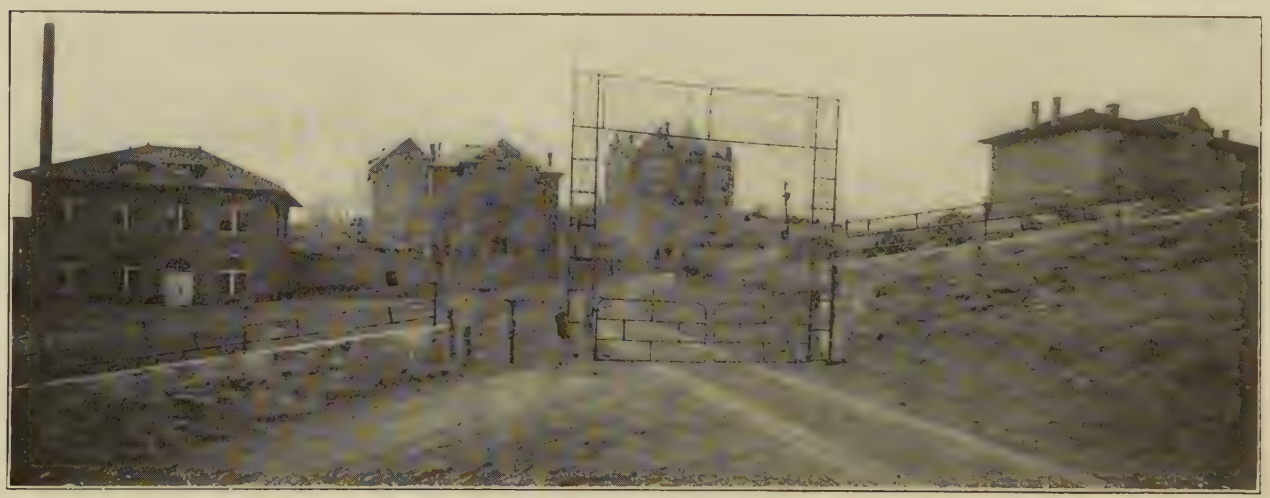
(From the written description given to the author by Don Demetrio Perez, who was an eye-witness).

"The month of August, 1854, recorded one of the first murders among one of the most prominent members of Santa Fé society, at that time. Just eight years after the entry of Kearny into New Mexico, two of the greatest men of those times met in a bar room, Messrs. Francis Aubry and Richard H. Weightman. The first had just returned from a trip made to California with the object of discovering a shorter route to the coast of the Pacific ocean in which he succeeded. The other, Weightman, had just returned from Washington after the close of his term as delegate to congress from New Mexico. Following an affectionate salutation came the 'treats,' and after the drinks came the trouble. By reason of a newspaper article their temper became inflamed whence followed an assault by Aubry on Weightman in which Aubry threw the liquor on Weightman's face covering him, at the same time, with his pistol. Weightman, however, was quicker, for, drawing his dagger he plunged it into Aubry's heart, he, Aubry, dying that very instant. Weightman was then arrested by the sheriff, Jesus Maria Baca. He was subsequently indicted, tried and acquitted."

Beck–Gorman Tragedy.

The other celebrated event which culminated in the tragic death of both combatants happened also in Santa Fé, in the year 1858, between two prominent merchants of the Capital. Early in the month of March of that year, Preston Beck, a partner of the firm, "Beck and Johnson," had a wrangle with one of the clerks employed in the commercial house of a certain Richard Owens, named Gorman, because Gorman had reprehended another employe, named Pancho Griego, who worked for Beck. Beck went to Owens' establishment and

* Mrs. Blanche Dougan Cole in "El Boletin Popular" of September 10, 1903.



Normal School, Las Vegas.

attempted to scold Gorman, but Gorman would not allow it, whence a challenge to armed combat followed in which both used pocket knives. The stabbing was frightful, and fatal to both parties, as Gorman fell dead on the spot, and Beck died a week after the unfortunate encounter. This information the author of this work received from Mr. Perez.

APPENDIX FIRST.

A Memorial That Contains the History of New Mexico From Its Discovery to the Year 1630, Written by Father Fray Alonso De Benavides, Custodian of New Mexico, and Presented to the King by Said Father and Fray Juan de Santander in Madrid—Printed in Madrid in the Same Year, 1630, and Re-Printed in Mexico in 1889, and Annexed as "Appendix Second" to "La Historia de La Nuevo Mejico," of Villagrá From Which It Is Reproduced.

"I, Sir Fray Juan de Santander, of the order of Saint Francis, Commissary General of the Indies, say: That with the narration made to me by Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, Custodian of the conversions of New Mexico, last year, 1626, on July 20th, concerning the large increases which those conversions were acquiring and how much religious persons were missed for administering them, did inform Your Majesty; in attention to which, with the accustomed zeal of so great a Catholic King and Lord, you vouchsafed to order a Royal schedule issued of the following import: Marquis of Cerralvo, my relative, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain, or to the person or persons in whose charge is the administration of their government: Fray Juan de Santander, Commissary General of the Indies, has informed me that it is more than thirty years that the conversion of New Mexico was commenced by religious persons of his order, where they stayed for more than twelve years without producing any results from those souls; and yet the Province of the Holy Gospel was ever careful to send out a commissary and some religious persons to that land; and that it is about five years, according to the Provincial Chapter that was held in the Province of the Holy Gospel, that New Mexico was erected into a Custody, (mission) and given as its Custodian, Fray Alonso de Benavides, a religious of good example and life, and that you gave him leave to take along twenty-six ministers for the purpose of those conversions (as he did

take them,) and that at present there are only 16 priests and three laymen, the others having died; and, as they are so few and the district embraced by such custody being of more than a hundred leagues of route, rough and mountainous, and the Indians existing there being thirty four thousand three hundred and twenty, they (the religious) cannot attend to their administration; he requested me to vouchsafe to command that you and that audiencia should send out to that custody as many as thirty ministering priests and some laymen, and that said conversions should be kept going on, and you should be helping them with what is necessary; and this matter having been considered in my council of the Indies, I have approved it as a good thing; and therefore, I command you to cause thirty religious persons to be sent out to the said custody of New Mexico for the said conversion and teaching of the Indians; and hereafter you shall have great care that they be provided with as many more religious as may seen to be necessary, for such is my will."

"Madrid the 15th of November, sixteen hundred and twenty-seven:

"And, in compliance, and conformity, with such a Catholic schedule and command, thirty religious went out from the Province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico, last year 1629,--all of exemplary life, and with the same resolve as made by those who were there; and by the preaching and exertions of these thirty who so went out recently by command of Your Majesty, Our Lord, has worked so many wonders and miracles, and made such grand discoveries of riches, both spiritual and temporal, that it seemed fitting to the Viceroy of New Spain, and Commissary General of that region, that said Father Fray Alonso de Benavides, as a person in whose hand the direction of those conversions was placed during these years, should come personally to exhibit to Your Majesty the fruits of the zeal with which Your Majesty favors and protects them, giving them, even in this life, part of the infinite reward which awaits you and you deserve; for besides the treasure of five hundred thousand souls converted to our holy Catholic faith, and subject to Your Majesty, out of whom there are already more than eighty-six thousand baptized, Our Lord also pays you in that which is temporal with the discovery

High School, Santa Fé.

of such rich treasures in mines so prosperous. And as said Father has come to this court with this sole purpose, having traveled in this year 1630, more than two thousand six hundred leagues amid many dangers and difficulties, and as he is a person worthy of all credit, and of any favor that Your Majesty may be pleased to grant him on account of the abundant work he has made in those conversions, I ask of and implore from Your Majesty to be pleased to listen to the memorial he shall present, in which he gives a summary of all that Our Lord has worked in those conversions, with the royal protection of Your Majesty, as also that he may, by word, make manifest the abundant service of our religion in that remote kingdom of yours, which has been performed with advantage to the souls of so many infidel barbarians who have received the knowledge of our good God and Lord whose principal merit Your Majesty enjoys; and his memorial is in the following forum.

FRAY JUAN DE SANTANDER,
Commissary General of the Indies.

"Sir: I, Fray Alonzo de Benavides, of the order of Saint Francis, Custodian of the conversions and custody of New Mexico, say that the events and things of that kingdom, or rather of the new world, which in these current years we, the religious of my Father, Saint Francis, the first and only ones therein, have converted and pacified unto God, our Lord, and unto the obedience of Your Majesty, because no other religious order up to now has entered there, are so many and such that I shall not be able to represent them at a single time, and briefly, for, with the royal succors and protection of Your Majesty, we have discovered great treasures both spiritual and temporal, which His Divine Majesty has vouchsafed to honor with so many marvels and miracles that it seemed fitting both to the Viceroy of Mexico and to my religious order to command me to come personally to manifest them to Your Majesty, as I have been the person who has governed and administered them for many years; and that, in whatever I should fall short in this memorial (in avoiding prolixity) to whom we so much desire to serve, I should state it in words in the intervals that Your Majesty

may be pleased to hear me; and I shall consider it a very great reward for the many dangers, toils and pilgrimages which we there went through with such a brilliant success in honor and glory of God, our Lord, that Your Majesty may at least be advised of it,and may kñow also of the great esteem and prayers you enjoy and receive in those remote provinces, at a distance from here of more than two thousand, six hundred leagues, which I have traveled precisely for this purpose, this year of 1630, esteeming all this time and work as very well employed on seeing myself at the feet of Your Majesty; and I declare, as follows:

Nations That Inhabit the Road to New Mexico.

"The Kingdom and Provinces of New Mexico are situated four hundred leagues beyond the city of Mexico, at 37 degrees; and although at that place are its towns, its district commences two hundred leagues before reaching that point, that is, at the Valley of Santa Bárbara, the last pueblo of New Spain in that region, the division being made by the Rio de Conchos, so named on account of the Concho nation which inhabits it. Hence we go along the Rio Grande for a hundred leagues which are crossed amid great dangers, because they are inhabited by the nations of the Tobosos, Tarahumares, Tepeoanes, Tomites, Sumas, Hanos, and others —very ferocious, savage, and indomitable peoples; for they go along always entirely naked without scarcely having a single sowing field; they live from what they hunt, that is, every species of animals, though these be unclean, moving, for these purposes from hills to hills; and, on account of gambling, these nations are wont to have civil wars, and brutally kill themselves. Their arms are the bow and arrow which are generally the arms of all the other nations. While crossing among them, they attack us face to face, if they see few people among us, and do all the harm they can; wherefore it is not possible to pass except with two men on horseback and very well armed, and, even with this precaution, it is necessary to go along with care making fires early in the night, in order to divert them, and to go ahead as much as is possible, for, when they see a large force of people, they at least try during the night, to do all the mischief they

can among the horses; and ever since New Mexico was discovered there have always been wars, on passing through these hundred leagues, with these Indians for the defense against the damages they endeavor to inflict on us, although, through God our Lord's mercy, the Spaniards always come out victorious. We have made every effort possible to convert and pacify all these nations, both for the good of their souls, as well as for the safety of the road, but their savagery is so great that they won't allow themselves to be spoken to. May our Lord vouchsafe to hasten the time of their conversion as the others.

The Manso Nation of the Rio del Norte.

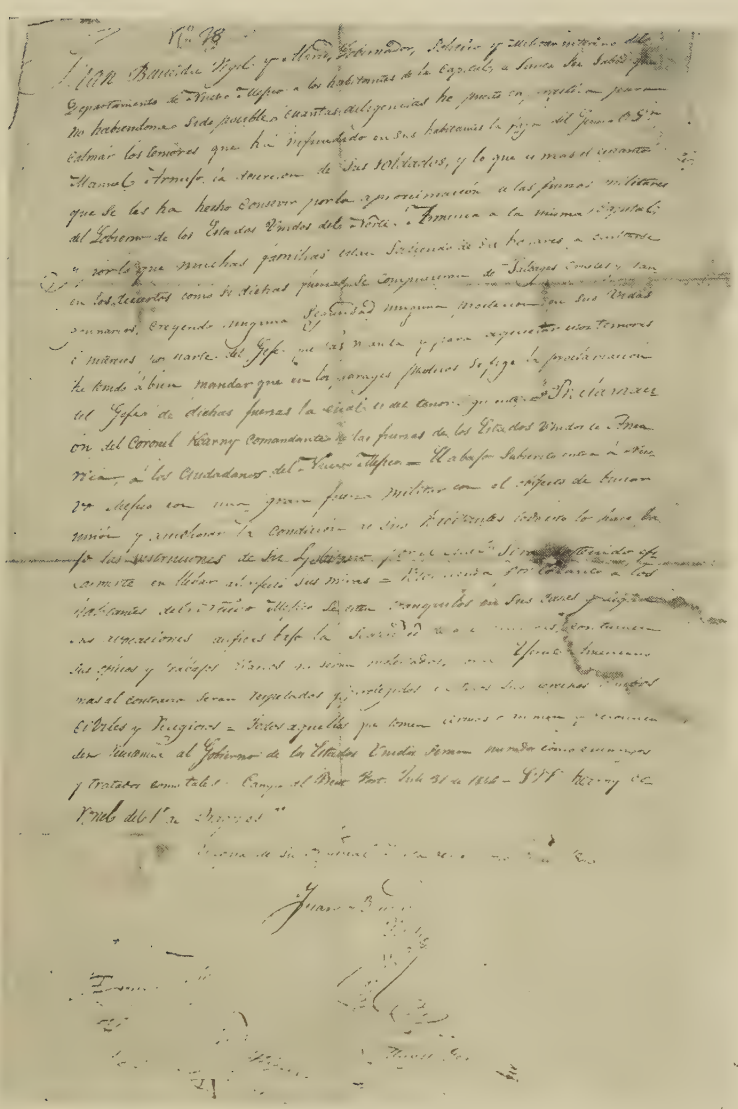
"These hundred leagues being passed, we arrive at the famous Rio del Norte, which has this name because it drags its current from that direction for many leagues. This river runs a hundred leagues before leaving New Mexico; it is inhabited by a nation commonly called Mansos or Gorretas, because they so dress their hair that they look as though they had a cap on their heads; and are easily scared by our dogs which have some times bitten them when they have received us in a warlike mood, and as also, when they have come to us peacefully and gently, we say to the dogs, 'sal ahi', that they may not bite them, so, too, they are wont to signify to us not to turn the dogs loose on them by telling us '*sal ahi, manso, manso,*' and by this name of 'Mansos' they are commonly known among us. These, too, are a people that have no houses but ranches made of pine tree branches; they neither plant, nor dress themselves, but all go naked, and only the women cover themselves, from the waist down, with two deerskins, one in front and the other behind. They are also of the same condition as the preceding ones, that is, if they see their chance, they do all the harm they can, but being unable to do that, they come to us peaceably to get from us what they want to eat, for this is their chief aim, and a few of them can eat a whole raw cow, leaving nothing of the intestines, and not caring to clean them they swallow them together with the vascosity, like dogs, devouring them with their mouths, cutting them with flint knives and swallowing them without chewing them. These Mansos, then, as they

are at the crossing of this river, are always necessarily met with and they are wont to take us to their own ranches so we may give food to their women and children, and they also occasionally give us something of what they have which is fish and mice. They are a well disposed people, well featured and stout. Concerning the many times we have preached to them they told me, when I passed by them, that they would glory in having among them religious persons to teach and baptize them; and such a thing would be of the highest importance, for besides the principal object, which is the conversion of their souls redeemed, by the blood of Our Lord, the crossing, too, of these two hundred leagues would be secured, and would also be the first step towards converting and reducing the other neighboring nations—an object which could be gained by stationing there three or four religious persons with only fifteen or twenty escort soldiers, whereby the other expenses would be avoided which are made so great to Your Majesty every time it is necessary to go to New Mexico. With this safe guard, many camps of very rich mines would be settled, existing all along this road. Also grand sites and ranches with water, and parcels of very good lands could be established wherewith that road would be full of traffic every year and at all times if desired. But as it is, on account of lack of security, five and six years pass off without we in New Mexico knowing anything about the Spanish nation, until the order is sent out for the help of the religious and the churches to which Your Majesty always attends with such zeal. And, although it is true that it has been ordered and determined that such a thing be done punctually every three years, five or six years are wont to pass off without the Royal Officers remembering us, and God alone knows what it costs to implore it. This Manso nation is already very well disposed for its conversion, because every time we speak to them about God, they hear us with much pleasure, and they regret much to have to go and burn in hell if they are not baptized; and so they say that they are anxious because they have not, as have the other nations, religious persons to teach them. I cannot fail to relate what happened to me there, and it was that, upon entering into a ranching camp of this Manso nation, I placed in it a cross of

the size of a lance, and told them, among other things, that that cross was the sign of God; that all we Christians had it with us, and that we had it in all the towns and houses in which we lived; that we asked of it remedy in our necessities, sorrows, and infirmities, and by virtue of that Holy Cross, we forthwith obtained that remedy; and that, therefore, they should have the greatest faith in it; that they should adore and touch it in their troubles and afflictions; that if they had faith, they would be healed. An edifying spectacle it was to see those who then approached the Holy Cross on their knees to touch and kiss it, as they had seen me do it, and among other things, I saw a female Indian with the tooth ache approach it, who with great affection opened her mouth with her hands and got her teeth near to the Holy Cross; and another one in throes of childbirth approaching the Holy Cross tried to get her womb close to it; and, although I had there no interpreter through whom I might learn the effect, I have great faith in His Divine Majesty that He worked there also His marvels in confirmation of his Divine word. "*Non est vestrum nosce tempora vel momenta quae posuit Deus in sua potestate*," to let us know when the hour so happy for this nation will arrive, and it is a comfort to me to see only for the present the disposition it evinces.

Beginning of the Apache Nation.

"Continuing in the same direction to the North for thirty leagues, through the Manso nation, we met the grand Apache nation, which are there called the 'Perrillos,' because one of them discovered there a pool of water of much importance in this route; for many leagues were traveled without water and amid considerable trouble. And so the name of Apaches del Perrillo adhered to this province, and about them I shall speak afterwards in another place, because it is the largest in the world. Though these Apaches are very warlike, they can be trusted better than the foregoing nations, and we went across their land with less care until we reached the Rio del Norte by whose banks the settlements of New Mexico commence to be seen in the following manners.



Proclamation of Governor Juan Bautista Vijil on the coming of the American Army—See translation in another part of this book.

Province and Nation of the Piros, Senecú, Socorro, Sevilleta.

When this river, on the other hand is reached, the first settlement of the Province and Nation of the Piros come in sight, with many pueblos and adobe houses of from one to two stories high, with roads to their towns; they are well dressed and with a government, subject to their captains; they have large fields sown with all kinds of seeds both of their own, as well as of the ones we have carried, together with big hunts of game, such as deer, rabbits, hares, and many classes of fish in the river. The land in this province is so fertile, that, whatever is planted in it, is grown in great abundance, particularly the piñon (pine nut) which, though found generally throughout all that land, is much better in this Province than the others, on account of the better temperature it enjoys. This is the first Province of that kingdom and yet it was one of the last to be converted. God was pleased that its hour should arrive, and, in the year 1626, I being Custodian (superior) of those conversions, I dedicated myself to the Lord for the conversion of those souls, consecrating its principal pueblo to the Blessed Virgin of Help (Socorro), and so on that first year Our Lord vouchsafed to favor me in such a manner that all were baptized and are to-day very good Christians. I have founded in this province three convents and churches, one, at the Pueblo of Senecú, dedicated to Saint Anthony of Padua; another, at the Pueblo Pilabo, to the Virgin of Socorro; and another one at Sevilleta to Saint Louis, Bishop of my religious order.

Founding of Sevilleta.

"It is well that Your Majesty should know the beginning of the foundation of the Pueblo of Sevilleta. It was deserted, on account of wars with other nations who burned it, and it was our men, the Spaniards, who called it Sevilleta. Its natives wandered, scattered among some hills: with these I first founded this pueblo again, and I gathered there many others. And so, today, it is one of the best pueblos held there by Your Majesty. These three convents have, each, under its charge, other neighboring pueblos to which the religious attend with great care and full of Christian spirit, and, in order to avoid

prolixity, I omit here any reference to the dangers, colds, calamities and troubles, particular cases, which have been my lot in the conversion of this province leaving everything to God for whose sake it was done.

Gold and Silver Mines Are Discovered in Socorro by F. Benavides.

"It is not with less power that God, Our Lord, has been pleased to bestow in this province the temporal gain with which Your Majesty may cover the great expenses which, as such a Catholic King, you make in the sustenance, both of ourselves as of those churches; for the whole of it is full of very great treasures of very rich and prosperous mines of gold and silver; a boon which we every day and with good wishes, as most affectionate chaplains and vassals, prayed to God for, and through the diligence of an intelligent person we came to discover them (for which we give Him infinite thanks in the name of Your Majesty) particularly the hillock of the Pueblo of Socorro, chief and head of this province of the Piros; for the whole of it consists of very prosperous minerals which extend, from north to south, for over fifty leagues; and, on account of the lack of some one who understands the business, and may invest in its development, the greatest riches in the world are not enjoyed and Your Majesty loses your royal fifths. The facility for drawing the silver out of this hillock is the greatest and best in all the Indies, and it would be worth more to draw here one mark of silver, than to take out many such marks in the others; for the reason that, in the others, it is necessary to convey the materials and provisions from quite a far—even the water—and these expenses absorb all the silver that is taken out; but in this mines at Socorro everything is at hand, and, though it is true that at the start of the conversion, the Indians would flee from the work of the mines, I am satisfied, that, if persons of moderate greed should administer them, should treat the Indians well, and would pay them for their work, being satisfied at the beginning, with their simple and slack capacity for work, they would not only not cause them to run away, but would win them over by these means, and they (the Indians) would submit to our treatment and communication; and they themselves, seeing that they were not ill-treated,

and that their work was paid to them, would come and offer themselves to do it. By such proceedings it would be easier for us ministers to reduce them to peace. I, however, resolved to take out a quantity of the metals from different veins of those mines, and I gave them to some miners of New Spain, who, upon making assays upon them and noticing such a great wealth, they were getting ready to go into New Mexico with men in order to develop them; and the viceroy was left making great assays, full of zeal for the service of Your Majesty, so as to increase in those parts your royal fifths.

Schools are Established.

"This Province of the Piros extends along the Rio del Norte above, from the first pueblo of San Antonio de Senecú, to the last one, St. Louis of Sevilleta, for 15 leagues, where there are fourteen pueblos on each side of the river whose population must be six thousand souls, all baptized, with three convents as already said in which the religious, in addition to the teaching and doctrine of our Holy Catholic faith, teach them also how to sing, read and write and all other occupations, and to live courteously in their schools.

The Tioas (Tiguex) Nation—Reading, Writing, Music and the Arts are Taught.

"By ascending the river for seven leagues, we come to the nation of the Tioas (Tiguex) consisting of 15 or 16 pueblos, where there may be probably seven thousand souls, in a district of 12 or 13 leagues, all of them baptized, having two convents, which are that of San Francisco de Sandia, and that of San Antonio of la Isleta, in which there are schools for reading, writing, singing, and of playing on all kinds of instruments of music. They are well indoctrinated and have a smack of political life. These convents are very costly and curious, due to the solicitude and Christian spirit of their founders, and all the other pueblos have also very curious churches.

The Queres Nation.

"By advancing four leagues further ahead, the Queres nation commences, with it first Pueblo of San Felipe, and

it stretches out for over ten leagues into seven pueblos. There are probably in them about four thousand souls, all baptized, with three very costly and curious chuches and convents, besides the ones each pueblo has. These Indians are very skillful in reading, writing and music in all instruments, and are masters in all occupations, through the great industry of the religious person who converted them. It is also a very fertile land yeilding of everything planted in it.

The Tompiras Nation (Chilili).

"Leaving aside the Rio del Norte and withdrawing from the foregoing nation (Tiguex) for ten leagues to the east, comes the Tompira nation, by its first pueblo of Chilili and it extends in that section for fifteen leagues, with fourteen or fifteen pueblos, having a probable population of more than ten thousand souls with six very good convents and churches, all converted and the larger portion baptized, and others who are being instructed and taught, and their schools in all arts as the others—a land not very productive, due to the cold climate and lack of waters. In this province there are large salt deposits, at ten leagues from the mines of Socorro. I cannot leave here unrelated a saying of the devil, through the mouth of an Indian wizard, who became convinced by the word of God, when I commenced the conversion of the great pueblo of the Xumamas, which I dedicated to the glorious St. Isidrus, Archbishop of Seville, on account of my having made the conversion on his feast day, that all the pueblo being convinced, and being determined, through the weight of my reasons, to become Christians, the wizard became quite angry and said in loud tones of voice: 'You, the Spaniards and Christians, are crazy, and as you live like demented men, desire to teach us to become so ourselves, too.' I asked him in what were we crazy, for he must have seen some disciplinary procession of holy week in some pueblo of Christians, and he replied thus: 'You Christians are so crazy that you altogether go along lashing yourselves like madmen, through the streets, shedding blood, and so you may wish also that this pueblo become mad too.' And having said this, he left the pueblo very angry, vociferating, and saying that he didn't want to be crazy himself, a circum-

stance which caused them all to remain laughing, and we much more so at knowing and persuading myself that it was the devil that was running away in a confused manner at the power of the divine word.

The Tanos Nation (Galisteo)

"Turning again to the north for ten more leagues, we met with the first and chief pueblo of the Tanos nation, which stretches out for ten leagues into five pueblos with probably four thousand baptized souls, having a very good convent and church; and the other pueblos, also, have one in which mass is said to them by priests from the convent. There are here schools for all trades, as in the other nations.

The Pecos Nation.

"Likewise to the north, about four leagues more, the pueblo of the Pecos is met with, which has more than two thousand souls, and where there is a very splendid convent and temple, of a special make and curiosity in which one religious did much work and with great care; and, although these Indians are of the Jemes nation, they are reputed as a separate nation, because of their isolation and separation from their territory, even though their language is the same. It is a very cold and unproductive land, yet it gives the necessary corn for its inhabitants, for they plant a great deal. These Indians are very well versed in all the occupations, and have their reading, writing and music schools, as the others.

The Villa of Santa Fé—Churches and Convent are Built by Father Benavides—Also Schools.

"Returning from the foregoing Pueblo towards the west for 7 leagues, is situated the Villa of Santa Fé, Capital of the kingdom, where the governor and the Spaniards reside who are perhaps, two hundred and fifty, only fifty of whom can be armed, on account of the lack of arms. Yet though few and ill-provided, God has permitted them to come out always with victory on their side, and they have infused such dread on the Indians by means of their arquebuses, that on hearing of the approach of a Spaniard to their pueblos, they

run away; and, in order to preserve in them this dread, the Spaniards employ great rigor in treating them, when it becomes necessary to chastise a rebellious pueblo; for were it not for this, they could on many an occasion have tried to kill the Spaniards, seeing them so far away from New Spain, whence some help might come to them. They are all soldiers well indoctrinated, humble, and the greater part of them, are a good example for the Indians. Your Majesty sustains this fortress, not by payments from the Royal exchequer, but by making them pensioners of those pueblos through the power of the governor; the tribute the Indians give them is one manta; and one fanega of corn a year by each house, (a manta being a yard of cotton cloth) with which the poor Spaniards feed themselves. There are about seven hundred souls as servants, so that in Spaniards, Mestizoes, and Indians there may perhaps be about one thousand souls, all so punctual in their obedience to their governors, that they go out on any occasion that is demanded of them, with their arms and horses at their own expense, and they perform deeds of valor. It only lacked the principal thing and that was the church, as the one they (the Spaniards) had was a poor shanty, for the religious first attended the construction of the churches for the Indians whom they converted and with whom they dwelt and lived; and so, as soon as I was named Custodian, I commenced to build the church and convent and for the honor and glory of God, of our Lord, it can reflect splendor in any part where the religious persons teach Spaniards and Indians reading, writing, music and singing and all the arts of gentility. Although cold, it is the most fertile place in New Mexico.*

* The church Father Benavides claims to have built in Santa Fe for the Spaniards must have been built between 1628 and 1629, as he came to New Mexico in 1626 and in 1630 read the foregoing report before the King in Spain. It is reasonable to believe that said church was the one now in ruins immediately east of north of the old "Garita" (Custom-house) north of the city of Santa Fe, the church of San Miguel having already been built, prior to Father Benavides' time (ante). It could not have been the old cathedral for I have in my possession an official document which is a report made by Civil Engineer Don Ignacio Sánchez Vergara to the governor of New Mexico in

Teoas Nation.

"Proceeding further to the west, towards the Rio del Norte, which we had left, we find the Teoas nation. This province extends over a space of eleven or twelve leagues with eight pueblos which contain about six thousand souls. This nation was the first one in this Kingdom to accept baptism, about which act they boast themselves a good deal. They are very friendly to the Spaniards whom they serve generally, and whom they accompany in all their wars. It has three convents and churches made very curiously, particularly that of St. Ildefonso in which a great deal of care was bestowed by the religious person who founded it; and all the pueblos have their churches where they are given mass, and they are very well learned in all the arts. It is a very fertile land due to the efforts of a religious in procuring for it water for the irrigation of its plantations. The Rio del Norte which passes by it, abounds in large quantities of fish.

The Jemes Nation.

"Crossing this river to the western part, at a distance of seven leagues, the Jemes nation is reached. When I entered as custodian, this nation had scattered itself throughout this entire kingdom, and was almost deserted on account of hunger and wars which were destroying it. Most of them were already baptized, and had their churches, at the cost of much labor and care of some religious persons; I, therefore, endeavored to reduce and bring it together in the same province, and placed a religious who carefully attended to the work; and we have gathered it in two pueblos, which are that of San José, still standing, with a very sumptuous and curious church and convent, and that of San Diego, of the congregation, which we founded again for this purpose, by bringing back there the Indians who had been left of that nation, and who wandered, all scattered about, and also by giving them houses ready made, together with their sustenance for some days, as well as plowed lands for their plantations; for, in

March, 1814, by which Vergara gives a detailed description of the cathedral, from which fact I am inclined to believe that the old cathedral had just been built.—THE AUTHOR.

order to cover these and other expenses for the sake of charity, we, the religious, are wont to exchange even the cloth which Your Majesty gives us as alms for our raiments; and so that congregation is today one of the best pueblos of the Indies with its church, its convent and its schools in all arts, as in the others; and, although more than half of this nation has died, nevertheless, Your Majesty has there more than three thousand congregated tributaries.

This Picuris Nation.

Turning now back to the Tioas nation whence we started out to go to the Jemes, and going up the river to the north for ten leagues, we arrived at the Pueblo of Picuris, which has about two thousand souls, already baptized, with their convent and church where they are well instructed and taught; it has the most indomitable and treacherous people in that kingdom and some religious men have suffered a good deal at their hands, so far as to receive violence and be ill-treated; because these Indians hate our holy Catholic faith from which so much good results to them, and they have attempted to kill the priest whom they now have, and whom Our Lord has miraculously rescued from them; as when they have gone out to intercept and kill him on the roads, they have been covered by a cold sweat, and trembled from dread in his presence. On another occasion when they were about to lay hands on him, he became invisible to them, and they had to turn back in confusion. But, today, God be blessed, they are very pacific and well instructed; and although these Indians belong to the Tioas (Tiguez) nation, they are reckoned by themselves as a separate nation because of their being so far apart from the Tiguex nation. Their land is very fertile and it yields fruit in a very short time in great plenty. The water of its rivers is very good, and they abound in trout. They have also mines of very fine garnets, but no one cares to elaborate them.

The Taos Nation.

"Further ahead in the same northern direction, lies, at about seven leagues, the Pueblo of Taos, of the same nation as the foregoing, though somewhat different in language.

It has two thousand five hundred baptized souls, with their convent and church which have been founded with great care by the religious persons who have had their conversion in their charge. These Indians are very well indoctrinated, and last year, 1627, Our Lord confirmed his holy word among them by means of a miracle. That it was quite difficult for them to abandon their custom of having many wives, as was their wont, before receiving baptism. Every day the religious person preached to them about the truth of the Holy Sacrament of marriage, and the person who mostly contradicted this was an old witch, who, under the pretext of going for wood to the country, took out four other good Christian women, married according to the rites of our Holy Mother, the church, and, in going and coming back, tried to persuade them not to consent to marry after the manner in which the priest taught; that it was better to do it, according to the custom of their own people, a thing which they, as good Christians, always resisted. As they were approaching the pueblo, and the witch still persisting in her talk, the sky being clear and serene, a bolt of lightning fell and killed that infernal minister of the demon in the midst of the good Christians who resisted her evil doctrine, they remaining entirely free from the effect of the lightning, and very well confirmed in the truth of the Holy Sacrament of marriage. The people at once hastened to the scene, and seeing the stroke of heaven, all those who were living incestuously in secret, were married and very earnestly believed everthing the priest taught them. He, thereupon, preached right there a sermon to them on the occurrence, and every feast-day he also preached to them, as is the custom in the other convents. Glory be to God Our Lord. The land is very cold, and abounds very much in live stock.

The Rock of Acoma.

"Retracing our steps to the Queres nation, and starting from Santa Ana, its last pueblo westward for about 12 leagues, the Rock (Peñol) of Acoma is reached, which has cost so many Spanish and friendly Indian lives, both because it is a wall of tiled and inexpugnable rock, as well as on account of the valor of its inhabitants who number about two

thousand souls. And it pleased God that, last year, 1629, we reduced them to peace; and today they have a religious who is catechizing and baptizing them; and the Lord has confirmed by a miracle the power of this sacrament of baptism, and that miracle was, that while an infant was in its mother's arms in the last gasps of death, she weeping over it as if dead, the religious who was there teaching them told her, if she loved her child so much, to allow it to be baptized, that it might go to enjoy eternal glory in heaven if it died; and the mother believed the priest, and requested him to baptize the child to which the priest answered: Well my daughter, have faith, for this holy water of baptism has power to bring your daughter to life again. And pouring the water over it saying the words, it was a wonderful thing to see that at the instant it got up well and sound, and made for its mother's breast. Then turning to the priest in smiles and caresses, it showed, by gestures, since it could not speak, its gratitude for the good he had done for it; wherewith all those Indians were very well confirmed in the faith, and they learned quickly to pray so they might be baptized. God be blessed for all.

The Zuñi Nation.

"Proceeding further westward, for thirty leagues, the Province of Zuñi is reached, where there are eleven or twelve pueblos in a district embracing nine or ten leagues, containing more than 10,000 converted souls, who are being catechized and baptized. They have two convents and churches in which the religious dwelling there have undergone and are undergoing, many troubles and hardships, on account of the great repugnance the wizards bear to them, but, as God is ever present over all things, the religious always win the victory, and our Lord has worked there many particular things which may be seen in the information of everything above said, to which I refer. The land is very abundant in all kinds of provisions.

The Moqui Nation.

"Pushing forward in the same western direction for another thirty leagues, the Province of Moqui is reached,

being of about the same extent as the preceding Zuñi, containing a population of another ten thousand souls, which are also being catechized and baptized, and which baptism and divine word the Lord has confirmed with the following miracle to-wit: It is customary among all the infidel Indians to receive the religious at first very well in their pueblos,

Rev. James H. Defouri.
First Pastor of the Church of Guadalupe, Santa Fé;
Writer and Author of several works
of History and Religion.

and to submit at once to baptism; and, on seeing, when they are catechized, that they must abandon their idolatries and witcheries, the wizards regret that so much that they make them all restless and divert them from the truth, that they may not become Christians; and not only this, but they drive the religious out, when they cannot have him killed. So it happened in the main pueblo of this Moqui Province; they

received very well the priest who went to convert them, and his companions, together with some soldiers who were there with them, as an escort; and seeing that the religious, with an original cross of Mother Luisa of Carrion compelled them, with cheers and efficacious reasons, to adore one only God, Lord and Creator of all things, and who, for our redemption, had died on a cross like that, which it was their duty to adore, and not their idols wherewith the devil held them deceived; the wizards angered at this, and, seeing that the jurisdiction they had, as ministers of hell, over those souls, was being taken away from them, they succeeded in persuading all the people that the religious and all those who accompanied him were liars and were going to deceive them, and that they should kill him forthwith; and, desiring to carry their project into effect, on some occasions, they durst not, on account of the watchfulness of the soldiers, but chiefly through the protection of heaven. After this, a crowd of them came, bringing a boy of from twelve to thirteen years of age, who had been blind '*a nativitate*' and was born with his eyes sealed, without any suspicion that he might be able to see, and told the religious these words:

" 'You must be a great liar, and so, if all what you say about that which you call cross is the truth, place it over the eyes of this boy, and, if by that means, he should open them, we will confess that all you preach to us is the truth; but, if he should not, we shall have you killed or driven out in confusion.' The religious having seen this, fell on his knees with that affection and devotion which might be imagined in a similar case, and, with the same cross in his hands, his eyes raised to heaven, implored the Divine Majesty that, for the confusion, of those savage infidels, and to the end that they should adore His most holy name and cross, he should work therewith his wonders. He then stood up and placed it with the utmost faith over the eyes of the blind boy, and immediately, at the very instant, he opened them and began to utter loud voices in admiration of his being able to see; wherewith they took the boy in their arms, carried him through the streets and squares, proclaiming in loud voices the miracle, and that all should become Christians and be baptized and do whatever the priest taught them, for it was

the truth; and that their wizards were all liars who deceived them. And so they at once submitted to what the priest and his companions taught them so as to be baptized, and held them in great love and respect. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* And, although in the preceding conversions Our Lord has worked many a wonder, I have now refrained from mentioning them, referring only to the general history of that land, which with heaven's favor I am writing; and I have wished to relate the said miracles to Your Majesty, because our Lord worked them all last year, 1629, after Your Majesty was vouchsafed to provide for us more ministers.

Rites of These Gentiles.

"These are the towns which we have converted and baptized in that part of what we call New Mexico. They all, from the first pueblo of the province of the Piros, San Antonio, Senecú, the Rio del Norte above, up to the Pueblo of San Gerónimo of the Taos, lying in a district of one hundred leagues, said pueblo being on either side of the river, and some of them somewhat separated by other creeks at a distance of seven or eight leagues,—they all must have afoot 80,000 souls. All these people and nations were divided, as to their gentilism, in two portions, warriors and wizards; the warriors endeavoring to reduce to their command and empire all the people, as opposed to the wizards; and the wizards, with like opposition, tried to persuade the people to believe that they caused the rains and made the earth give good crops and other things the warriors jeered at; wherefore there always were continual civil wars among them, so fierce that they killed themselves mutually, and desolated the pueblos entirely, wherein the devil reaped his ordinary harvest. Their religion though not a formal idolatry, was almost such; because for whatever action they did they offered something; as, for example, at the time they were about to go fighting, they offered meal and other things to the scalps of those whom they had killed of the enemy. When they go to hunt they offer as a sacrifice meal to the heads of deer, hares, rabbits and other dead animals; if they go fishing they offer something to the river. Women who desire to attract men, go out to the country plump and

healthy, and raise a stone or small post upon some hillock, and there offer to it some meal, and during eight days they eat nothing but what might unsettle their stomachs and provoke them to vomit; they scourged themselves cruelly and when they are unable to do anything else, and their plumpness has turned into thinness and they look like 'shadows black from hell' they come back quite confident that the first man they meet will covet them and give them mantas, the acquisition of which is their principal aim. But this worship is not in the least reverential, because they are permitted to be trodden or spit upon, and are simply used as a ceremony. In order to make one of the Indians captain they are wont to gather in a town, where they tie the candidate naked to a pillar and with certain thistle whips they all scourge him; afterwards he is entertained with comedies and other plays and if he stands the ordeal unruffled and without crying, made no grimaces at the one, nor laughed at the other, he is proclaimed a very brave captain. Thus the devil keeps them always deceived with a thousand sorts of superstitions. They have always been a people with some government or community; the elders gather with the great captain to confer and discuss the things that concern them, and after determining what is to be done the great captain goes out through the pueblo proclaiming personally what is commanded to be obeyed. This is practiced even today and is considered as an act of great authority for the great captains to proclaim what must be done in the pueblo.

How Well They Attend to the Things of Christianity—Turquoise Mines.

"Today, be it said to the honor and glory of God, our Lord, that with the tender care we, the religious, have taken of them, they are so well indoctrinated, that, at the ringing of the bell for mass and doctrine, they all come neatly arranged, and enter the church to pray, as is done by old Christians; and the boys and girls who always come to doctrine in the morning and in the evening, hasten there with the greatest care and without failing. The singers, who take turn every week in the chapels, sing every day in the church at the regular hours, at first mass, high mass and vespers, with punctuality. All of them confess themselves in their own lan-

guage, and prepare for confession by examining their sins, and by bringing them marked on a string by means of knots, and thus always submit them to the religious, with remarkable affection. Scarcely one among them is taken ill, when he at once comes to the religious, or sends someone to call him, imagining that by simply seeing him, he will be healed, and if the disease advances he confesses in order to die well. This is the constant task of the religious, to cure their diseases and supply all their needs. And so they, as well as the things of the church, are held by them in remarkable affection; they hasten to the church with remarkable attachment and devotion, as all the churches and convents which they have built abundantly testify, all of which, though it may seem exaggeration to say it, they are very sumptuous and curious, having been constructed by the women and the boys who attend Christian doctrine; for among these nations it is customary for the women to build the houses and the men spin and weave their mantas and go to war and the hunt; and if we put a man to build a wall he is ashamed of it, and the women laugh at him. By these means more than fifty churches have been built with very curious roofs, engravings and '*laceria*' (lacework) and the walls very well painted, for there are wonderful mountains abounding in all sorts of woods and due to the care we, the religious, have taken of teaching other things to the Indians attending Christian doctrine, there are many good adepts in carpentery and all the other arts, hence today they are so well versed in everything, particularly in matters of faith and Christianity; it is admirable to see that, in less than twenty years since the administration of baptism began, and especially in the last eight years, during which the harvest of souls has been more abundant, they look like Christians of a hundred years. As we pass along the roads and they happen to see us from their pueblos or plantations, they all come out to receive us with very great joy, saying: 'Praised be our Lord Jesus Christ; praised be the Most Holy Sacrament,' and when we arrive at their pueblos they receive us with bouquets and treat us to fish, or to whatever they have; and the captain of the pueblo bids us welcome and hails us with congratulations, that we, as priests of God, may honor their

pueblos, where they were living as savages. They all dress in cotton and skins, and, after their own fashion, endeavor to bedeck themselves with turquoise necklaces and earrings. For they have mines of these stones and they shape them, though imperfectly, and the women dress themselves in cotton mantas painted, and embroidered with the same material.

What That Kingdom Owes to Your Majesty.

"This land, then, having, with its inhabitants, been subject to the devil, as his slaves, until this time, and the whole of it been filled with caverns of idoltry where the Most Holy name of Jesus was not only never adored, but not even known, nor was his Most Holy Cross known, has been turned, in these few years, into a land filled with churches and cross pedestals, and its dwellers today salute themselves in loud tones by praising the Most Holy sacrament of the altar, and the Most Holy name of Jesus Christ; and, on the peal of the bells for the Ave Maria they fall on their knees, wherever those peals reached them and amid acclamations adore the Most Holy Virgin saying in a loud voice the three customary 'Hail Maries'; and in like manner when they hear the peal for the souls in purgatory, saying an Our Father and Hail Mary; a land, in which the devil seemed to contaminate the air rendering it uninhabitable is today, so changed and peaceful as to carry uncovered the Most Holy sacrament in processions; and that, in order to cause this change and mutation, God should have chosen as his ministers us poor sons of my Father Saint Francis; the whole thing looks as though, '*comtemptibia elegit Deus ut confundat fortia.*' Although it is clearly and evidently seen that God is the author, and first cause, for which we give him thanks, we owe them to Your Majesty as well; for, without your royal support we could not have been able to stand so many expenses; and Your Majesty should be justly proud of being the cause of all this change and of enjoying all the merit of those conversions, whereby we rescued thousands of souls from the claws of the devil, a thing which could not have been done without a miracle; and God left it and remitted it to Your Majesty, that, through such Catholic means, and out

of your royal treasury you should enjoy such great results, spiritually and temporally; and we taught all the Indians ever to commend Your Majesty to God, who as, at the cost of so many expenses, you send and sustain there ministers and churches for the salvation of their souls. And we, the religious, as your devoted and obliged vassals and chaplains, never fail at mass, as in our private prayers, to pray for Your Majesty in that far off Kingdom of yours and in that primitive church where Our Lord performs so many wonders. In all and by all, all honor and glory to God Our Lord.

Fertility of the Land.

"All this land is very productive, and yields in great abundance all that is sown in it; corn, wheat, beans, lentils, chic-peas, vetches, peas, pumpkins, water and musk-melons, cucumbers—all sorts of vegetables; cabbages, lettuce, carrots, garlics, onions, Indian figs, pitajaie cactus, '*carpos*,' very good plums, apricots, peaches, nutmegs, acorns, blackberries and many other cereals which I omit, in order to avoid prolixity; I will, however mention separately the piñon (pine) trees which are of a different species from those of Spain, because they are larger and easy to break, and the trees and pine fruit (piñon) are small. The quantity is so great, that it seems inexhaustible, and is so much esteemed, that the fanega is worth from $23 to $24, and those who sell it again make a profit on them. And the land is so fertile that from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty fanegas of wheat have been known to be raised from one fanega of seed planted, and it has happened that goodly harvests have been raised from the stubble, without the latter having received any further benefit than a little irrigation.

Fish.

"It has also many rivers which contain an abundance of fish, and large marshes, and especially the Rio del Norte, whose water when low, and when it can be forded, reaches up to the saddle; and when it is swollen it has a rapid and strong current, on account of the water which it receives from the melted snows alone. And the same is true of the

other rivulets that join it, all of which are very abundant in bagres, trouts, sardines, eels, needlefish, '*matalótas boquinetes*,' topes and many others.

Game or Hunt.

"The abundance of game seems infinite. There are deer of many different species, and some like large mules have their tails like a mule's and others, as large as these, although their tail is like that of the other deer, but so hairy as to seem a Moorish shield upon their haunches, and they are so large and strong, that the master of the camp had hitched to his carriage, through vanity, two of these deer which had been tamed since they were young; and they pulled with so much briskness, that it was necessary to hitch to their sides very slow mules to check them. There are many other smaller ones, from which the Indians get their nourishment and living, and from their skins they make and tan such good leathers that they sell them in Mexico for five and six dollars. Rabbits and hares are innumerable; there are also very many foxes, wolves, mountain lions, wild cats and bears. There is a species of mountain sheep, very large, with thick horns, which can scale, at full speed, any rock or wall, however smooth or high, as if it was a ladder; and when prancing and running away they are wont to jump down from very high precipices, landing at the bottom on their horns and at once rise with such celerity as if they had done nothing. And that kingdom abounds in all kinds of animals, and in the same way the live stock we have taken there from New Spain has propagated very much, for there was nothing there of this sort, such as cattle and sheep for ordinarily the ewes give triplets; hairy stock such as mules and famed horses, particularly those used in the army. And it is a very ordinary sight to see the Indians go on a general hunting: for, from four to five thousand of them get together and go along eyeing all the hillocks, and surrounding them in such a manner, that the game may meet the huntsmen from every side when it attempts to run away; and thus they keep on closing the round up in such a way that in a short time they have all the chase gathered together, in which, animals of every species are seen. Those who do the killing enter within

the enclosure, and those from the outside guard the same and whatever is killed is then distributed, though the captains have the advantage.

Rigor of the Temperature.

"The temperature is by extremes; for the winter is very rigorous, and there is so much snow, ice and cold, that all the rivers, marshes and even the Rio del Norte freeze in such a manner, that loaded wagons can pass over the ice, and at full speed large flocks of stock cross over it as if it was over land on very firm ground. It is then that we, the religious, have a great deal of trouble to cross these rivers to the ministering of the pueblos, for, as the rivers are closed with ice, they are on the surface like a crystal mirror, so slippery that on horseback or afoot we fall many times; and, as the remedy for this is to throw earth on the surface so that the feet may step firmly, we cannot get the earth because the ground is so frozen, that it is necessary in order to dig a grave in the church-yard, first to build a fire over it so as to unfreeze the ground, for it cannot be dug by means of bars. And suffice it to say that, when we are saying mass, we place two fire-pans one on each side of the chalice, and yet with all this, and the heat of the multitude of people who come to the church the wine freezes; and so every winter many Indians are frozen in the country, and many Spaniards too get their ears, feet and hands frozen; and on the contrary, the heat in summer is more unbearable than the cold is in winter. Thus it appears that sometimes the breathing fails in some provinces more than in others.

Grand Apache Nation—(Known Today as Navajoes).

"What has been said will be sufficient in order that the nature of the pueblos of New Mexico may be understood which lie on both sides of the Rio del Norte in a district comprising one hundred leagues on either side of said river, all of which are surrounded on all parts by the grand Apache nation. For, without any exaggeration, it alone has more people than all the other nations of New Spain combined, even if the Mexican nation enters into the calculation. It is a very brisk and warlike nation, and very fiery in war. Even in

Santa Fe in 1860. (1) Original J. L. Perea Store (Claire Hotel in 1911). (2) Lamy Building where the New Mexican was published until December 1911.

their manner of speaking they show their unlikeness to the other nations, for these talk in low tones and slowly, while the Apache seem to wreck their hearers with their word. They do not live in towns nor houses, but in tents and ranching camps, wherefore they change from mountains to mountains in pursuit of game, which is their nourishment, although each main and proper ranching camp has its designated territory in which they plant corn and other seeds. They are dressed in chamois dresses which are the skins of deer, very well tanned and brilliant, after their fashion, and their women dress gallantly and decently. They have no idolatry except that of the sun, and even that, is not general in all, and they laugh to scorn all the nations that have idols. It is their custom to have as many wives as they can support, and the wife that is caught in adultery is irremissibly executed by cutting off her ears and repudiating her. They are very obedient to their elders and hold them in great respect. They teach and chastise their children, in contrast with the other nations which have no such punishments. They pride themselves highly for speaking the truth, and the one among them caught in a lie is held in disgrace. Although, because of its being one nation, their language is also one, yet, as it is so widely spread, it (the language) fails not to vary somewhat in some of the ranching camps, but not in anything that cannot be very well understood. Commencing then from its start, when we go to New Mexico, that is, from the province of the Perrillo Apaches, it runs from this portion of the west as far as the south sea, to where there is more than three hundred leagues, and it keeps on continuously to the north without any limit that we have yet found to it in that direction, and meets with the Strait of Anian; and, making with this nation, the circuit of New Mexico, it expands for more than a hundred leagues, until it again touches the province of Perrillo, making in this more than three hundred leagues in circumference over the frontiers of New Mexico. It is all such a warlike nation that it has been the crucible of Spanish effort, and for this reason they esteem them very highly and say, that only the Spaniards are worthy of the title of people, and not the nations of the Indian settlements.

Beginning of the Conversion of the Apaches.

"I began the conversion of this Apache nation on the northern side in the ranching camps of Captain Quinia, well known for his warlike nature, by planting there the first crosses; and the same being continued by one religious,

Santa Fe in 1867. (1) Santa Fe's Old Cathedral—(2) Stone Arch of New Cathedral in process of construction—(3) Simon Delgado's Store and Residence, on which site was the old Spanish Military Church—(4) Spiegelberg Block—(5) Seligman's Store—(6) Exchange Hotel—(7) Lamy Corner.

they rebelled, after Captain Quinia, his wife and children had been baptized, and attempted to kill the priest who was catechizing them. With their arrows already pointed at him, they however did not dare to do it, but ran away from the ranching camp leaving the Father, who abandoned them on that occasion. But they again became peaceful, for this always happens in the beginning of all the conversions.

Conversion of the Xila Apaches and Remarkable Hieroglyphic of an Apache Captain.

"Coming again to the beginning of this Apache nation, the nearest to the Province of Perrillo is that of the Xila Apaches, fourteen leagues from the Pueblo of San Antonio de Senecú, of the Province of the Piros. Our Lord deigned that its Captain Major, named Sanaba, should be converted, because, he had heard me preach many a time at Senecú where he ordinarily attended. And he of his own motive preached to those of his ranching camps and so the one in which he lived was converted; and, by degrees, he went on converting the others that are subject to him, and so we have there today already a religious Indian who is catechizing and settling them.

"I cannot but mention on this occasion two particular cases which happened to me in their conversion wherein Your Majesty will notice what happens there. One was: That while I was going to this Pueblo of Xila in order to catechize them, their Captain Sanaba learned about it, and came to receive me fourteen leagues, at the Pueblo of San Antonio de Senecú, and after I had treated him with what I was able to, he commanded a servant to untie a small bundle he had along and he drew out of it a folded deerskin, which is a tissue of deer well dressed, and presented it to me. I being ignorant of what it contained and persuaded that he simply presented it to me, I told him that he already knew why I did not care that they should give me anything; that the only thing I desire from them was that from their whole hearts they should adore the Lord of Heaven and earth. But he laughing, told me to unroll the skin and see what was within. I did so, and I observed in it that it was very white and large, in its center was painted a sun in green color with a cross over it, and under the sun, the moon was also painted in gray color with another cross over it. And, although something of what it meant flashed across my mind, I inquired from him the meaning of that painting. He answered thus: Father, until now we had not known any other benefactor as great as the sun and the moon; because the sun warms and lights up by day, and breeds up our plants, and the moon

gives us light at night, and so we adored these two objects as the being that did us so much good, and we did not know there was anything better. But now that you have taught us that God is the Lord and Creator of the sun and moon and of all things, and that the Cross is the sign of God, I have ordered the Cross painted upon the sun and the moon that you may understand that we do the things you teach us, and we do not forget that above all things we adore God and his Holy Cross, God be praised and blessed for all. He alone, who has dealt with conversions, knows the spiritual joy a religious person receives when, on such occasions, he sees the purpose of his work accomplished with abundant fruit, and considers the dangers he has passed as well employed. At the same time the naturally discursive talent, with which God has endowed this nation, will be very well understood, for I know not what better reasons could the old natural philosophers give, in our opinion, to persuade themselves into the adoration of our true and universal Creator, Redeemer and Lord.

Conversion of the Navajoe Apaches.

"Leaving, then, this province of the Xila Apaches, and going ahead in the same direction, that is, by the west side of the settlements, along the boundary line for more than fifty leagues, we meet with the province of the Navajoe Apaches, who though being of the same Apache nation, as the foregoing, they are subjected and subordinated to another Major Captain, and have a distinct way of living; for the former did not plant, but lived from the chase, and we have broken to-day lands for them and taught them how to plant; while the latter, of Navajoe, are very extensive farmers, *for that is what 'Navajoe,' signifies*—large plantations. This province is the most warlike of all the Apache nation, and where the Spaniards have shown well their courage.

"This mountain chain runs for a distance of another fifty leagues which are all filled with the mineral, salt petre. And as all these settled and Christian nations are very much inclined to painting, and in order to have their dresses painted they need salt petre which exists only in those ridges: and, in order to go and get it, two or three thousand Indians band

together whom the said Navajoe Apaches go out to meet in warlike terms in defense of their land and thereupon very many deaths follow unless they arrive there on occasions when the Apaches have already retired to other mountain ridges to hunt; and after they know that they have come to take the salt petre away from them, they purposely join to go and make war upon the Christians in order to avenge the latter's entrance into their lands. And the multitude is so great that, in two days, more than thirty thousand Indians, of bow and arrow get together; and this is quite a meager calculation for, sometimes when the Spaniards have gone there to punish them, on account of the many Christian Indians they kill, although they (the Spaniards) gave them sound drubbings, catching them by surprise, they found the camps always swarming with warriors without number. They have some sorts of underground habitations, and certain fashion of shanties to gather in their harvests and they always dwell in that post. And now, during the month of September, of last year, 1629, Our Lord vouchsafed that I should pacify them, *to which end I founded a convent and church at the pueblo of Santa Clara of the Taos nation*, Christians, that were neighbors in the frontier, and who received many damages from these Apaches, and I very much desired to make peace with them, for from such a step their conversion would ensue, as it did ensue. And as the success, had in it, was a peculiar one, I will state how it was obtained, as Your Majesty may be pleased to know about it.

"In the month of September of last year, 1629, while attending the aforesaid convent of Santa Clara, at the pueblo, called Capoo, which was the tenth and last I founded in those conversions, to which these Navajoe Apaches more frequently hastened to do mischief, and having seen that I could not catch one of them to make him presents, and send him back to his land to his captains to ask them to come and treat about making peace, I made up my mind to venture to send twelve of my Christian Indians, men of talent and of much courage; for which purpose I called together the captains and elders of the pueblo, and manifested to them the desire I had that such peace should be made, both to stop so many deaths as well as that they might deal with each other in

their granges, and mainly because in this way we might obtain their conversion, which was my chief aim. All were of this opinion, and appointing one of the twelve as captain, as he was the most talented, they gave him, after their fashion, the embassy of peace, which consisted of an arrow, and instead of a flint, a feather of various colors, and a tube filled with tobacco ready to be smoked, with another feather which showed the ones in which they had smoked. Well, the arrow was for the purpose that on arriving at the ranching camp, and on approaching it he should throw that meek arrow as a signal of peace; and the tube was for the purpose that he should invite them to smoke, and that he should enter their land with this word 'peace'. I also gave him my word of peace which was a rosary, for the captain, and that I desired to interview him in order to treat of peace. And in order that this endeavor should have the effect it had, it happened to be the eve of the day of the wounds of our Father St. Francis, on September 17, of last year, 1629, and so I told them to come all to mass the next day, to which all the people attended, praying to God for the good success, and asking our Father St. Francis to be his sponsor, and so I at once dedicated to him that conversion and Province. Mass, which was sung with all solemnity, having been heard, these Indians started with the greatest courage and spirit; and, having asked for my blessing, commenced their journey from the church itself. God alone knows how oppressed my heart was on seeing the danger to which I had exposed those Indians, for when an enterprise fails there are never wanting ill-disposed persons who judge it as rash; and if the same succeeds, few give it due credit, but I always had full faith in God, Our Lord, that He would protect them from their enemies.

"When they had, therefore, arrived in sight of the first ranching camp, the frontier of that indomitable and ferocious nation, where dwelt the chief captain of all those frontiers, and the mightiest cousin of the cacique, who governed them all, and who had come there to raise men in order to do the Christians considerable damage, they shot the marked arrow, which, when seen by the enemy, they answered them with another in the same manner, wherewith they com-

menced to approach, though at a safe distance and with mistrust. On arriving, our captain delivered him his embassy and treated him to the pipe of tobacco, and in the same way he also gave my rosary, and gave his embassy on the part of his captains and mine; and as he had never received a rosary, he asked what meant so many grains on that string. Our ambassador answered him, as his opinion, although discretely, that, as they were many captains, the priest sent them there, to each one of them, his word that he would be their friend, an answer which satisfied him very much; to which the captain, heaving a very deep sigh, answered that he regretted very much that they should have come to offer him peace, which, however, on account of being such a good thing, and the circumstance of their having come to bring it home to him, he could not but receive; but that he was much offended at the Christians, and that, on this occasion he had things so disposed that he would have taken vengeance very well; but that he accepted and wanted peace; and so he immediately dispatched the arrow and tobacco pipe to his cacique and remained with my rosary on the neck; and, mistrustful lest this should have a double meaning, he said to our men that, although he granted peace in the name of all, he wanted to know from me and all the Christian captains personally if it was true that we gave it to him, and that, therefore, he wanted to come and see us at our pueblo.

"I was advised of this by one of our men who came as courier, and I caused more than fifteen hundred souls to go out and receive him. I waited for him at the church which I commanded to be well adorned and to be lit with many lights because it was already at night when they arrived; and, because this nation is haughty and proud, it seemed fit to me to receive this captain and those coming with him in a different manner from the other nations; for we sat on the ground with them at first, being satisfied with their plainness until we taught them more refinement; the Apache nation, though, being so proud, it seemed opportune to me to change style, and so, I ordered a chair placed closed by the altar upon a mat and, sitting on it, I received him. All the people came before him, and, among the Christian cap-

tains, this Apache captain came, and four others of his captains. After entering the church and offering prayer at the altar, the chief captain of the Christians came to me and kissed my feet, a thing I did not reject presently neither had I prepared it before hand, and the same thing was done, after his example and in imitation of him by the strangers; and, after having saluted me, the chief said that those captains had gone to offer him peace on my part and on the part of their captains, and that he came to know it personally for the sake of better security. Immediately the chief captain of the Pueblo rose, and offered the Apache his own bow and arrows, saying that there before God, who was present in that altar, and before me, who was his priest, he gave those arms in faith of his word that he never would break the peace, and he lay them at the altar; and, that he might know that all were of the same mind he asked the pueblo if all of them consented in it, and uttering a big yell they answered, yes. Then the Apache captain selected an arrow from his carcax, in his opinion, the best one made of white sharp flint, and, in a loud voice before all, spoke thus: 'I do not know who it is that you call God; but, since you call on him as witness and support of your word, that you will not break your faith without fail, he must be a person of great power and authority, and good; and so, too, to that God, be he who he may, I give my word and faith, in the name of all mine, with this arrow in the hand of this priest, and that for my part, nor for that of my people, peace and friendship will never fail.' And on receiving the arrow from him I told him if he wished me to tell him who God was, would he be pleased to hear me especially after having pledged his word. And, as he said yes, I explained to him, in very brief words, who God was, the Creator and Lord of everything created and that, to ransom us from eternal punishment he had died on a cross, showing him everything by the paintings on the altar; and that he who would not adore him and be baptized would be condemned to go and burn forever in those eternal torments. And as the word of God is so efficacious, it moved his heart so much that, with magnificent spirit and deep sighs, he turned to all the people and, in a very loud voice said to them: 'Oh Teoas! How I envy

your lot for having here a man who teaches you who God is, and so many good things; while we live and die wandering through those camps and mountains, like deer and hares. I, therefore, declare that I adore this God whom this priest proclaims; now that I know him, I grant peace and give my word to keep it in all its force!' And, with tearful eyes, he sank upon his knees to kiss my feet, whereupon I raised him up, and embraced him with all the tenderness I could, and then all the Christian captains embraced him likewise. At this moment I caused the bells to be rung and to sound the trumpets and clarions, a thing he was much pleased to hear on account of this being the first time he had heard them. I then hung those arrows on the altar as trophies of the Divine word although through the ministry of one as humble as myself; and in such a manner did I manifest the fact to the pueblo, so that they all might give thanks to His Divine Majesty, whereupon the Christian captains carried their guests home and I entertained them as I best could.

"The next day in the morning, as it was Saturday, at the ringing of the bell for the mass of our lady, to which all the pueblo attends, this Apache captain also came with the other Christian chiefs and with his own men; and, learning that my name was Alonso, he asked my leave to be so named himself; I told him that he would be so named on being baptized, although thereafter all called him Don Alonso. To commence the mass I put on the best ornaments we had, and he was astonished to see the devotion with which the Spaniards and Christian Indians were praying on their knees. Before commencing mass I married a couple of Indians; and, as the Apaches have all the women they can support, it appeared well to them that Christians should have only one, and that they should promise to themselves mutual fidelity before God. Wishing, then, to commence mass, and he not being yet baptized, I told him that not until he should be baptized could he see God in the mass; and to go out and take a walk with his comrades while I said it. He answered that he held himself already as a Christian; and that he adored God as earnestly as all of us, and that, therefore, he wished to remain in order to see Him. On being answered that he could not do that until he was baptized, he commanded his comrades to go

out, but said that he would not go out. In order to amuse him, I commanded the singers to sing the Salve Regina with organ accompaniment, in all solemnity, and also at the sound of trumpets and clarions. And clad thus in full vestments, at the foot of the altar, I chanted the prayer at the close of which I again sat on the chair and repeated to him a few words concerning the creation and the redemption, wherewith he was every time more confirmed in the faith.

"Some Spanish soldiers had gathered around for the purpose of hearing mass; and he said that the peace he had settled with the Teoas, he desired also to establish with the Spaniards. Thereupon he gave a Spanish captain, who was present there, an arrow by my hand, as a pledge of his word that he would not fail in peace, and our Spaniard, unsheathing his sword, gave it also to me, in the presence of the Indian, in faith that he granted him peace in the name of God, and at the same time accepted his pledge. Everything, as before, was placed upon the altar, offering it to God as witness and judge of that act which was, in like manner, hailed amid the sound of bells, trumpets and clarions a second time. Wherefore he remained full of comfort, stating, that the truth of our holy Catholic faith could be well perceived, as it was celebrated with so much solemnity, and that they lived like brute animals in the field. And this done, I dismissed him with some Christian captains to their houses, and said the mass for the pueblo. He felt, afterwards, quite offended at this, as he had desired to have seen God at the mass.

"He and his men stayed there for three or four days, hearing with devotion the things concerning our holy Catholic faith, observing and noticing the contentment in which the Christians lived. And the fear of the punishments of hell had particularly settled very deeply in their souls, whence by all means they desired to become Christians, and they also said that, as they loved very much their wives and children and those of their nation, it would grieve them exceedingly that they should go to hell through not being Christians. Wherefore they earnestly requested me to go to their ranching camps, at least for ten days, to say to their kin what they had heard of me here, which to them were things so mar-

velous that he would not be competent to tell them, nor would his people believe them, if he told them himself. He at last went away in order to come back after a moon and a half (a month and a half, for they reckon time by moons), and in order to confirm this peace he wanted to bring along all the women and children of those neighboring ranching camps with many tanned deerskins and 'piedra lumbre,' (alum) so as to hold a grand fair to last three days that they might thus mutually acquire a deep friendship. And thenceforth he assured the Spaniards that they could go and hunt and do anything else they wanted in his lands; that they would be treated like friends. And so it was; for previously, if any one entered there for only a quarter of a league, he was in great danger, for every day they killed Christians; and, since this peace was made, even old women went out for wood to those parts, and if they met with any Apaches they were well attended and they gave them a share of the game they had killed. This conversion and pacification is being continued by a religious, who will effect it even better than I could. This province must have along the frontier, perhaps, more than fifty leagues, but it extends to the west for more than 300 leagues, and we do not know where it ends. And this province is the one that has given more unrest and care to New Mexico, but because its inhabitants are so warlike and valiant, as because there are in it more than 2,000 souls, as the Spaniards have seen every time they have gone to fight.

Apache Buffalo Hunters From Cibola.

"Leaving, then, this province of the Navajoe Apaches, and turning to the east, we start at the Province of the Apache nation, which runs through that part and turns back enclosing the settlements for more than 150 leagues, until it reaches those of El Perrillo, where we started on entering New Mexico. This nation and province supports itself from cows they call Cibola (buffalo); these animals are similar to ours in size, but different in form, being short-legged as well, and having a hump on the back and short and sharp horns and thick manes that cover their eyes, all of a black and brownish color, and only by chance is one seen with a white spot. Its meat is more savory than that of our cows, and the tallow

much better; they do not bellow as our bulls, but grunt like hogs; their tails are short with little hair on it. The hair is not like that of our stock, it is crisp, like fine fleece, from which very good mats are made, and of the young ones, very fine vigogue hats. Likewise the hides of the calves are used as lining. I have spoken so extensively about this stock, because of its great number, and its being so widely scattered, that we have found no limit to it, and we have information that it roams from the south to the north sea, and in such numbers that the plains are thickly covered with them. This stock alone would be sufficient to make a prince rich and powerful, if they could be taken to other places. There are troops of more than forty thousand bulls, without a single cow, to all appearances, for they all go apart until the time of coupling. It is not the sort of stock that allows itself to be caught by rounding up, not even by mixing our domestic stock with them; and so at the breeding season, the Spaniards go and catch the small heifers which they breed up to goats. As this stock is so abundant, and as it changes its hide and hair every year, they leave their wool over the fields and the winds blow it against trees or into crevices in such quantities, that it could enrich many, and yet all is lost.

"From this stock, then, these Apache cattle hunters draw their sustenance, for which purpose they approach very cautiously their watering places, and hide themselves in the waypaths, painted with red dust smeared with the mud of the same ground, and stretched in the deep gutters made by the stock. While the stock is crossing they employ to advantage the arrows they carry with them, and as this stock is dull, though quite ferocious and swift, it throws itself upon the ground while smarting under its wounds. The Indians then skin the animals, and carry home the skin, the tongues, the loins and the sinews out of which they make bowstrings. They tan the skin in two ways; some by leaving the hair on them giving it the appearance of plush velvet; this they use as beds and covers in summer. Others are tanned and thinned without the hair and this they use to make tents and other things after their fashion. With these assortments of hides they trade all over the land and in that way make their living. Both the Indians and the Spaniards use these

hides for dress purposes and as material for making bags, tents, breast plates, footwear, and anything else they think it fit for. And, although many of these animals are killed every year, its numbers do not decrease, but rather increases more and more, for the plains become thick with it and it seems inexhaustible. These Indians, then, start to the neighboring provinces to trade and sell this assortment of hides; and here I must not fail to say a thing somewhat incredible, although ridiculous, and it is that when they go out to trade and traffic, they carry their camps including the women and children, who live in tents made out of these buffalo hides well thinned and tanned. The tents are carried loaded on the backs of dogs with their small pack saddles adjusted to them. They are small dogs, and five hundred of them are taken on a drove one after the other, and the Indians carry their merchandise on their backs which they exchange for cotton clothing and other things they need.

"This Province of Apache buffalo hunters surrounds (as already said) the settlements of New Mexico, for a distance of more than 150 leagues on the eastern part, and it stretches out in the same direction for over a hundred leagues. The whole of it is plentifully settled by camps formed of the aforesaid tents and an infinite number of Indians. Our Lord has been pleased that their conversion and pacification should have been commenced by means of the good treatment given them by the religious; and their principal captain, having heard that the Spaniards at the Villa of Santa Fé had the Mother of God, which was a statue of transit of the Virgin, our Lady, taken there by myself, and was in a chapel well bedecked with ornaments, came to see her showing great affection and then they became Christians. But the devil, seeing that in this way, the empire he held was being wrested from him, employed one of his tricks in his own defense, using as a means to that end the greed of our Spanish Governor, who, with the view of obtaining slaves to send out to New Spain for sale, sent an Indian captain, hostile to that nation, to bring him as many captives as he could. This infernal minister succeeded in getting to the ranching camp of the Indian captain, who had given his

word to the Virgin to become a Christian with all his comrades. He, the Indian chief, fought until he was killed together with many of his people, as he had along with him many warriors. The dead captain had on his neck a rosary I had given him, which he placed before his aggressor imploring him by it and by the Mother of God not to kill him; but his supplications did not deter the savage tyrant from using his cruelty. He conveyed a few captives to the governor, who feigned that he was not wishing to receive them, and though he attempted to hang the Indian he had sent, on account of the stir caused by the act, his greed was manifestly apparent to all. This deed caused the uprising of all this Province, although (God be blessed) we are again gradually reducing it and the Indians well know who was to blame, and for that God must be adored above all things.

"It seems to me that, with the foregoing remarks, this Apache nation will be sufficiently well known, whose lands (as already said) reach over one hundred leagues, along the banks of the Rio del Norte, which are inhabited by the pueblos of New Mexico, namely: Teoas, (Tiguex) Tanos, Tioas, Xemes, Piros, Tompiras and Queres. It extends on the outer bank from east to west, and from north to south over spaces to which we have found no limit. The climate is like that of our Christian settlements which we have already related—extremely cold in winter, and extremely hot in summer. All possible diligence is being made for their conversion. God alone knows when its hour will arrive.

Miraculous Conversion of the Xumana Nation.

"Leaving now all this western part, and starting from the Villa of Santa Fé, in the center of New Mexico, which is at 37 degrees, and traversing the nation of the Apache buffalo hunters for over a hundred and twelve leagues to the east, we come to the Xumana nation; which, on account of its miraculous conversion, it is but fair to relate how they were converted. Years back, while a religious named Fray Juan de Salas traveled along, engaged in the conversion of the Tompiras and saline Indians, where the best salt mines in the world are found, whose boundary on that side is this Xumana nation, they were at war among themselves; and

Father Fray Juan de Salas returning to the saline Indians, the Xumanas said that persons who returned for the sake of the poor were good people; and so they became attached to the Father, and begged him to go and live among them, and every year they came to look for him. But as he was constantly employed administering the Christian Indians because and also on account of his not having a sufficient number of priests, he tactfully kept the Xumanas waiting until God should be pleased to send out more laborers which He did last year, 1629, by inspiring Your Majesty with the idea of ordering the Viceroy of New Spain to send us thirty religious, who were brought out there by Father Fray Estevan de Perea, as their custodian, and so we immediately sent out said Father with Father Fray Diego de Lopez, giving them as guides Indians of the same nation. Before they started, we asked the Indians to tell us the reason why they were so fondly asking to be baptized, and for calling on us to go to and teach them the Christian doctrine. They answered that a woman similar to the one whose picture we had there (a picture of Mother Luisa de Carrion) had appeared to them and had advised them in their own language to call us priests that they be taught and baptized, and not to be lazy; and that the woman who had so spoken to them was dressed exactly as the one painted there, but that the face was not alike; that she was comely and beautiful. And after that, every time the Indians came again from that nation, on seeing the picture of the Virgin, would confer among themselves and say that the dress was the same, but not the face, because that of the woman who appeared to them was comely and beautiful.

"The devil seeing that those souls were going to be rescued from his claws attempted to defend himself by employing one of his tricks and that was, he caused the lakes of water from which they drank to become dry, owing to which, also, the abundant cibola (buffalo) stock which grazed there, and which is the sustenance of all these nations, abandoned the plains there; and then by means of the Indian wizards, spread out the report that they should change places so as to look for what to eat, and that the religious, whom they had sent for, would not come, as in six years they had been waiting for

them, they had not yet arrived, and, on this occasion, they had already delayed so long, that it was useless to wait for them any longer. Thereupon the captains commanded to break up the camp in order to move the next day at dawn; but at day break the holy woman again spoke to them telling them not to go, that the religious they had sent for were coming soon; then holding a general conference among themselves, they sent out twelve of the most reliable captains to go out and see if it was so. On the third day these Indians met with the religious, whom they begged to show them the picture of the woman that preached to them, and as the Father showed them one of mother Luisa de Carrion, they said that that was the same they had seen, but that the other was more beautiful and comely. Immediately they started back to carry their comrades the news of the arrival of the Fathers; and the whole nation came out in procession to receive them with two crosses in front, as fitly inspired by heaven, which was then and there adored by the said Fathers and three soldiers who went along with them, the priests also drew out two crucifixes that hung from their necks, and all the Indians approached to kiss and venerate them, as if they had been old Christians. And they did the same to a statue of the infant Jesus the priests had brought along, touching it with their lips at which sight all of our men were struck with admiration. Now, more than three thousand souls had gathered to hear the word of the Lord, when Father Salas asked them if they wanted to be baptized from their hearts. To this the captains answered that it was only for that purpose they had sent for them and gathered in that place. The priest told them that, although it was true that the captains spoke for all, he would be delighted to hear it from the mouth of each person, and that as that was impossible on account of the large multitude, that the word should be passed, and that all wishing to become Christians should raise their arms and he would thus know those who wanted to become Christians.

"A wonderful thing; for with a wild yell all raised their arms standing on foot asking for holy baptism; and what edified us more was that the mothers held in their arms their babies, caught their little arms and stretched them upwards

asking for them in loud tones the holy baptism. It is the power of the Divine word which works so efficaciously.

"These religious remained there for a few days preaching and teaching the inhabitants how to pray, they attending the exercises with punctuality morning and evening. During this time messengers came from the other neighboring nations to call the Fathers that they might go and teach them, for there also, they said, the holy woman was preaching. And as that harvest seemed quite abundant to the Fathers, while the husbandmen were few, and the people being so well disposed to settle and build churches they returned to where we were in order to ask for more priests. Before leaving they assembled all the Indians to take leave of them, and, availing himself of the opportunity, Father Salas told them that during his absence he wanted them to go every day, as they were wont, to pray before the cross they had placed upon a rock, and that in all their needs they should hasten with faith to that holy cross, and that the cross would remedy them. To which the Indian captain answered in these words: 'Father, we are not yet able to obtain anything from God, since we are animals and deer of the fields, but you can get much from God and from his holy cross and we have many sick persons; cure them before you go away.' And it seems that God permitted that there should be on that occasion so many sick persons for his Divine mercy to be shown upon, that although they commenced to bring the sick at three o'clock in the afternoon, they continued working all that afternoon, all the night, and the next day until ten o'clock. One of the religious stood on one side and the other on the other side; and, just by making the sign of the cross over them, saying the Gospel of St. Luke, '*Loquente Jesu*,' the prayer of our lady, 'grant us Oh Lord,' and that of Our Holy Father St. Francis, 'deus qui ecclesiam tuam,' the sick instantaneously rose up completely healed. The blind, the lame, the hydropics—all were cured. Oh infinite goodness! let the angels bless Thee, since Thou thus deignest to honor the sacred religion and her children confirming by their hand with so many miracles thy Divine word! The religious who witnessed such wonders stood as though stunned with admiration at the sight of such marvels, worked by their hands;

and the Indians became so well confirmed in the faith of the holy cross that immediately each one placed a cross over the frontispiece of his tent, and, afterwards, every time they went out, carried it along as their guide. Those who were thus miraculously healed were so many that they could not be reckoned in numbers.

"It may be easily inferred, from what has been said how copious has been the spiritual good our seraphic order has done throughout the world; and on this land it is she alone that, amid so many hardships and dangers, has made these discoveries; for, as we have already said, in only one district of a hundred leagues we have baptized more than 80,000 souls, and have built more than fifty churches and many good convents; and there is more than 500,000 Indians whom we have pacified and subdued to Your Majesty in said nations, same being now gradually catechized and baptized. And that land which had hitherto been the abode of the devil, without a single soul to praise the most holy name of Jesus, is today rich with temples, and convents and pedestals for the holy cross; there being no one throughout the whole country who, on greeting another does not praise God and his holy Mother at the same time,—a work of merit in which Your Majesty is so deeply interested, for it is with your royal help that we sustain ourselves in those conversions, and with your royal resources that we found churches for the Lord. Wherefore I have the greatest faith in believing that as Your Majesty expands so amply the field of Catholic faith, our Lord, will pay it all back to Your Majesty even in this life, in the same coin,—that is, in extending the authority of your royal crown, subduing so many enemies of the faith, and laying open before you as many rich treasures of mines as the ones we have already discovered.

Kingdom of Quivira Aixaos.

"While these two religious had been performing those wonders in the Xumana nation, in that of the Lapies, Xabatos, and others contiguous in that vicinity to each other, *in omnem terram exivit sonus corum*, their voice also reached the kingdom of Quivira, and that of the Aixaos, which lay from there at a distance of 30 or 40 leagues to the

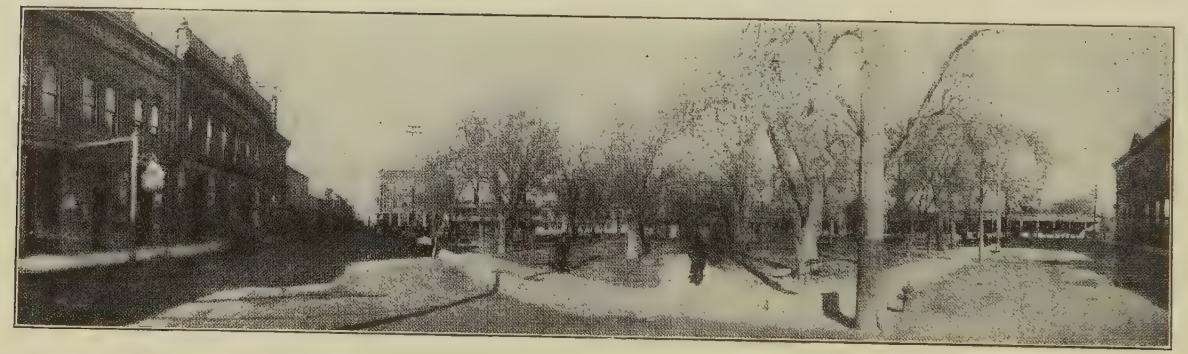
east. These Indians also sent ambassadors to the Fathers requesting them to go there to teach and baptize them, they saying also how the same holy woman had been preaching to them to come and call the religious; but, as the religious were already about to start back to the place they had come from, in order to bring what was necessary for the purpose of founding churches, they told the ambassadors that more religious were coming to help them; so, then, the ambassadors came along with the religious and related to them the reason why they asked baptism.

"I cannot but relate, on this occasion, the great service done Your Majesty by my order in the pacification and conversion of this kingdom of Quivira and Aixaos, which nations are well known for their greatness and richness. As the Villa of Santa Fé is at 37 degrees, by going thence to the east for 150 leagues, this kingdom is reached, and it is at the same height. In like manner, we know from evidence and from eye sight that there are, in this kingdom and in that of Aixaos, which is contiguous to it, large quantities of gold; and every day we see some of their Indians who trade with our people and who testify to that fact. The same fact is averred by the Flemish and the English, who, by way of Florida, are near them, and buy from them gold-dust in great quantity, and thus these heretics enjoy a great wealth which the Catholic church in the name of God granted to Your Majesty, and therewith make war upon us. In the same manner, the captain and great pilot, Don Vicente Gonzales, of the Lusitania nation, who went from Havana to ————————, on the coast of Florida, also bears witness to it. He entered the large river in which the English are settled, and, penetrating into the inland, saw the Quivira and Aixaos Indians, with earrings and necklaces of gold, very thick and so soft that they could do with their fingers whatever they pleased with them, the Indians assuring him there was a great deal of that metal in Quivira and Aixaos. Therefore, in order that Your Majesty may enjoy this treasure it is necessary that this kingdom of Quivira and that of the Aixaos be settled, and the Indians be made Christians. Upon examination of the country of Quivira and the country towards the nearest part of the sea that lies to the east,

Santa Fe in 1876. (1) Old Church of San Miguel built 1606-07—(2) Guadalupe Church—(3) Saint Michael's College—(4) Sisters of Loretto Academy.

there is a bay marked in marine charts with the title of 'Espíritu Santo' at 29 degrees, between Apalache cape and the coast of Tampico, which is the northern coast of New Spain within the gulf. Coasting, then, from this kingdom of Quivira to this gulf, there is not a hundred leagues, and one can go from there to Havana in five or six days by coasting along the coast. So that if this part or bay of Espíritu Santo was to be settled, more than 800 leagues could thereby be saved, the same being the distance between New Mexico and Havana by way of Mexico. These are traveled in more than a year, and 400 of them by a warlike and very perilous land, where Your Majesty incurs large expenses in escorts of soldiers, and in wagons; while through this way, that is, by the Espíritu Santo bay, all that is avoided is only 100 leagues of road that lie between the kingdom of Quivira and this bay, and all along the road are friendly and well known Indians who must be by this time converted and only expecting their baptism, for I left them last year in that state of mind. In like manner, by this route is much nearer, from which fact great benefits can be derived by shipping all the hides that can be secured from the Cibola stock (buffalo) and its wool, for as these animals shed off their wool, the wind gathers it in piles and heaps it over the plains and all is lost. The same thing can be done with many other kinds of commodities which this land produces. Traffic and commerce can be established easily with all points along the coast of New Spain, to-wit: Tampico, San Juan de Lua, Campeche, Havana and Florida and everything in sight of land; wherefore all those ports will increase in wealth, and in this Your Majesty is greatly interested. Aside from these advantages in that Espíritu Santo bay you have many pearls and amber which are lost today because the bay is not settled.

"This is the cause why many Dutch pirates infest those parts plundering all the schooners that traverse the gulf, while if the bay was settled, they would have no place to intrench themselves. Similarly, in order to carry from Mexico to New Mexico the necessaries which Your Majesty sends to those churches, five hundred leagues are traveled, most of them through warlike nations, and then to reach Quivira, one hundred and fifty more must be traveled, a



Santa Fe in 1912. Park and San Francisco Street, looking west from Southeast corner of Park.

transit in which Your Majesty expends more than what the principal is worth, yet all this would be avoided by sending it on a schooner from Havana to Espíritu Santo bay, if the latter is settled.

Holy Occupation of the Religious.

"Well may it be inferred, from what is said above, how brilliant are the labors and pilgrimages of the religious of my Father St. Francis in the service of God, Our Lord, for not only have they wrested from the devil his empire on those souls, but have destroyed all idolatry and adoration of the demon; they have caused the Lord and Creator of all things to be adored where there were only dens of idolatry; very sumptuous and costly temples have been erected over all the land, temples which the religious have made with such care that in order so to make them, they willingly despoiled themselves of whatever Your Majesty gave them for their sustenance and raiment. Their incessant occupation is that of Martha and Mary, attending, like Martha, to active life, curing the sick, feeding the poor and needy, causing fields to be sown for this purpose, raising stock, and by means of this stock, breaking lands for the Indians that do not live in settlements, and after having built houses for them and plowed and sown their lands, furnishing them with all the necessaries for the first month of the year, they gather them to live therein like reasonable beings. Then they teach them to recite the Christian doctrine, and teach them also good habits. Similarly they teach reading and writing to the boys and also to sing; there is then a motive for praising the Lord, on seeing so many chapels with organ singing.

Trade and Arts Taught to Indians.

"In the same way they are taught all necessary trades such as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentery, blacksmithing, music, painting, etc., in all of which they are already quite skillful. On the other hand, neither do they, the Fathers, like Mary, ever fail in their monachal duties which is the life they have professed, for, with so many occupations in the administration of the Holy Sacraments, they go, without resting, from pueblo to pueblo, as there is no religious who

has not under his charge at least four or five pueblos. They live in such a way, that they look like a community, and mattins never fail to be held at midnight, and at the other hours, while high mass is always celebrated on time. The convents are harmoniously administered so that they look more like sanctuaries than the houses of single friars. And yet with all such continuous occupations, fastings are never wanting, no, not even the lents of the blessed are omitted, as well and

Cathedral, Santa Fé.

many other spiritual exercies wherewith they edify the Spaniards, and the Indians, both of whom respect them as if they were angels.

"I have thus, enpassant, touched upon this subject omitting many other things I might have said, only to the end that Your Majesty may be appraised of the quality and virtue of your chaplain, who, with such gratitude, love, and good will, commend Your Majesty to God in that secluded corner of the earth, and in that primitive church, where Our Lord works so many wonders, and where Your Majesty's favor and help is so much needed both on account

of the duty imposed upon Your Majesty by the Church in the Bull of Alexander VI, when she, the Church, gave you in the name of God these kingdoms, only for the care you should take of upholding therein our holy Catholic faith and for the conversion of so many souls, as well as for the many mercies with which God Our Lord endowes Your Majesty therein by giving you as many riches as we have discovered in the Province of the Piros, as I have already said, and in this Kingdon of Quivira and Aixaos. The only thing wanting to obtain the full development of that monarchy is the settlement of the ports from which such wealth may be drawn out, and that there be some one to work them out; for it is clear that the lumps of silver will not come out of the mines by themselves, but that some expense must be incurred in order to bring them home. It is enough for God Our Lord, to show the rich metals to our eyes, and the ports through which we should gain their possession.

The Coast of the South.

"Having treated of all the land we have pacified and converted, it is but just for Your Majesty to know something concerning another treasure reserved for Your Majesty, since more than seventy years ago, and which after it was discovered was left untouched until our Lord may vouchsafe to hasten the arrival of its hour of development. It is about seventy years that the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, sent out Captain Vasquez Coronado to discover the coast of the south, and with him went four religious of my order. And, although for the purpose of treating about these nations we might commence from New Mexico, thence going directly to the south, or from the road to New Mexico in the last pueblo of New Spain, which is the valley of Santa Barbara, thence starting westward, it being a land contiguous to said coast, the same as New Mexico, and because no religious order has entered it except that of my Father, Saint Francis, which, at the price of its blood, brought there the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith—acting, then, under the supposition that, in order to perform this journey, the same should not be commenced from New Mexico, but from the City of Mexico—it seems wiser to me to commence

it from the latter city, and thence arrive at the provinces of Chiametla, Culiacan and Sinaloa, which are at a distance of fifty or sixty leagues from Jalisco. These nations will be treated in the following order:

Valley of Señora.

"I therefore declare that, starting out from this Province of Chiametla and traveling 80 leagues northward, always keeping close to and coasting the South Sea, one reaches and strikes the Valley of Señora, which is 70 leagues long and 30 wide, and through the center of which runs a large river. It is very fertile land, with planted fields, and strewn with many towns. The first pueblo is called 'Los Corazones,' on account of the deer hearts which were there given to our men.* This pueblo has seven hundred houses, arranged in good order, the temperature of the land being delightful.

Agastan.

"Six leagues ahead of this pueblo, in the same direction, is another one called 'Agastan' larger than the later; and round about and all over this valley there are many pueblos; but the chief one, which is the one where the cacique of this kingdom resides, has three thousand good houses of fine appearance, but in this pueblo and in the others they have their temples of idolatry and quite pretentious graveyards where the principal persons are buried.

Cibola.

"Leaving, then, the last pueblo of this valley of Señora, and going in the same northward direction, along the same coast of the south sea, for forty or fifty leagues, we come to the province of 'Cibola,' the principal city bearing the same name. The province has within its district seven other cities. The first one has about one thousand houses, and the others, many more. They are built of rock and wood, three to four stories and are quite imposing.

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*Cabeza de Baca is the one who gave that name to that town for the reason stated by Fr. Benavides (ante)—THE AUTHOR.

Tihues (Tiguex).

"After three other journeys have been made in the same direction, the province of Tihues is reached, which, in the beauty and strength of its buildings, outranks largely the last one. The first city after leaving Cibola, which must be the main town of this kingdom, is called Tihues (Tiguex). It has more than four thousand houses in each one of which from ten to fifteen inmates live. It has very high corridors and terraces, and also very high towers. The people of this city have ingress and egress to their houses through the roofs and terraces by means of passageways. It was situated on a plain on the banks of a large river * surrounded by stone walls without lime, but with gypsum, and for this reason the Spaniards were bewildered at its beauty.

A City—Puaray.

"There is another city at half a league from Tihues (Tiguex), also on the banks of the same river, of three thousand houses, where the king has his wives. It is very handsome and strongly built in the shape of a square, with stone houses. It has three compartments and the smallest is two hundred paces wide and as many long. From this plaza narrow streets shoot out through which scarcely two men on horseback can pass abreast. All the houses have their corridors leading to the plaza as in all New Mexico, and their hot-houses in them for winter; there are more than twenty of these houses very large—a good proof of the many people that live there.† Along the same bank of this river, two, three and four leagues from it, there are more than twenty other towns like this, more or less strong, and through the extent of sixty leagues traversed by this river as far as the sea, all the land is settled. The river is called the Rio Bravo and must have in width the distance covered by the shot of an arquebus.

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* This proves conclusively that Tiguex was situated on the banks of the Rio Grande, and not where Santa Fé now stands as claimed by some writers.—THE AUTHOR.

† This is the Pueblo of Puaray, Capital of the Province of Tiguex, where Coronado established his headquarters (ante).—THE AUTHOR.

The Wonderful Rock. (Acoma)

"Starting out from Tihues (Tiguex) westward, to the extent of two journeys, there is a city the strangest and strongest, perhaps, in the world, which contains more than two thousand houses, in which, it was said more than seven thousand inmates lived. There is a huge rock as high as the tower of Seville which seems to be more than one thousand feet in height. The summit of this rock is plain for a space of about a league without a tree or mound of any class or sort. On that plain the city is built. Up there, and down in the plains the inhabitants have their plantations and cornfields. This rock is so smooth and straight on the outside that there is no place in it whereby to climb to the top, except a single road cut in the rock by hand, so narrow, that only one person can pass in it, and at convenient spaces it has some concavities, so that if two persons meet on the way they may be able thereby to pass. On the summit they have large cisterns and vaulted reservoirs where they gather rain water. The rock is impregnable and wonderful in every detail.

Tusayan.

"Following in a westward course to the south sea coast, eighty leagues from Tihues (Tiguex), we come to the province of Tusayan, which has as many as thirty pueblos with good houses, though not as good as the ones noted.

Cicuyé (Cicuyé Pecos).

"Turning to the north from the city of Tihues (Tiguex), at three or four journeys, is a plain six leagues in extent, all full of plowed fields, among pine forests which yield wonderful pine (piñon) nuts and it has, also, other large and beautiful trees. A large and beautiful city is built there called in the language of that land Cicuyé (Pecos). It lies on level ground, and must have more than one thousand very large houses, all six and seven stories high. It has two post fences, ten paces apart the one from the other, about two stadia in height, very strong for protection in times of war but not strong enough to resist artillery; it has its towers with red glittering spires; has three very large squares and in

them many hot-houses (estufas), and in all the houses the corridors lead into the squares. The streets are very narrow, only two horsemen can ride abreast. It is a beautiful and strong city, and for this reason it left our men filled with astonishment.

Quivira.

"Fifteen short journeys from Tihues (Tiguex) towards the east carry us to the beginning of the Kingdom of Quivira where there are many large towns, their houses being made of straw as in New Spain; for the temperature there is very mild, and this nation does not construct its buildings any stronger than what they think they need for their wandering life; and though some call this the South Sea, it is not that of California, which extends from north to south till it goes out at the strait of Anian.

"As far as this point did Vasquez Coronado and his men with our four religious reach, and they returned because he did not care to venture any farther with the few men, few ammunitions and the scarcity of provisions which he had. They were informed that on either side of the large river which they found there were very rich towns. And having left the seed of the word and knowledge of God planted in that soil, during the interval allowed him by so short a time, they turned back to give the Viceroy an account of what they had seen; and things shall so remain until God may be pleased to hasten the hour in which Your Majesty may also enjoy the lordship of that kingdom. May God's Majesty be vouchsafed so to dispose of all things that all those souls may know and adore His Most Holy Name, and that they may also receive the Holy Sacrament of Baptism. And may He give Your Majesty, spirit, grace, and power to subdue to the church and to your Royal Crown the many barbarous nations thererein dwelling.

FRAY ALONZO BENAVIDES."

APPENDIX SECOND.

A Narrative of the Discovery and Conquest of New Mexico, as Given by the Rev. Father Fr. Francisco Frejes, Historian of the Order of Franciscans—The Author of This Work Reproduces Verbatim the Narrative of Father Frejes Because it is Brief, But Calls the Attention of the Reader to the Errors Therein Appearing Regarding dates. For Example, he Says that Oñate Came in 1595, and That the General Uprising Took Place in 1644, or 36 years Before Time (it Was in 1680), and That the Indians Killed Governor Otermin in Which He is Also in Error. He Also Omits all Mention of Fray Niza, Coronado, and Fray Juan de Padilla and His Companions (See Note of Barreiro's to the "Noticias Históricas" de Pino, p. p. 5-8.) *

"The conquest of this privileged land had the same beginning as that of the Province of Coahuila; all was the work of Providence. About the year 1532, the corps of troops which Nuño de Guzman placed under the command of Pedro Chirinos, as I have related in another place, met with three Spaniards,† who, on the invasion of Florida by Pámfilo de Narvaez, were strayed in the woods and came to a nation which, at the time, was suffering from an epidemic that was desolating it; and those Spaniards, with efficacious means cured the disease. This happy occurrence protected them from the savages, who from that moment did not allow them to leave the country, all of them having an interest in being cured by the Spaniards from their diseases. The Spaniards did not miss the opportunity for catechizing the indigenes in the principles of religion; and in order to find a way to escape from their captivity, they promoted among the friendly Indians an expedition to the western part of the territory where they supposed they might encounter their

* No date is given in which Father Frejes published his narrative but from his language it is deduced that it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century.—THE AUTHOR.

† The Spaniards alluded to were Cabeza de Vaca, and his companions (ante).—THE AUTHOR.

comrades. In the extended excursions they made, they stayed for a long time in New Mexico, and thence they entered Sonora where they again came among the Spaniards.

"The fruitful seed of religion which they had left in the hearts of those of the Indians was preserved until the year 1581, in which Fray Agustin Ruiz, a Franciscan missionary, entered New Mexico. This religious resided in a mission of the territory of Chihuahua, and was informed by some friendly Concho Indians, that not far from there, many nations existed, and among them, some who already had a knowledge of the Catholic religion. Father Ruiz immediately undertook the discovery of these Indians, and in a few days succeeded in his purpose, catechizing and baptizing many of them. He then sought the help of some comrades who happily extended it to him from the missions of Sonora.

"When the Viceroy of Mexico heard of the new discoveries and their progress, he sent out Don Antonio de Espejo, with some men and succors, to protect the missions. On account of a few uprisings which happened among the immediate tribes, it became necessary to ask for more troops in order to establish some garrisons, and an expedition under Don Juan de Oñate, a relative of the conquerors of Jalisco, set out from Mexico and reached its destination in 1595.

"Fifty years after, that is, in 1644, a general uprising of the nations of the territory took place in which all the missionaries and even the Spanish Governor died at the hands of the savages; only a few inhabitants escaped, who took refuge at El Paso del Norte. Thence new requisitions were made upon the Viceroy for the re-conquest of what had been lost, and many of the descendants of the country's defenders joined the men who started from Zacatecas and other points for the re-conquest of the country under the orders of Don Diego de Vargas in the year 1694.*

"After many a battle between the Spaniards and the rebellious savages, the later succumbed. The Pueblos of San Juan de los Caba leros and Pecos had remained loyal to the Spaniards, in spite of their lying in the interior of the coun-

* This erroneous historical document of Fr. Frejes, which the reader is now perusing, is the source from which some of the writers on New Mexico history obtained their information.—THE AUTHOR.

try, and efficiently co-operated in the general pacification. Thenceforth, though, those colonies have not progressed as they might, on account of the continuous incursions of the savages, and they have for that reason placed themselves under the protection of the government like the other provinces.

"We believe that the news of the discovery of New Mexico is truthful, inasmuch as to us the following narrative appears to be worthy of credit, which we have found in the Memorial of Sacred and Real Notices of the Empire of the West Indies, by Juan de Dios Calle, officer of the secretaryship of the viceroyalty, printed in this capital, in 1646. It says:

"The discovery of the kingdom of New Mexico was made in the year 1581. Fray Agustin Ruiz, of the seraphic order of the glorious St. Francis, having had knowledge through the information given him by some Concho Indians of the valley of St. Bartolomé, jurisdiction of New Vizcay, who had communication with those of the nation 'Passagnates,' that further ahead of these provinces there were other nations with still more population, went on to discover them with some of his religious comrades; and, having done this, he sent an account of it to Mexico, asking succors in order to prosecute his design. There was at this time in Mexico Antonio de Espejo, a rich and brave man, zealous for the service of God and of his Catholic majesty, who was selected for this journey. He assembled some soldiers, furnished the necessary provisions, 115 horses and mules, arms, ammunitions and some men for service, with the leave of Captain Juan de Ontiveros, chief alcalde of the pueblos of the four Cienegas in the government district of New Vizcay, 70 leagues from the mines of Santa Bárbara, and proceeded from the same valley of San Bartolomé on his journey in the year 1582, discovering fifteen provinces, all filled with a large number of Indians, and houses of four and five stories to which provinces they gave the name of New Mexico, because in many things it resembled the Old Mexico. Among other things, the natives who came to him during the time he was there, gave him as a present 40,000 (?) white and painted cotton blankets, and large quantities of handkerchiefs, silver metals and other things; and in some of these provinces they found that the natives had

some notion of the mysteries of our holy faith, and, asking the reason of it, they were answered, that the natives had received those notions from three Christians and one negro, who had passed through there, stopping some days with them; that, according to the signs given them, the Christians

Views of Sisters of Charity Sanitarium, Santa Fé.

were Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, and his comrades, Andres Dorantes, Bernardino del Castillo Maldonado, and the negro called Estevanico who had escaped from the armada with which Governor Pámfilo de Narvaez entered Florida, and that during the time they were there, the Majesty of God, Our Lord, worked by them many miracles, healing an innumerable multitude of sick persons by making the sign of the holy cross over them, and saying some prayer. And after Antonio

de Espejo had gone and returned in the early part of July, 1583, and, having reached the valley of San Bartolomé whence he had set out, he took note of everything and sent it to the viceroy, the Count of Coruña, that he might forward the same to His Majesty, through his royal and supreme council of the Indies, from which followed the order that the viceroy should take charge of the continuance of this discovery.

"In the year 1595, which was the last of the administration of Viceroy Don Louis de Velasco in New Spain, the journey to this kingdom was again discussed, and Don Juan de Oñate was given the charge of it, receiving also (from the viceroy) the title of Governor and Captain General of this province, four thousand ducats as help in his costs, and a loan of six thousand from the Royal coffers. On September 30th the stipulations were concluded, and before this, it appears that Captain Francisco de Urdiñola had attempted to make them, although they were not concluded with him, and as Don Louis left the government, the viceroy, the count of Monterey, his successor, sent out Don Juan de Oñate on it.

"For the instruction of the natives, he (Oñate) carried along with him some religious of the order of Saint Francis, of whom Fray Rodrigo Duran went as commissary, and, afterwards, Fray Alonzo Martinez went with some others. He (Oñate) arrived in New Mexico and settled there, took possession of it in the name of the King, Our Lord, and established his quarters in the pueblo that was named San Gabriel, whose site is at 80 degrees north, lying between two rivers, where the religious at once founded a convent, and baptized up to the year 1600, eight thousand souls. The district of these provinces commences 200 leagues ahead of the Valley of Santa Bárbara, the last pueblo of New Spain; it is 400 leages distant from the City of Mexico, and 800 from Havana coming by way of Mexico. From the court of Madrid there is more than 2,600. And, due to the satisfactory results obtained by Don Juan de Oñate, the King Philip II, our Lord who is in glory, in order to encourage him in his purpose, honored him, on February 7, 1602, with the title of Adelantado of these provinces, (he already being governor and captain general) for himself, his son or heir.

And in the years 1621 and 1631, it was proposed by the Order of Saint Francis that his Majesty authorize the building of a Cathedral to be erected in these provinces, with a bishop; because by that year, more than 500,000 Indians were already converted, and, more than 80,000 baptized, in

Views of Sisters of Charity Sanitarium, Santa Fé.

whose instruction and conversion 50 religious of this Order attended, without there being there, from the first discovery until then, any other order, and there were 150 Indian pueblos, and in each a church in which a mass was celebrated, and the Holy Sacraments were administered; and a good villa had been peopled with Spaniards; there were some ranches and estates belonging to them; and the

land, whose natives they had reduced to our Holy Faith, was of more than 400 leagues, in traveling which many days were spent, while the travel was made through innumerable enemies with great dangers and inconveniences.

"In view of this, His Majesty ordered the same year, 1631, that upon the subject of erecting a Cathedral church, the Archbishop and Viceroy should send information, and although a report was sent, it has not seemed convenient to execute the project until that kingdom is more advanced and quiet, for in the year 1644, the natives grew so restless that they killed the governor, although for their reduction and pacification, thirty religious of Saint Francis, men of exemplary life, had been sent from the Province of the Holy Gospel in Mexico, in the year 1627, and, from that date on, it has been the custom to conduct many others at the expense of the royal treasury.

"In the year 1645, there were 25 doctrinates of the order of Saint Francis, with 60 religious, which continued the instruction and teaching of these Indians, towhom His Majesty gave as alms 42,000 pesos (?) a year, that they might be preserved.

"Father Fr. Alonso de Benavides, who was custodian of these Provinces and conversions, and who, by order of the Viceroy and his prelate, came to this court in the year 1630, and made the memorial referred to concerning every thing, printed it, and gave it to his Majesty. Among other things he says, there were seen in it many notable things.

"There are in these provinces many rich silver, gold, and turquoise mines; there is an abundance of wheat, corn, beans, chic-peas, lentels, peas, pumpkins, melons, and all classes of vegetables, grapes and other fruits, gardens, pine forests, with great abundance of pine nuts, (piñones) many cattle, buffalo and sheep, and cows said to be from Cibola, whose wool is like that of the vigogue (of great estimation;) hairy stock, mules, horses, deer, hares, rabbits, bears, wolves, eagles, and other animals, and a great diversity of winged stock, many large rivers abounding in fish, and good salt deposits.

"Generally, the temperature in these Provinces is very cold in winter, so that the largest rivers freeze and are crossed

over the ice, and so their inhabitants employ stoves and many fires; and, in order to be able to say mass, there is a fire-pan at the altar, and in summer the heat is very great." *

* I am fully convinced that both Calle and Frejes wrote their stories on the discovery and conquest of New Mexico from mere traditions; that neither of them ever saw the reports of Cabeza de Vaca, Niza, Coronado, De Bustamante, Gallegos, Barrardo, Espejo, Oñate, Villagrá, De Vargas and the rest of the eye witnesses like Father Benavides. The reader having now read in the preceding chapters the very words of these discoverers, conquerors and priests, can readily see how great was the error Calle and Frejes fell in, and can now account for the many erroneous histories written on New Mexico by authors who drew their information from Calle and Frejes. I feel that I have performed a valuable public service in having thus shown to the world the truth about the history of New Mexico and the errors of many of said writers, and they are many yes, myriads of them. THE AUTHOR.

APPENDIX THIRD.

The object of the author in giving here a list of the Franciscan martyrs who were assassinated by the Indians in New Mexico, in the first epochs of its discovery and conquest, is to inform the reader of the faith of those holy men who left their homes, their families and their country in order to enter unknown and far off lands inhabited by numberless tribes of savage Indians without the hope of any better reward than a sure martyrdom which, however, secured, undoubtedly, to them the enjoyment of life eternal.

The Franciscan Fathers and Friars, who with their blood moistened the virgin soil of the then unknown Province of New Mexico, were the following, namely: Juan de Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, Louis Escalone, Francisco Lopez, Agustin Rodriguez, Juan de Santa Maria, Francisco Letrado, Martin de Arvide, Francisco Porras, Pedro de Miranda, Pedro de Avila y Ayala, Alonso Hill de Avila, José de Espeleta, Juan de Jesus Maria, José Trujillo, Manuel Beltran, Francisco Casañas de Jesus Maria, Francisco Corvera, Antonio Moreno, José de Arvizú, Antonio Carbonelli and Domingo Saraóz.

Besides those 22 just mentioned, there were, in 1680, 18 others, who died at the hands of the Indians, when the latter rose in revolt against Governor Otermin in 1680. Certain it is that the last 18 are not considered as martyrs, either by the church or by the Franciscan order, according to the account given of the death of said first martyrs, and of the last 18, by Rev. Father James H. Defouri in his work entitled "Martyrs of New Mexico," which is the authority on which the author rests this appendix. We have already given an account of the 18 Indians who died in 1680, in another part of this work, as well as of the greater part of the others mentioned, but in this appendix an additional word is dedicated to each one of them with the object mentioned, and to set their history in clearer light.

Fr. Juan de Padilla—From Andalusia, before coming to

New Mexico, was guardian of the college of Tzapotlan, a post he held until 1540, when he, accompanied by Father Marcos Niza, undertook the voyage with Coronado. The Indians assassinated him at Gran Quivira (ante) on Novem- 30, 1542.

Fr. Juan de la Cruz—A native of France, but of unknown family, also accompanied Coronado together with Fr. Juan de Padilla, Fr. Francisco Lopez and other priests as choir director, according to Torquemada, and was assassinated in the neighborhood of Tiguex in 1542. Defouri says that Juan de la Cruz remained in New Mexico when Coronado returned. That is an error, as neither Coronado, nor Castañeda, nor Jaramillo say anything about it; Castañeda and Jaramillo, as we have already seen, say that Fathers Juan de Padilla and Lopez were the only Spaniards that remained in New Mexico, accompanied by the Portuguese, Andres del Campo.

Fr. Luis de Escalone—Who also accompanied Coronado in 1540, according to Defouri, a thing not found in any other authority except Defouri, was murdered near Tiguex in 1541.

Fr. Francisco Lopez—Not the same one murdered by the Pecos Indians, was assassinated in December, 1581.

Fr. Agustin Rodriguez (Fray Ruiz)—Born at Ayamonte, province of Andalusia, assassinated in December, 1581 (ante) a few days after the murder of Father Francisco Lopez.

Fr. Juan de Santa Maria—Catalanian by birth, was murdered near the Sandia mountains (county of Bernalillo) in the fall of 1581.

Fr. Francisco Letrado—Native of Castile, was murdered by the Indians of Zuñi on February 22nd, 1630.

Fr. Martin de Arvide—Native of the Port of San Sebastian, in Cantabria, was murdered on February 28, 1630, a few days after the murder of Father Letrado, who, as we have seen, was murdered on the 22nd of the same month. The Ziia Indians killed Father Arvide.

Fr. Francisco Porras—Of Villanueva de los Infantes, of whom history relates that while he catechized the Indians of Moqui, the Moqui chief brought him one of his children, a boy 12 years old, who was blind from birth, saying to the

Father: "If your God is as powerful as you say, ask him to give my son his eyesight," and that the Father then kneeling, prayed for a while, then placed on his hand the saliva of his own mounth, and, mixing it with a little earth, placed it over the eyes of the child saying: "Epheta," wherewith the child instantly recovered his eyesight, one thousand Indians being converted then. Father Porras went to Gualpi from Moqui, where he was assassinated by means of poison administered him by the Indians on June 28th, 1633. When he realized the proximity of his death, as related by Father Agustin de Ventacut in his Franciscan menology, he knelt down before Father Francisco de San Buenaventura, who was the Priest at Gualpi and pronounced the following words, "In te Domine, speravi," and when he got to the words: "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," he fell dead on the ground.

Fr. Pedro de Miranda—From Mexico, at least from there he came to New Mexico, the date and place of his birth being alike unknown. He was assassinated at the pueblo of Taos on December 28th, 1631.

Fr. Pedro de Avila y Ayala—Whose date and place of birth is also unknown, the only thing known about him being that he came to New Mexico from the Peninsula of Yucatan, and was assassinated by the Acoma Indians, October 7, 1672.

Fr. Alonso Hill de Avila—Nothing is known, about the birth of this priest. On January 23, 1675, the Apaches made a sudden attack on the Pueblo of Senecú, (near Socorro), killing nearly all the Indians of the pueblo, and among them, Father Alonzo. The priests that died during the insurrection of 1680 were 21, as we have already said, namely, Juan Bernal, Juan Domingo de Vera, Fernando de Velasco, Juan Bautista Pro, Tomás de Torre, Luis de Morales, Matias Rendon, Antonio de Mora, Juan de la Pedroza, Manuel Tinoco, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, Juan Talaban, José Montes de Oca, Fr. Antonio Sánchez de Pro, Fr. Luis Maldonado, Juan Fr. Juan del Bal, José de Figueroa, Agustin de Santa Maria, José de Espeleta, José Trujillo and Juan de Jesus Maria.

Fr. Manuel Beltran—Of whose birth nothing is known. Assassinated in the church of the Tanos Indians in 1684, by said Indians.

Fr. Francisco Casañas de Jesus Maria—From Barcelona, was assassinated by the Jemes Indians in 1684.

Fr. Francisco Corvera and Antonio Morena—Were at the time of their death curés of San Ildefonso and Nambé, respectively. On June 4th, Father Corvera was visiting Father Morena at the pueblo of Nambé, and while they were sleeping, the Indians of Nambé murdered them.

Fr. José de Arvizú and Antonio Carbonelli—The first one, from Spain, and the second from Italy, they were murdered by the Indians of the pueblo of San Cristóval on June 4th, 1696. Carbonelli was visiting that day Father Arvizú who was parish priest of San Cristóval, while Carbonelli was parish priest of Taos.

Fr. Domingo de Saraóz—Nothing is known of the antecedents of this priest. He was assassinated by the Indians of the Pueblo of Santa Ana, by means of the poisonous herbs given him in his meal, in the year 1631; the date of his poisoning, that is, the month and day, is not known.

APPENDIX FOURTH—SKETCHES.

Jacobo J. Aragon.

Jacobo J. Aragon, is a native of San Miguel county where he was born 47 years ago. He was educated in the public schools of the Territory and attended for many years the Nelson Brothers College at Springfield, Ohio. Later he went to Kansas City and there engaged in the real estate business.

Jacobo J. Aragon.

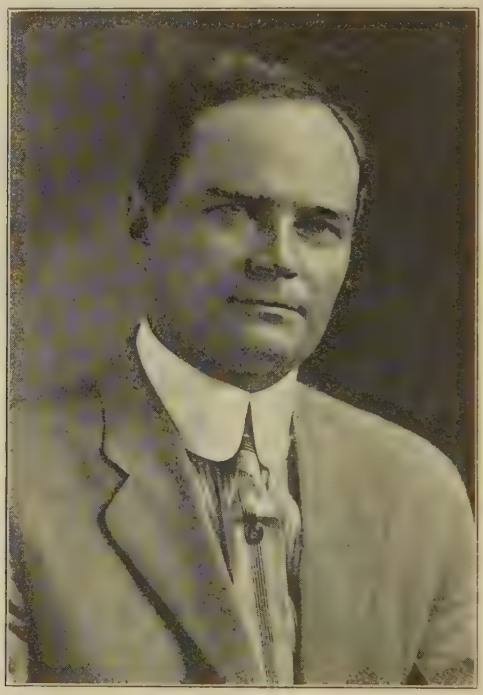
His health failing Mr. Aragon returned to New Mexico and settled in the county of Sierra, where he served one term as county superintendent of schools.

In 1900, Mr. Aragon moved to El Paso, Texas, where he re-entered in the dry goods business on a large scale under the firm name of Aragon Brothers & Co. Later Mr. Aragon moved to Lincoln, Lincoln county, where he has been engaged in the mercantile and sheep business, the firm name being Aragon Brothers.

Mr. Aragon received the nomination for delegate to the Constitutional Convention held in Santa Fe from October 3 to November 22, 1910, by acclamation and was endorsed by the Republicans and Democrats of Lincoln county.

E. C. Abbott.

Edmund Clarence Abbott, born August 8, 1871, at Glenwood, Iowa. Parents moved to Newton, Kansas, in 1875. Settled at Garden City, Kansas, in 1893. Educated in public schools of Garden City, and graduated from the Kansas State Agricultural College at Manhattan, Kansas, in the class of 1893. Studied law in the office of his father who was judge of the 27th judicial district of Kansas. Admitted to the bar in 1894, and moved to Colorado where he practiced until 1897, moved

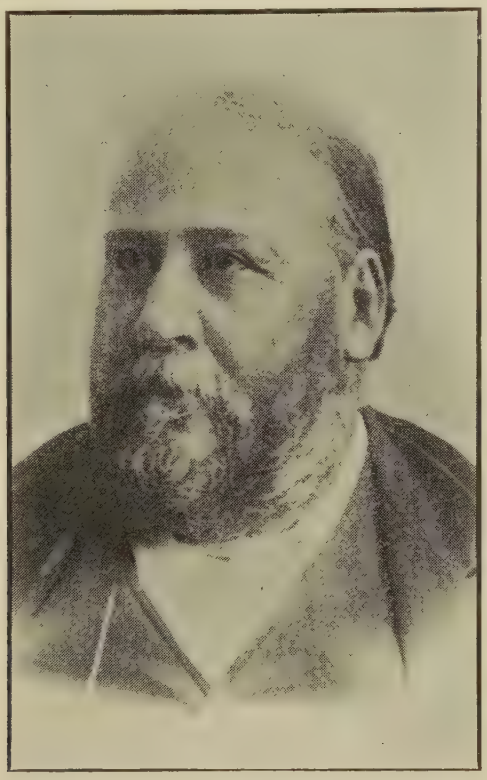


E. C. Abbott.

to Taos and began to practice law. Elected to the legislature in the November election of 1900. Appointed district attorney of the first judicial district in March, 1901. Reappointed three times consecutively. Resigned in 1906, and again elected to the legislature for the Counties of Santa Fé and Sandoval in 1907. Appointed assistant United States attorney by Attorney General Bonaparte. Resigned the appointment of district attorney for the Counties of Santa Fé, Taos and Torrance. Re-appointed for another term, which position he was filling at the time of the transition from territorial to state government. Resides in Santa Fé since January, 1901.

Roman A. Baca.

Hon. Roman A. Baca was a native of New Mexico and descendant of an illustrious and prominent family; during the greater part of his life he devoted his energies, prestige and wealth to the betterment of

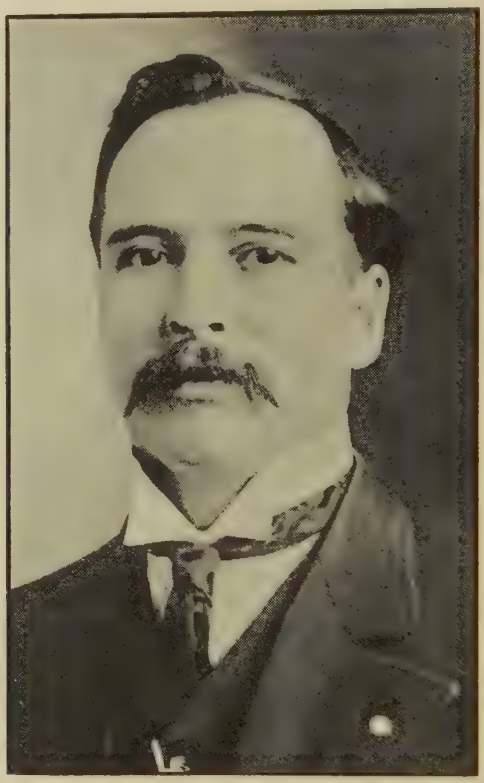


Roman A. Baca.

education, agriculture and stock raising in New Mexico. Don Roman was the most noted Indian fighter of his time and as such was the terror of the Navajoes, Utes and Comanches. He made his mark as a legislator, having served as Speaker in 1875 and as member in several terms of the House of Representatives, as well as a patriot, having served during the civil war as captain in the army of the Union.

Roman L. Baca.

Hon. Roman Liberato Baca, the son of Don Roman A. Baca, like his distinguished father, has rendered his State many valuable services, having filled, with credit to himself, the following public positions: Member of the city council of the City of Santa Fé, for



Roman L. Baca.

several terms; chief clerk of the Territorial House of Representatives in 1899 and in 1901; member of said House of Representatives again in 1903; Speaker of the House in 1907, and was again elected member of the first legislature of the State of New Mexico at the first State election held Nov. 7, 1911, and made Speaker of the first House of Representatives of the State. Mr. Roman L. Baca is a native of New Mexico and was educated in St. Michael's College.

Juan Maria Baca.

Don Juan Maria Baca, was born on the 23rd of September, 1818. His parents were Luis Baca, and Doña Rufina Maestas. Don Juan Maria, did not receive the benefit of any education, and what little he knew of reading, writing and counting he learned partly in some of the modest and unpretentious private shools of those times, and mostly by his own efforts. He was a man of very clear practical intellect. He was married in 1844 to Miss Dolores Sandoval, daughter of Don

Juan Maria Baca.

Francisco Sandoval and Doña Guadalupe Gallegos of San Isidro, county of Sandoval, at present. Shortly after the marriage, they, changed residence from Jemez to Upper Las Vegas, in San Miguel County. Mr. Baca died August 31, 1872, and Mrs. Baca, died January 4th, 1879. Their union was blessed with eleven children, Florencio, Bartolo, Benito, Vicenta, Abundio No 1, Eluterio, Francisco, Domingo and Antonio (twins), Juanita and Abundio No. 2. Of these the two Abundios, Bartolo and Vicenta died infants before the death of the parents, and since their death, Benito, Florencio and Antonio have followed them to the grave, four therefore, being still alive, namely Eluterio, Francisco, Domingo and Juanita.

Benito Baca.

Benito Baca, was born at Cañon de Jemes, in March 1848, but was brought up to manhood at Upper Las Vegas, New Mexico, in the County of San Miguel. He learned his A. B. C., some reading and writing in Spanish in the schools of those times which he attended until St. Michael's College was opened which he attended for two

Benito Baca.

years, having previously received his first English instructions from Mr. Milnor F. Rudulph of Rincon del Tecolote, now Rociada.

In 1867 he went to St. Louis University where he stayed until the spring of 1868, leaving the University then to come and accept a position at Hays City with the new firm of Otero and Sellar. He worked for this firm for three years. He died June 21, 1879, at La Constancia, the home of his father-in-law, Don Manuel A. Otero, immediately following the close of a political campaign he had waged against the Republican party, he being a candidate as Delegate to Congress.

Eleuterio Baca.

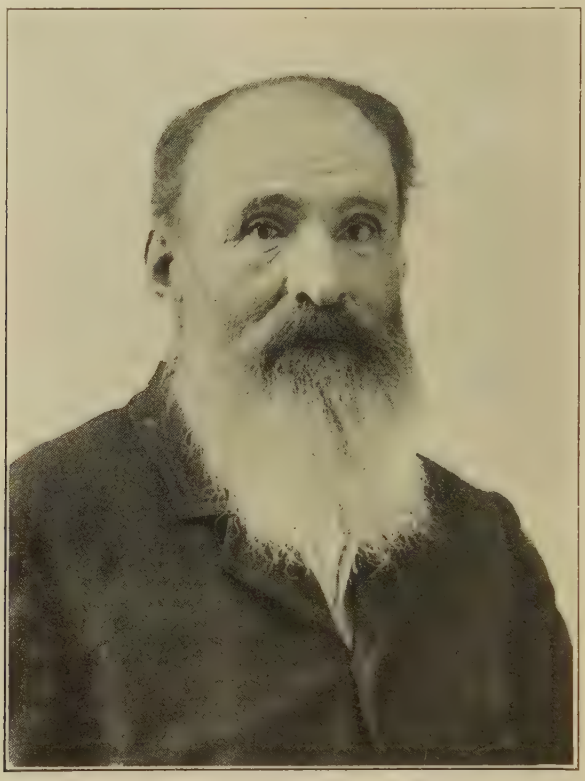
Eleuterio Baca, was born at upper Las Vegas, county of San Miguel, February 20th, 1853. He learned to read and write with the native teachers of those times, first among whom were Don Jesus M. Bernal, Simon Sandoval and José Manuel Leyva. In the fall of 1862, he entered St. Michael's College in Santa Fe, and stayed there till the

Eleuterio Baca.

spring of 1863. He returned in 1864 remaining until 1866, when he was sent to the college the Saint Michael's Brothers had at Mora. In November 1867, he was sent to the St. Louis University, Missouri, and there he graduated with the highest honors of his class, in the classical courses of said institution on June 27, 1872. Mr. Baca has served as preceptor, and as such he has served the youth of New Mexico for over 26 years.

Tomás D. Cabeza de Baca.

Don Tomás Dolores Cabeza de Baca is a descendant from the family, Cabeza de Baca, which has figured so much in the pages of the history of New Mexico, and his wife, Doña Estéfana Delgado, is a descendant



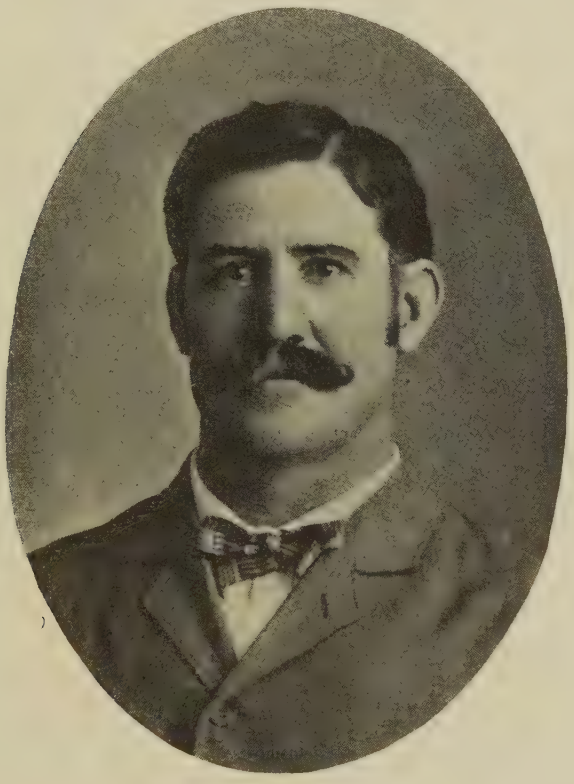
Don Tomás D. Cabeza de Baca.

of the illustrious soldier, Manuel Delgado, head and trunk of the numerous Delgado family in New Mexico. The sons of Don Tomás, Manuel, Daniel, Nicasio, Ezequiel, Graciano and Antonino, have all figured prominently in public life, and are very useful citizens. Don Tomás died in the winter of 1904-5 at Las Vegas.

Hon. Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca.

Mr. Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca is a member of the most distinguished families in New Mexico, his father, Don Tomás Dolores Cabeza de Baca, now dead, having been one of the leading men of his time, both politically and as a private citizen.

The subject of this brief sketch has resided at Las Vegas, New Mex-



Hon. Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca.

ico, all his life, and has been engaged for many years as one of the editors of the leading democratic Spanish journal of New Mexico, "La Voz del Pueblo," published in Las Vegas.

Mr. Baca enjoys the distinction of being the first lieutenant governor of the State of New Mexico, elected as the first state election held on the 7th day of November, 1911, and of defeating in that election one of the most popular Republican leaders of the state, the Hon. Malaquias Martinez.

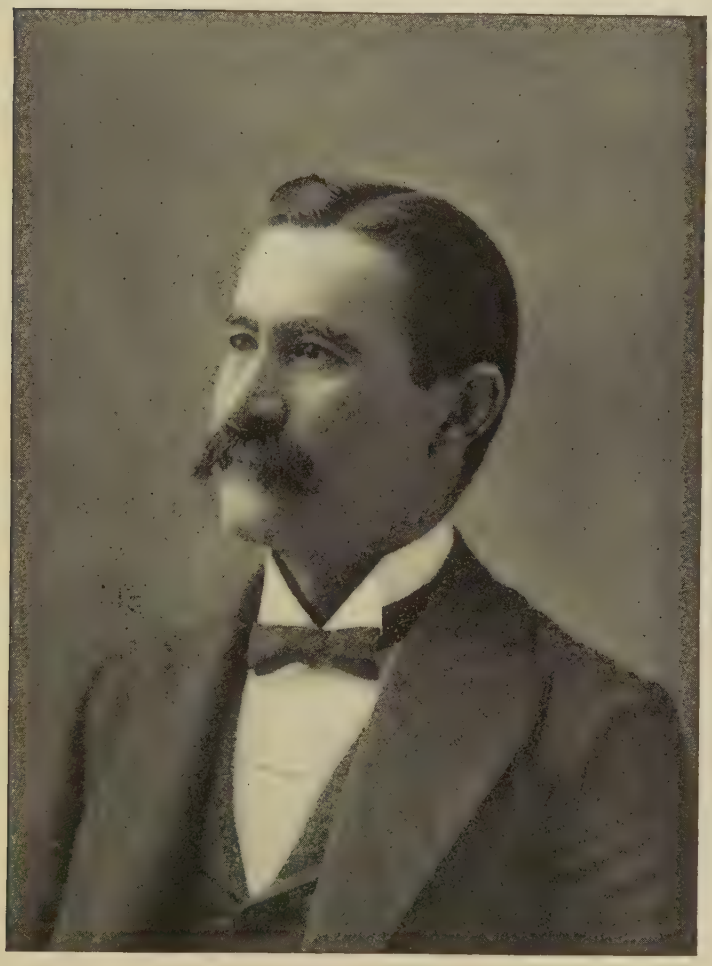
Kirby Benedict.

Chief Justice of New Mexico from 1858 to 1866. Died in Santa Fé in 1875. Judge of the District Court, First Judicial District, 1853-8. Through the efforts of Judge Benedict a law was passed by the legislature in 1859, to finish a revision of the laws of New Mexico, which

Kirby Benedict.

under the title of "Revised Code of New Mexico," had been commenced in the year of 1856. Under this act of 1859 a commission, composed of Judge Benedict, Facundo Pino and Attorney C. P. Clever, was appointed by the governor in 1862. This commission failed to accomplish the work because one of its members, Pino, died before the completion of the work. After that Judge Benedict's name does not appear in public life.

Casimiro Barela.



Casimiro Barela.

Don Casimiro was born in Rio Arriba county March 4th, 1847. His parents were Don José M. Barela, and Doña Maria de J. Abeytia, domiciled in Mora, a place they left a little before Casimiro was born. At the end of the war with Mexico his parents returned to Mora. His first education he received in private schools. Later on, he entered the service of the Rev. Father Juan B. Salpointe, parish priest of Mora, and subsequently Archbishop of New Mexico, under

whose charge he received considerable instruction. In 1863, he conducted a store of his father at El Coyote, and that same year commenced to haul freight. He moved over with his parents to Trinidad, Colorado, in January, 1867. In May of the same year he settled at El Rito de San Francisco now called Barela, Colorado.

In 1869 he was elected justice of the peace of the precinct of El Rito del Valle de San Francisco. In 1870, elected assessor of the county of Las Animas, and in 1871, member to the territorial legislature of Colorado, and during the session of the legislature in 1872, he succeeded in having the laws of the Territory published in Spanish. Was again elected to the legislature in 1873, and sheriff of the county of Las Animas in 1874. In 1875, was elected delegate to the constitutional convention which met in Denver, in December of the same year.

As a member of the convention Barela succeeded in having inserted in the state consitution the provision that the laws of the state should be published in the Spanish language for a term of 25 years and another clause to the effect that no educational qualification could pass the general assembly against the voters of the state for a term of 25 years.

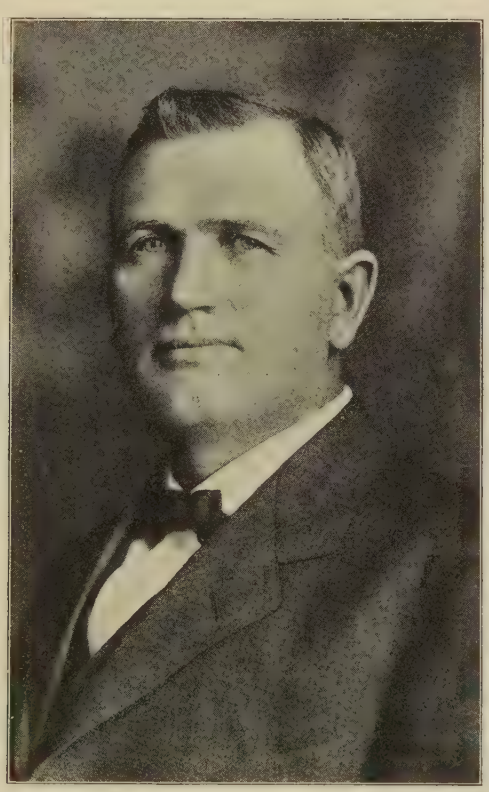
In November 1876, at the first state election he was chosen state senator, has since been re-elected successively, and his present term expires on December 31, 1912.

Senator Barela, while still a senator in 1882, was elected, by the unanimity of both parties, county judge, for a term of three years. He served one year, and then resigned in order to attend as senator to the general assembly of the state. In 1884, without any interruption to his services as senator, he was elected by both parties as county treasurer of Las Animas county. He has been, for two terms president of the senate.

The commission charged with the duty of the construction of the state capitol building, on selecting 15 persons out of 700 candidates to place their pictures in the cupula of the state capitol, selected Mr. Barela as one of the 15, being the only one, among the chosen few, who is living today. On the 60th anniversary of his birth, March 4th, 1907, the senate celebrated that event, and without any partisan views, addresses were made by several senators congratulating him. A testimonial was presented to him certifying to his intergity as a legislator and a man, signed by the lieutenant governor and all the senators. In addition he was presented by his colleagues with a silver set engraved with his initials. Senator Barela has also held in Colorado the post of consul to the Mexican Republic for 12 years, and also counsel of Costa Rica for years and is to this day consul of that republic.

Holm O. Bursum.

Mr. Bursum is actually one of the leaders of the Republican party. His accession to the public posts of greater prestige and of the highest importance, was as rapid as it was surprising to those who did not know him thoroughly; but to those who had the opportunity of weighing



Holm O. Bursum.

him in political and social questions he was nothing more than the logical consequence of the labors of an enterprising and far seeing genius. His clear talent and his unerring judgment placed him far above his enemies, and insured for him the respect, esteem and confidence of the great majority of the people of New Mexico. Mr. Bursum was the candidate for governor of New Mexico at the first state election held November 7, 1911, but was defeated by W. C. McDonald, Democrat, his opponent.

Dn. Albino Chacon.

Don. Albino Chacon.

Don Albino Chacon, who rendered New Mexico valuable public services under the governments of Mexico and the United States, was one of Armijo's captains at the time General Kearny entered New Mexico and whose valuable services to the public are referred to in another part of this work.

Rafael Chacon.

Captain Rafael Chacon, a resident now of Trinidad, Colorado, is also a son of New Mexico, being a son of Don Albino Chacon and of Doña Refugio Lopez. Mr. Chacon received his primary education in private schools of New Mexico, and made his last studies as military cadet in the Military College of Mexico. In

Rafael Chacon.

1846, when Kearny entered New Mexico, Don Rafael was as yet a young soldier of 13 years, and accompanied Armijo as far as Cañoncito where it was hoped Armijo would give battle to the invading army. As we have already given an account of that event in the narrative we have given of the same, we shall now continue to relate the services which this patriot rendered the American government. What follows was taken from the official records.

"This certifies that Rafael Chacon enlisted from Taos county,

New Mexico, on the 13th day of August, 1861, to serve three years or during the Civil War, and was mustered into the United States service at Fort Union, New Mexico, as captain of company K, 1st Regiment New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, later changed to cavalry, Colonel Ceran St. Vrain commanding, who resigned and was succeeded by Colonel Christopher Carson.

This regiment was organized at Santa Fe and Fort Union, New Mexico from July 1, to August 13, 1861, to serve for three years. Operating against Sibley's invasion of New Mexico January to May, 1862. Battle of Valverde, February 21, 1862. Duty at Ft. Union and Albuquerque, New Mexico, till April, 1862. Pursuit of Confederate forces, April 13-22, with engagements at Albuquerque, Algodones, Peralta, and Los Pinos Grove, and at the latter place fired the last shot at rear guard of the enemy. Conducted four hundred prisoners to Fort Union, marching from Peralta through Albuquerque, Glorieta, Pecos, and Las Vegas, latter part of April, 1862. Officers and enlisted men not selected for retention in service were mustered out May 31, 1862, and the remaining portion consolidated with like members of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th regiments, New Mexico Infantry, to form a new regiment designated as the 1st New Mexico volunteer cavalry. Transferred to 1st New Mexico volunteer cavalry as captain of company E, May 31, 1862. Promoted Major, March 2nd, 1864. With 1st cavalry operating against Navajo and Apache Indians in the department of New Mexico and Arizona, and garrison duty by detachments at Forts Stanton, McRae, Wingate, Craig, Canby, Union, and other points in that district, participating in numerous expeditions and skirmishes with Indians, till August, 1864. Temporarily in command of Fort Wingate in 1862 and 1863. With expedition to Arizona, accompanying government Civil Officers to establish the New Territory, Ft. Whipple, and the city of Prescott, from December, 1863, to March, 1864. Commanding officer at Ft. Stanton in 1864. Mustered out September 2, 1864, by reason of expiration of term of service, and honorably discharged from service.

"The said Rafael Chacon was made captain of company E, May 31, 1862, when the regiment was organized into cavalry.

"March 2, 1864, he was promoted to Major of the regiment.

"In 1862, he commanded the escort consisting of his own company, conveying about 450 Confederate prisoners to Fort Union, New Mexico. With his company he brought about 5,000 Navajo Indians from Fort Wingate, N. M., to Santa Fe, N. M., to be transferred to Fort Sumner reservation in New Mexico. He was in command of the escort of the first civil officers from Fort Wingate to organize the Territory of Arizona and to establish Fort Whipple, in Arizona.

"He took part in engagements at Valverde (Fort Craig), Albuquerque, Algodones, Peralta, Los Pinos, Fort Stanton, New Mexico, and Navajo, Arizona, and numerous engagements with the Indians in New Mexico and Arizona, and achieved a gallant record for efficiency as an officer and meritorious service.

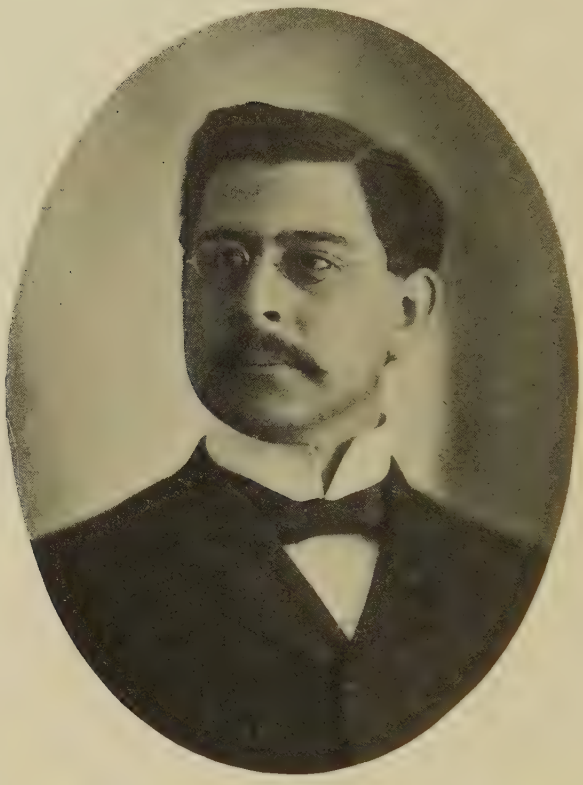
"In 1855, he enlisted from Taos County, New Mexico, to serve six months, as 1st Sergeant of company B, St. Vrain's Batallion of Volunteers, commanded by Captain Francisco Gonzales, against the Ute and Apache Indians, and was engaged in several engagements until July of said year, when the Indians surrendered.

"He is a member of Trinidad Post, No. 25, Department of Colorado and Wyoming, Grand Army of the Republic, and Military Order of Loyal Legion, Colorado Commandry.

"He held office as Chief Clerk of New Mexico Territorial Senate, one term; State Senator of New Mexico, one term; Justice of the Peace in Taos County, New Mexico, two terms; Sheriff and Treasurer of Las Animas County, Colorado, one term.

"He was Colonel on staff of Governor Eaton of Colorado with National Guard, one term, and Notary Public in Colorado for about twenty years."

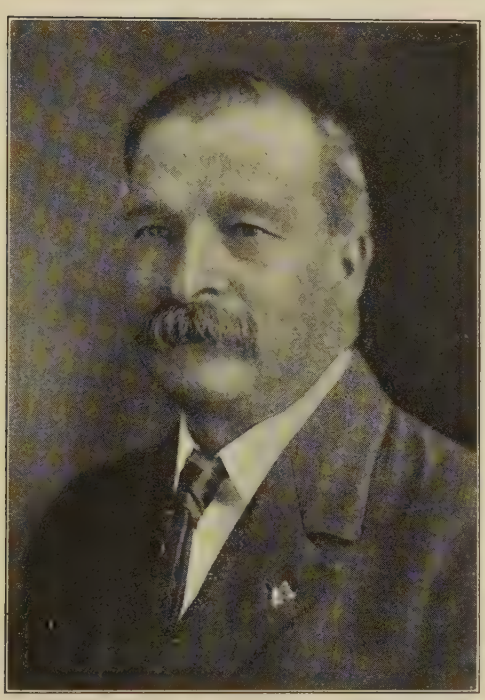
Attorney Eusebio Chacon.



Eusebio Chacon.

Hon. Eusebio Chacon, native of New Mexico but now resident of Trinidad, Colo., where he is practising law and is Assistant District Attorney. Mr. Chacon is the author of several writings on New Mexico history. His valuable services to the public are referred to in another part of this work.

Hon. Jacobo Chavez.



Hon. Jacobo Chavez.

Hon. Jacobo Chavez was born in Valencia county, July 15, 1860. His parents were Don Francis Antonio Chavez and Doña Juan Maria Chavez, both members of the prominent Chavez family. Don Jacobo received his education in the University of Saint Louis, Mo., and Saint Michael's College in Santa Fe, N. M. Don Jacobo has occupied the following public positions. Treasurer of Valencia county from 1894 to 1896. County Clerk of Valencia county from 1895 to 1900. Member of the Territorial Legislative Council from 1905 to 1909. Superintendent of Insurance of New Mexico from 1907 to the present time (1912).

Captain Manuel Delgado.

Captain Manuel Delgado.

Captain Manuel Delgado, founder of the Delgado family in New Mexico. Don Manuel Delgado served with distinction in the Spanish army, fought in many battles and was wounded in several of them. For his valuable military services he received the promotion from a private to the rank of captain. See sketches of his descendants which follow.

Felipe S. Delgado.

Mr. Felipe S. Delgado was the son of Don Manuel Delgado. Don Manuel was the son of Don Marcos and Don Marcos was the son of the first Manuel Delgado, founder of the family, who came to New Mexico as an officer of the Spanish Army. Don Felipe was the brother of Simon, Fernando, Felipe, Jr., and Juan Pablo. All of

Felipe S. Delgado.

these brothers figured in public life as prominently as their distinguished great grand-father. All of them filled honorable positions and all were merchants. Don Felipe S., the subject of this sketch was appointed by President Lincoln as Superintendent of Indian Agencies in New Mexico. He also served several times as member of the Legislature, as Probate Judge of Santa Fe County, County Commissioner and member of the School Board. Don Felipe married Doña Benigna Garcia. From that marriage the following children were born, Luz, Antonio, Manuela, Emilio and Alfredo.

Juan Pablo Delgado.

Don Juan Pablo Delgado was one of the five sons of Don Manuel Delgado, who was the son of Don Marcos and grandson of Captain Manuel Delgado, the founder of the family of that name in New Mexico. Captain Delgado enlisted in the royal army of Spain in 1776 as

Juan Pablo Delgado.

private and was promoted, by degrees, for valuable and meritorious services, to the rank of captain. While in the military service he came to New Mexico, already a married man, in 1778, settled and died in the country. Don Juan Pablo Delgado filled several public positions in his lifetime, both under the Mexican and the American government.

Felipe B. Delgado.

Mr. Felipe B. Delgado, also a son of Don Manuel Delgado, lived in Sarta Fé all his life, was educated in St. Louis, Mo., and devoted his whole life to the mercantile business, having managed, until the day of his death, a mercantile establishment, and was, in the days of the fa-

Felipe B. Delgado.

mous Santa Fé trail, one of the principal owners of mules and ox trains freighting from Santa Fé, to Independence, Mo., and from Santa Fé to Chihuahua. In February, 1869, Mr. Delgado married Miss Lucia Ortiz, daughter of Captain Gaspar Ortiz y Alarid, of Santa Fé. From this marriage there was an issue of fifteen children of which only the following are living: Magdalena, Pablo, Ana, Lola, Lucia, Pilar, Ernestina, Gerónimo and Miguel. Don Felipe B. died in Santa Fe November 22, 1908.

José E. Fernandez.

José Emilio Fernandez was born at Trinidad, Colorado, April 10, 1882, being the son of Mr. Jesus Maria Fernandez, a prominent figure in the 70's in Taos County, New Mexico, and Mrs. Rosita Martinez.

Mr. Fernandez was educated in the country schools of Colorado. At the age of 15 he taught a private school at Castskill, New Mexico, and started his first public school, at Gulnore, Colorado, December

José E. Fernandez

12, 1898. He taught in the public schools until September, 1907, when he took charge of "El Progreso," of Trinidad, Colorado. At 14 Mr. Fernandez acted as assistant postmaster at Madrid, Colorado.

Since 1907 he has been writing several Spanish works and in May, 1911, he wrote in Spanish entitled "Forty Years as Legislator, or Biography of Senator Casimiro Barela." At present Mr. Fernandez is writing Senator Barela's Biography in English.

Mr. Fernandez has also been prominent in politics in Las Animas County for the last five years.

John Ellsworth Griffith.

Born on a farm, Delaware County, Ohio, October 24th, 1864. Educated in country schools and normal schools at Prospect and Fostorio, Ohio. Graduated from Spencerian Business College, Cleveland, Ohio; Denison University, Granville, Ohio, and the Cincinnati Law School and admitted to the bar by the supreme and federal courts

John Ellsworth Griffith.

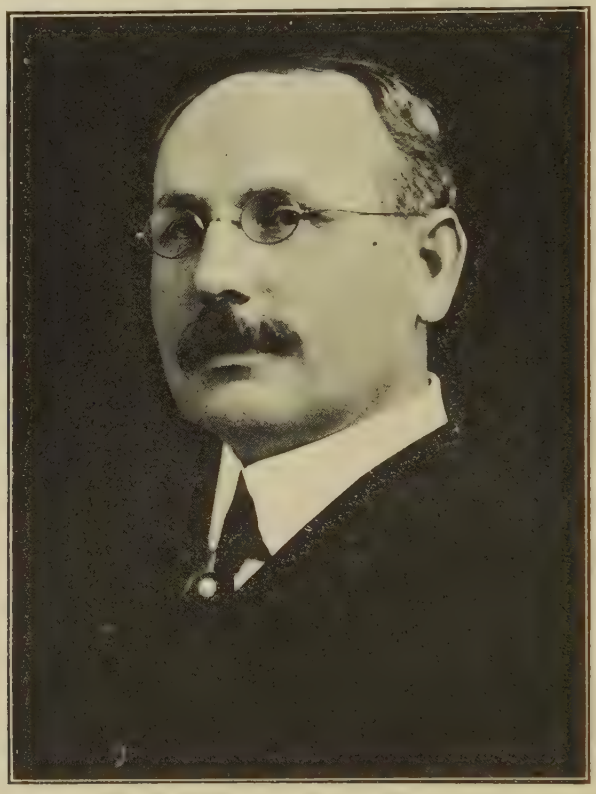
of Ohio in 1890. Taught in country and normal schools and after graduation located and practiced law at Marysville, Ohio, until 1898. While located at Marysville, including four years in Ohio legislature, the last two years was Speaker pro tem of the House.

In June, 1898, came to New Mexico, located at Socorro, was appointed Clerk of the District Court of the Fifth District.

He is Past Master of Masonic Blue Lodge, Past High Priest of Royal Arch Masons, Past Grand Patron Eastern Star of New Mexico, 32nd degree Mason, Shriner, Past Chancellor Commander K. of P. and an Elk.

Nathan Jaffa.

Nathan Jaffa was the last Secretary of the Territory of New Mexico, was born December 28, 1863, at Cassel, Germany. He left his native country while still a young boy and came to the United States, where he completed his education which was begun in the Fatherland. He has been actively identified with the business, public and political affairs of New Mexico for a number of years, is a banker and merchant



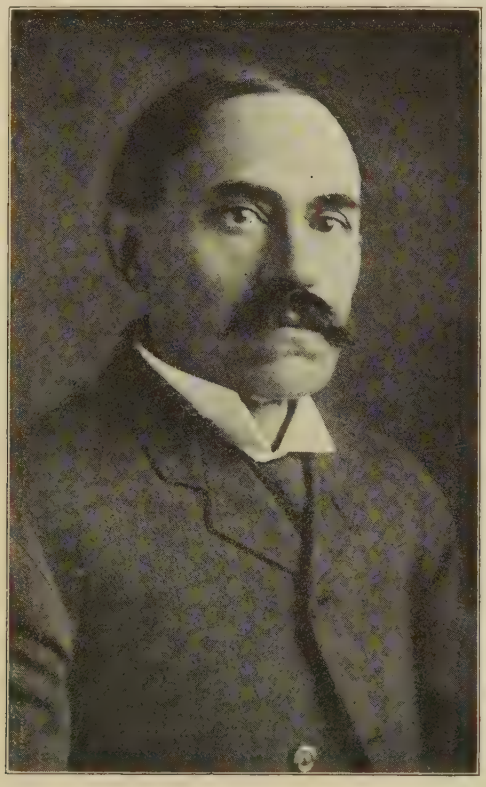
Nathan Jaffa.

at Roswell, N. M. He is a thirty-second degree Mason, a member of the Grand Lodge of New Mexico; was Master of Roswell Lodge No. 18 for two years, and served several years as Excellent High Priest of Columbia Royal Arch Chapter No. 7, at Roswell. Mr. Jaffa began his political career as a county commissioner of Chaves county and as evidence of his popularity was the first Republican ever elected to public office in that county. He was the first chairman of the board of trustees of the then town of Roswell, and for a number of years president of the Board of Education.

Hon. Antonio Lucero.

Hon. Antonio Lucero, Secretary of State, was born on a ranch, near Las Vegas, on the 6th day of October, 1863, and is, therefore 48 year old.

When 10 years old his parents moved into the town of Las Vegas, where he has lived ever since. At the latter place he was sent to



Hon. Antonio Lucero.

private schools, until 1879, when he entered the College conducted by the Jesuit Fathers at that place. He attended this school until 1885.

Married in 1893 and soon after his marriage he became assistant editor of La Voz del Pueblo.

For the last ten years he has been instructor of Spanish in the Normal University of Las Vegas and High School of the same place doing this work in connection with his editorial work.

He was also the chief clerk of the territorial legislative council in 1895. He was elected Secretary of State at the first State election.

Jeremiah Leahy.

Mr. Jeremiah Leahy, was born in Ottawa, State of Illinois, September 15th, 1861—Educated in public school of Valparaiso, Indiana. Taught school in Livingston county, Illinois. Read law and admitted to the bar in Pontiac, in 1888. Came to Springer, New Mexico December, 1888. Moved to Raton in 1891, to practice his profession. Appointed District Attorney in 1897, and was re-appointed for several terms thereafter, was member of the Council in 1904, City Attorney of Raton, from 1892 to 1897. Has held many other public positions and stands very high in the Republican party, and is a very useful and worthy citizen of New Mexico.

Napoleon B. Laughlin.

Judge N. B. Laughlin was born in Illinois on the 23rd day of July, 1844. He came to New Mexico in 1879, located in Santa Fe and began the practice of law in which he has been very successful. Judge Laughlin was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of New Mexico and served as such from 1894-1898. He has also been a member of the Legislative Council.

Napoleon B. Laughlin.

Judge Laughlin is a self made man. He, like Abraham Lincoln, did not have the advantage of an education and had to educate himself, beginning to learn reading and writing at the age of twenty-one all by himself. His prominence in life as a citizen and as a lawyer emphasizes the truth that a man can be in this life a useful and able man, even if born in poverty, if he has the stamina, energy, will and courage to fight the way to the top of the ladder.

Salomon Luna.

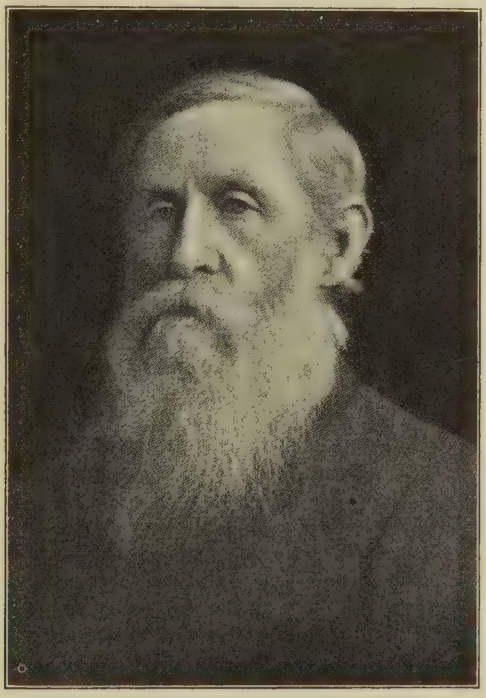
Don Salomon Luna is the son of Don Antonio José Luna and Doña Isabel Baca, both belonging to two of the oldest and most illustrious Spanish families of New Mexico. Don Salomon was born at Los Lunas, October 18, 1858. He received his education partly at St. Michael's

Salomon Luna.

College, in Santa Fé, and partly at the St. Louis University. Don Salomon is one of the leaders of the Republican party in New Mexico. He is a member of the national executive committee of that party. In the year 1881, he married Miss Adelaida Otero, daughter of Don Manuel R. Otero and Doña Ana Maria Otero. Don Salomon resides at Los Lunas. In October, 1910, he was one of the delegates to the constitutional convention.

Elisha Van Long.

Judge E. V. Long, was born in Indiana on the 7th day of March, 1836, was educated in the same state and is a graduate of Fort Wayne College. Before getting into the active practice of the law in his state he taught school for many years and was also a clerk in a store. He practiced law in Indiana with great success distinguishing himself as a lawyer and receiving as a reward for his ability and uprightness the appointment of Circuit Judge of the Fourth Judicial District of Indiana in 1872.



Elisha Van Long.

Prior to that time, in 1860, he had been editing a paper. He was a Delegate to the State Democratic Conventions from 1862-1884 and also a Delegate to the National Democratic Conventions in 1860 and 1876.

In October, 1885, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Mexico, in which position he served until 1889. While he was Chief Justice of New Mexico, the administration in New Mexico was all Democratic with Governor Ross at the head of the public affairs. Governor Ross undertook to summarily remove all the Republican officials but Attorney General Wm. Breeden and the other Republican

officials declined to submit to Governor Ross's arbitrary and unjustifiable acts and Mr. Ashenfelter, Ross's appointee brought the case into the courts. When the case reached the Supreme Court, Judge Long rendered the decision of the court denying the Governor's right to remove the Attorney General or any other public officials on political grounds. For doing his duty in such a fearless manner, upholding the law against his party, he received much political criticism from his party friends but that did not hinder him from upholding the dignity of the court and the majesty of the law. Two other cases, of the greatest importance to the people of New Mexico, in which Judge Long again showed his courage and legal knowledge, were the cases of the Cañon del Agua and that of Las Vegas Grant. His decisions in both of these cases stand today as the leading and most important decisions of New Mexico on the principle of law and equity affected by said cases. Judge Long was very generally congratulated and admired when the jist of said cases were thoroughly understood, which fact has given the judge much personal pleasure. In the Las Vegas Grant case, his decision established principles which never before had been applied, at least in New Mexico, and the result will finally be in favor of all cummunities organized under the law of Community Grants. The last two mentioned decisions like the first one, made many enemies for the judge. His enemies remained quiet until the creation of the Court of Private Land Claims when Judge Long was about to be appointed as a member of that court but his enemies succeeded in inserting a proviso in the act which created the court, that no resident of New Mexico or Arizona should be eligible as a judge for such a court, which was, of course, aimed at Judge Long and had its effect.

Octaviano A. Larrazolo.

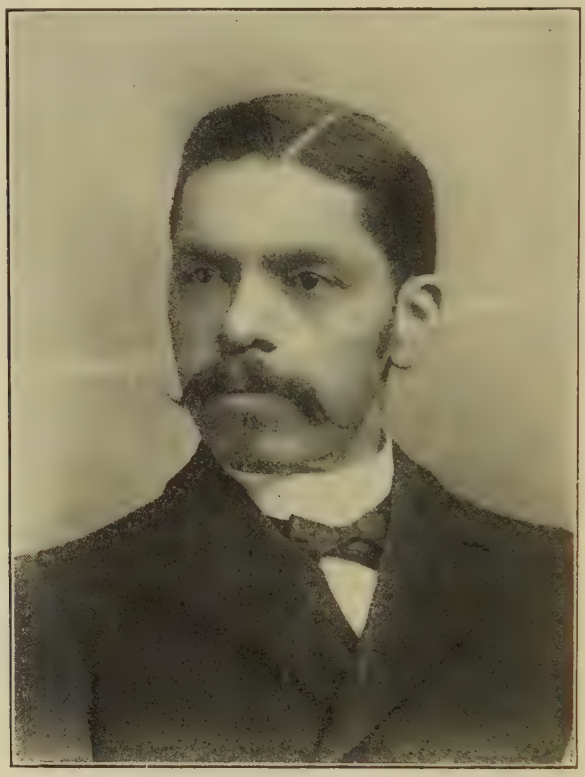
Don Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo was born at Allende, State of Chihuahua, Mexico, on December 7th, 1859; his parents were Don Octaviano Larrazolo, and Doña Donaciana Corral de Larrazolo. In 1870, he came to this country, under the protection of His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don Juan Bautista Salpointe, at that time Apostolic

Octaviano A. Larrazolo.

Vicar of Arizona, and later on Archbishop of Santa Fé. He made his course of studies at the College of Santa Fé, New Mexico, in 1875 and 1876. In 1878 he established himself at San Elizario, county of El Paso, Texas, where he was given charge of the public school of that town from that year to the end of the year 1884. In 1885 he was appointed deputy county clerk of said county of El Paso, the same year was appointed clerk of the federal courts at El Paso.

Felix Martinez.

Don Felix Martinez was born in the county of Taos, on the 29th of March, 1857. At Mora he attended the school of the Christian Brothers. His parents moved afterwards to Colorado. At the age of 14 he commenced to work as an employee in a mercantile house. He continued for several year working at times in the mercantile business and at



Felix Martinez.

times attending school. Before attaining the age of 20 years he established a mercantile house at El Moro, Colorado, continuing the same subsequently at Otero and Las Vegas, New Mexico. About the year 1886, he engaged in the real estate business. In 1897 he visited the city of El Paso, where he established himself and again engaged in the real estate business with wonderful success. Very many are the enterprises that have caused the prosperity of El Paso, of which he has been the chief promoter. Among them the ones that stand in bolder relief

are: The Electric Car Service; The Potable Water Fountain Works; the Union Depot; the Southwestern Cement Company; the Elephant Butte Irrigation Project, for the success of which Mr. Martinez directed the whole plan and also the campaign. To consummate this most important enterprise, Mr. Martinez displayed his good tact in interesting the Mexican government, and, by means of diplomacy, he succeeded in having an agreement entered into by the two governments which insures the success of the enterprise. This enterprise will cause the circulation of eight million dollars in New Mexico.

From the age of 18 he began to become interested in political matters, adopting Democratic principles as his political creed. In 1884, he was nominated for county treasurer, and he had already gained such popularity, that, although the Republicans, in those times had been accustomed to carry the county of San Miguel by majorities from 1500 to 2000 votes, he lost by only 200 votes. In 1886 he was elected county assessor. In 1888 he was elected representative to the legislative assembly and 1892 to the legislative council. From 1893 to 1897 he was secretary of the District Court. To his efforts the establishment was due of the Insane Asylum and Normal School at Las Vegas. At the last meeting of the Presidents, Taft and Diaz, Mr. Martinez played a most important part.

In the calamitous revolution in the Mexican Republic by F. I. Madero, November 1910, and happily ended in May 1912, Mr. Martinez co-operated with other prominent citizens in smoothing the difficulties that presented themselves as an obstacle to the suspension of hostilities. No service of his in favor of the public welfare has been for himself more important than that. In a letter addressed to La Voz del Pueblo, dated the 25th of April 1911, he expresses his satisfaction with these words: "I feel that, during my lifetime, I have never contributed to any work as noble, and of such beneficial results as this one will result."

Captain Candelario Martinez.

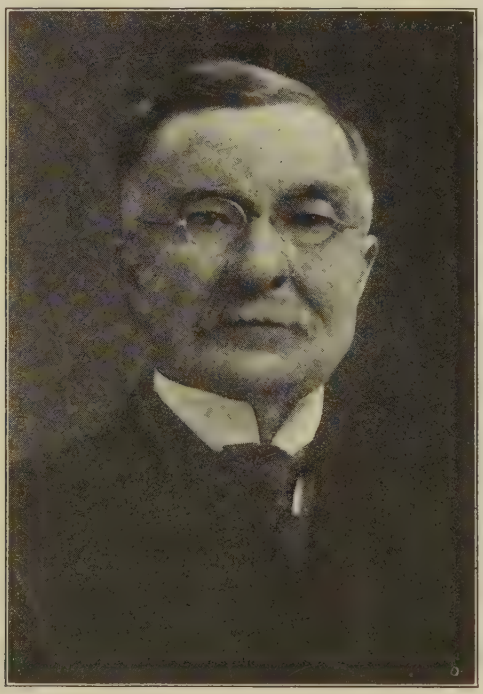
Captain Candelario Martinez was born in Santa Fé on the 2nd day of February, 1845, was educated in St. Michael's college. At 18 years of age he enlisted in Co. A. 1st Infantry of N. M. Volunteers as private, was made first duty sergeant, also sergeant major of the regi-

Captain Candelario Martinez.

ment, and within five months of his first enlistment was commissioned second lieutenant, Co. B., same regiment, and when only 20 years of age he was commissioned 1st lieutenant and captain by brevet for meritorious services in re-capturing the United States mail that had been captured by the Kiowas and Comanche Indians in the plains; he was shot in the forehead; he was also wounded by the Apaches in southern Arizona. Is an attorney-at-law, and he has occupied the positions of postmaster and probate judge.

John R. McFie.

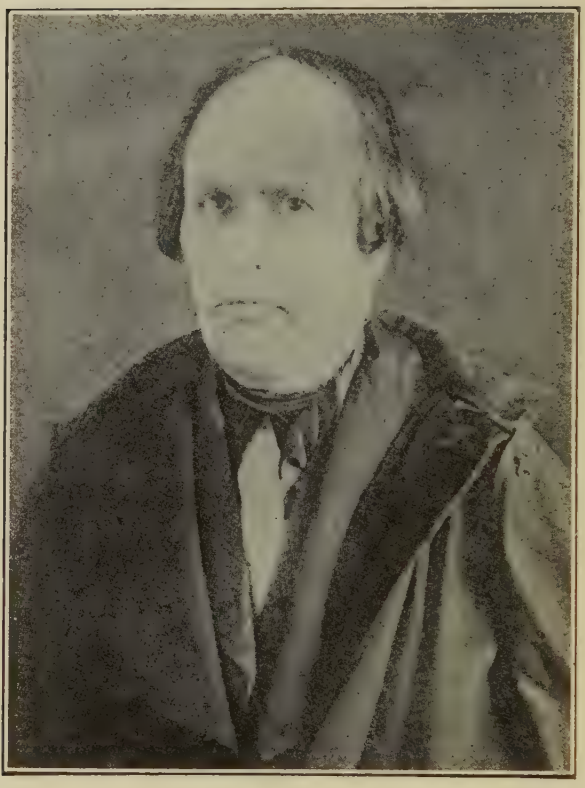
The history of the life of Judge McFie is very interesting. John and Elizabeth McFie came to America in 1845, and settled in Washington county, Illinois. As a boy he attended the public schools of Illinois, and had the benefit of his father's private teaching until the civil war broke out, at which he burned with the desire of joining the army. He marched with Sherman to the sea, serving to the end of the war, and



John R. McFie.

was discharged in June, 1865. After the war he engaged in merchandising, and, next, in the study of law, and in 1870 was admitted to the bar of Illinois. Judge McFie came to the Territory in 1884, establishing himself at Las Cruces with his family. He served as Register of Public Lands until December, 1885. He afterwards joined Judge S. B. Newcomb, as partner at law. In March, 1889, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of New Mexico. He served four years, then resumed his practice as a lawyer, but in 1897 he was again appointed Associate Justice by President McKinley and reappointed again in 1901 and in 1905 by President Roosevelt. His record in the Tribunal is very remarkable.

Rev. Antonio J. Martinez.



Rev. Antonio J. Martinez.

Whose great works and life have been referred to in other parts of this work.

Malaquias Martinez.

Malaquias Martinez.

Don Malaquias Martinez y Valdez, a son of Hon. Santiago Valdez, was born in Taos on December 15th, 1859. In 1890 he was elected senator from the counties of Taos, Rio Arriba and San Juan, and 1903-5 he was again made senator. In the constitutional convention held in Santa Fe, in October 1910, he was a delegate from the County of Taos. Oil inspector, 1905 to 1912.

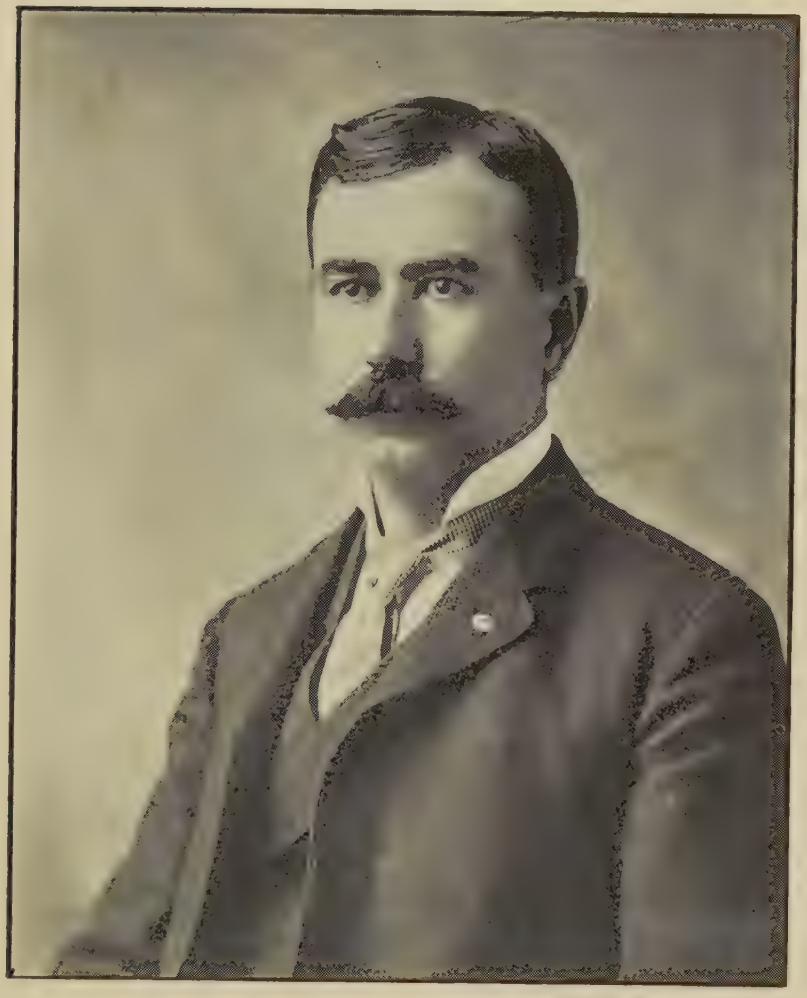
Epimenio A. Miera.

Hon. Epimenio Miera, is a self made man. He has gone through the crucible and made good. Mr. Miera received his education in the College of San Miguel in Santa Fe. He was born in Algodones, New Mexico, in the year 1865; began life as a clerk in a mercantile establishment owned by his uncle, Don Florencio Sandoval, at Algo-

Epimenio A. Miera.

dones, from which place he moved to Cuba, New Mexico, started business in his own name and made a success of it. In public life he has held the following positions: County Commissioner, and President of that board of Bernalillo county, from 1898 to 1903, and again elected member of the board of county commissioners of Sandoval county in the fall of 1903, when Sandoval county was created, was member of the legislative Council in 1906; member and speaker of House of Representatives in 1908; member of the Constitutional Convention in 1910, and member of the first State Senate in 1912.

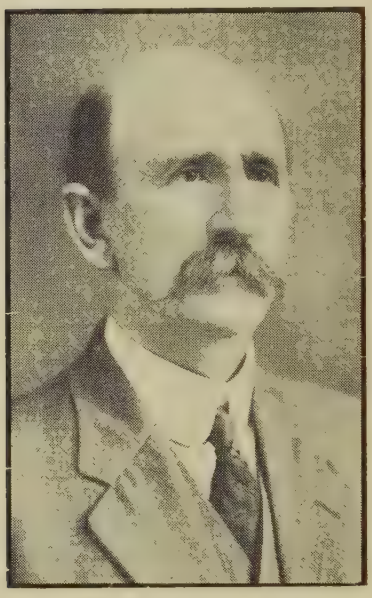
Nestor Montoya.



Nestor Montoya.

Don Nestor Montoya was born in the Old Town of Albuquerque in 1862. He is a graduate of St. Michael's College. Immediately after he had concluded his studies he was for five years assistant postmaster at the Capital. In 1884 he was appointed interpreter of the courts. From that date Mr. Montoya has continually held that post. In the year 1889, Mr. Montoya founded "La Voz del Pueblo."

Governor W. C. McDonald.



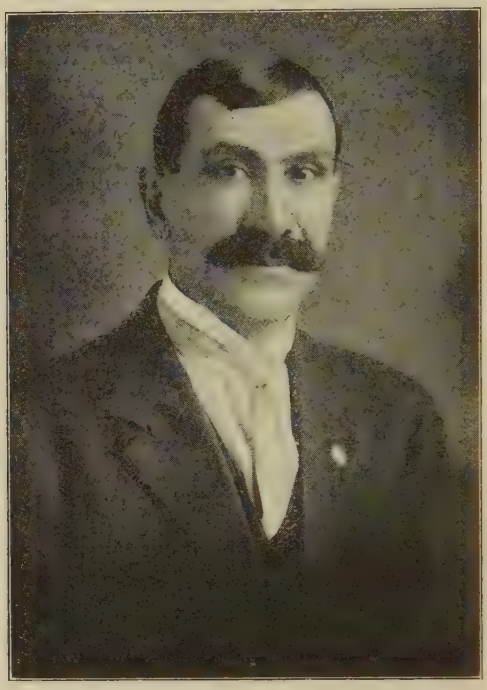
William C. McDonald,
First State Governor, Inaugurated at Santa Fé, January 15, 1912.

Manuel R. Otero.

Manuel R. Otero.

Don Manuel Rito Otero is a son of Hon. Antonio José Otero, who was one of the first three judges of New Mexico, appointed by General Kearny in 1846. He was born at Peralta, N. M., on May 23, 1841. He received his education at the St. Louis University. The people of the County of Valencia honored him for eight consecutive years, with the office of county clerk. From the year 1898 he has filled, and is now filling for the seventh term the office of register in the government land office at Santa Fé.

Modesto C. Ortiz.



Modesto C. Ortiz.

Don Modesto is the eldest son of Don Mateo Ortiz and Doña Ignacia Cano. He was born in Santa Fé and received his primary education in a school conducted by the author of this work (his maternal brother) at St. Michael's College, Santa Fé, New Mexico. Having finished his studies, he earnestly dedicated himself to the study of the law and was admitted to the bar of the State. Besides his profession, Don Modesto has rendered valuable services to his people in public life.

Gaspar Ortiz y Alarid.

Don Gaspar Ortiz y Alarid.

Don Gaspar Ortiz y Alarid was one of the famous travelers over the celebrated Santa Fé trail, having, nearly all his life, been the owner of ox as well as mule wagon-freighting trains between Independence, Mo., and Santa Fé, and between Santa Fé, Chihuahua and Durango, Mexico, besides conducting in Santa Fé a large mercantile establishment. Don Gaspar held many public offices in New Mexico, and served with distinction as captain of one of the New Mexico militia companies, on the Union side, during the last civil war. He died in Santa Fé, N. M., in July, 1882.

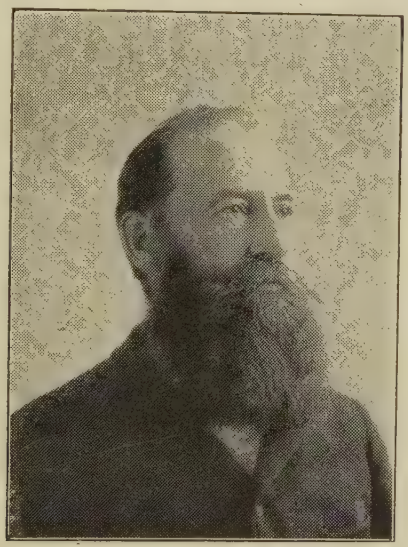
Hon. Demetrio Pérez.

Hon. Demetrio Pérez.

Don Demetrio is the son of Governor Albino Pérez, who was assassinated in 1837 (ante.) Don Demetrio has filled in New Mexico with great credit many public positions, the last having been that of Auditor of Public Accounts. His valuable services to the public are referred to in another part of this work.

L. Bradford Prince.

Mr. Prince was born in Flushing, New York. His father was a descendant of the Prince family of Long Island. In 1858 he founded the "Flushing Library Association." In 1861, he was a member of the Queen's County Commission. From 1866 to 1878, he was a delegate to all the conventions of his State, New York, and in 1868 he was a delegate to the National Convention which nominated Grant for President. In 1870 he was a member of the legislature of New York, re-elected the next year, and again elected in 1873-74-75. In 1876-77 he was a Senator of New York in the State Senate, and was delegate to the National

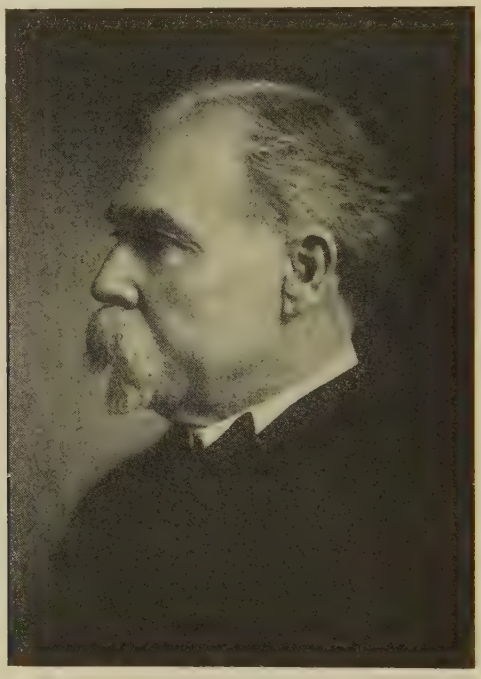


L. Bradford Prince.

Convention that nominated Hayes for President. He was appointed, in 1879, Chief Justice of New Mexico. He arrived in Santa Fé the first Saturday of February, and on Monday following he opened court at the Capital. He was a candidate for delegate to Congress in 1884, against Mr. Antonio Joseph, the Democratic candidate, and Rynerson, another candidate of his own party. In 1881 he was elected president of the University of New Mexico. On April 2, 1889, he was appointed Governor of New Mexico by President Harrison for 4 years. He has also been a member of the New Mexico Senate. He has filled many other offices of honor and profit. He has written many works of great merit, among them the "History of New Mexico" (in English), and the last one entitled "The Struggle for Statehood," published in the year 1910. Governor Prince is the father of the law which authorized the establishment of the Spanish-American Normal school at El Rito.

George W. Prichard.

Colonel George W. Prichard has been an attorney at the New Mexico bar for more than a quarter of a century. He was born at New Harmony, Indiana. Colonel Prichard graduated from the literary and law departments of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, leaving that institution in 1872. He practiced law at Little Rock, Arkansas, for some years following his graduation, and was ap-

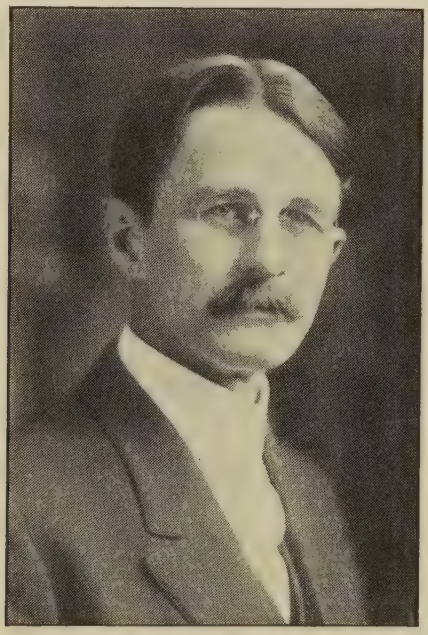


George W. Prichard.

pointed lieutenant-colonel of the Arkansas militia. In 1876, Colonel Prichard was a candidate for presidential elector on the Republican ticket. In 1879 he came west and settled at Las Vegas. Twice he has been elected to the legislative council. In 1882, he was appointed United States attorney for New Mexico, which position he filled until the Cleveland administration appointed a Democrat in his stead. He served as solicitor general from 1904 until the spring of 1906 and in 1909-10 and was delegate to the constitutional convention in 1910, and is now engaged in the private practice of law at Santa Fé.

William Hayes Pope.

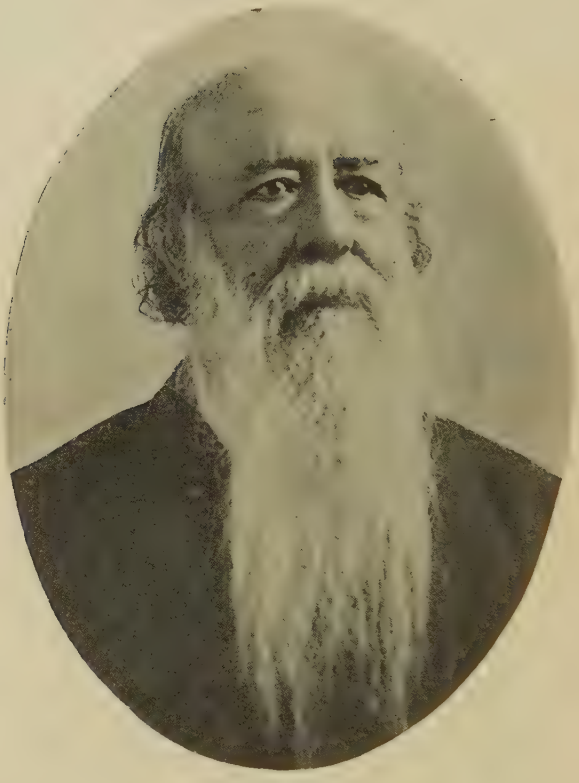
William Hayes Pope, born at Beauford, S. Car. June 14, 1870, graduated 1886, Atlanta, Ga., High School and 1889 University of Georgia, degree Master of Arts and 1890 Bachelor of Laws. Admitted to practice of law 1890, and practiced in Atlanta, Georgia, until 1894 in association with Hon. Hoke Smith. Removed to Santa Fe, N. M., in 1894 and has resided in New Mexico ever since with exception of a



William Hayes Pope.

year in the Philippine Islands. Served as member Capitol Commission (which rebuilt the capitol) 1895-1900, Assistant Attorney General 1895-1897, Assistant United States Attorney court of private land claims 1896-1902, United States Attorney for Pueblo Indians of New Mexico 1901-02, Judge Court of First Instance of the Philippine Islands 1902-03, Associate Justice Supreme Court of New Mexico 1903-10, Chief Justice Supreme Court of New Mexico 1910-12. Appointed by President Roosevelt delegate to Information Congress Lawyers and Judges St. Louis exposition 1904. Upon formation of new state of New Mexico in 1912 became its first United States District Judge. Married (1905) to Miss May Hull of Athens, Georgia. Member of Presbyterian church, Elks, Masons, Odd Fellows, Society of Colonial Wars.

Nicolás Pino.



Nicolás Pino.

Don Nicolás Pino died a few years ago, after having rendered important services to the Union and New Mexico. His death occurred at his home in Galisteo, County of Santa Fé. He was a son of Don Pedro Bautista Pino, who, as the reader may remember, was New Mexico's Delegate to Spain from 1810 to 1820.

Margarito Romero.

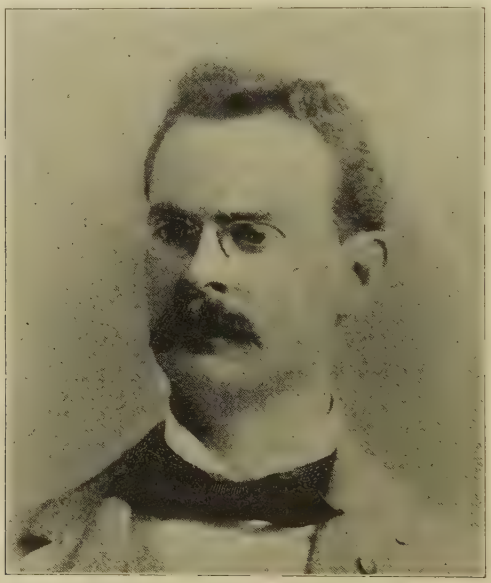
Margarito Romero, son of Don Miguel Romero y Baca and of Doña Josefa Delgado, was born at the "Real de San Francisco," County of Santa Fe, but from his infancy, has lived at Las Vegas. At the age of six years he attended a primary school, and when he was 14, he was sent to the Christian Brothers' College at Santa Fe. There he

Margarito Romero.

commenced his commercial studies. When he was 17 years, he was sent to St. Louis where he concluded his commercial course. He afterwards worked as clerk in several mercantile houses. He married Miss Irinea Delgado in 1872; they were blessed with a progeny of eight children all of whom died while yet infants. Mr. Romero has held several important positions, chief among which was the county treasury and collectorship, and his Delegateship to the Constitutional Convention of October, 1910.

Alois B. Renehan.

Mr. Renehan was born in Alexandria, Virginia, on the 6th day of January, 1869, was educated at the College of St. John at Washington, D. C., and St. Charles College, at Ellicot, Maryland, where he prepared himself for the study of law in the University of Georgetown. In the autumn of the year 1892 he came west and located in Santa Fé, where

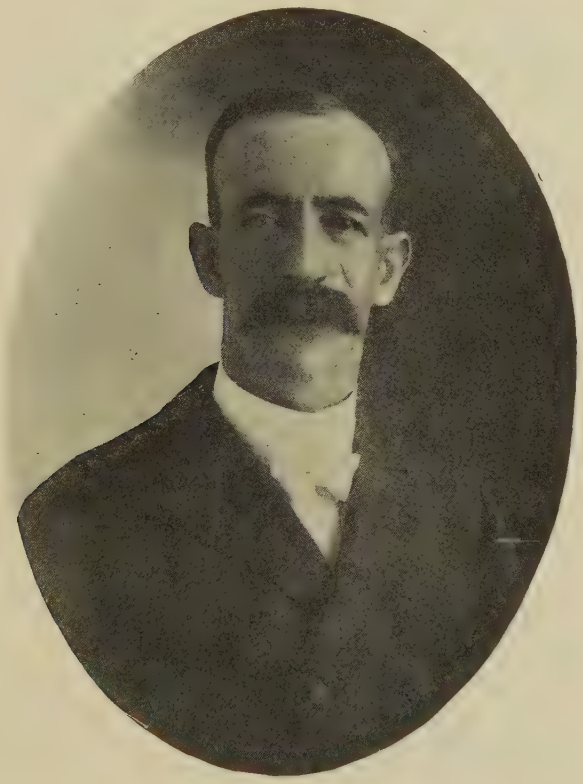


Alois B. Renehan.

he began his legal career as stenographer to Mr. Eugene Fiske; was in 1894 admitted to practice in the supreme court of New Mexico, and in 1895 was the city attorney for the City of Santa Fé, by appointment, and succeeded himself by election in 1897. While a Democrat, Mr. Renehan was honored from 1899 to 1902 as secretary of the Democratic central committee. In the political campaign of 1911 he left the Democratic party and joined the Republican party.

Alejandro Read.

Alejandro Read was born in Santa Fé, New Mexico, on August 15th, 1850, a son of Benjamin Franklin Read, and of Ignacia Cano. His father died in the year 1857, he being the eldest of the family. Alejandro, with his brothers, Benjamin and Larkin, received his education at St. Michael's College, in Santa Fé. Mr. Read served as

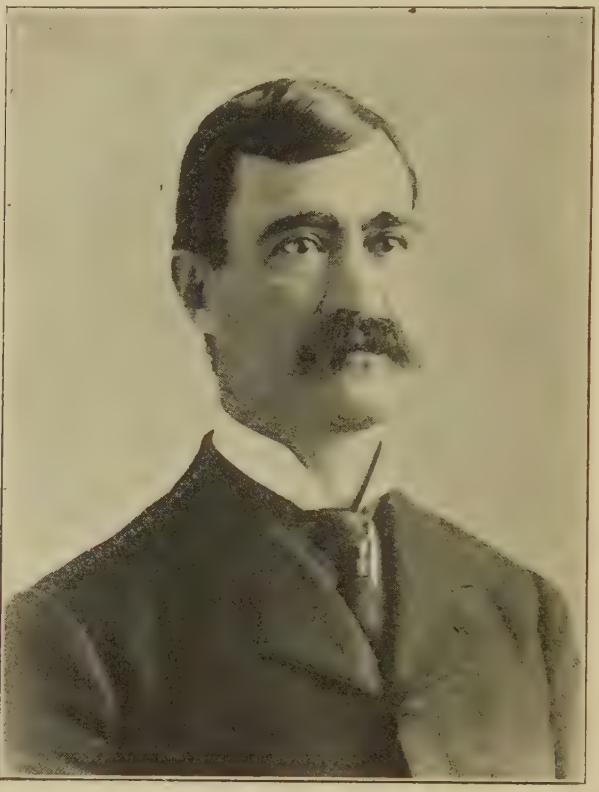


Alejandro Read.

interpreter for the Indian Superinterdent, at Santa Fé, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1884. In 1885 he was elected clerk of the Probate Court, Assessor in 1887, and in 1889 was again elected clerk of the Probate Court. He was sheriff in 1900 and in 1902, and in 1904 member of the Legislative Council of the Territory. District Attorney in 1905, 1907, 1909 and 1911. At the first State election held Nov. 7, 1911, Mr. Read was elected District Attorney for the district composed of Santa Fé, San Juan and Rio Arriba counties for a term of four years.

L. G. Read.

Larkin Gregory Read, brother of Don Alejandro, and of the author of this work, was born in Santa Fé on May 26, 1856. His education, as well as that of Don Alejandro and the author of this work, is primarily due to the great sacrifices their mother made; and, secondly, to the generous help extended to them by the Most Illustrious



L. G. Read.

Archbishop, Don Juan Bautista Lamy. Larkin was preceptor in St. Micheal's College for five years; private Secretary of Governor Giddings; school teacher at Taos and Colorado until the year 1883. In 1884, he and the author of this work were the translators of the compiled laws of New Mexico compiled in that year. In 1886, he was admitted to the Bar. In 1896 was member of the Legislature for the County of Santa Fé, and the next year, 1897, died in Santa Fé. Don Larkin married Miss Teodorita Valdez y Martinez.

J. B. Read.

J. B. Read.

Jacobo Bossuet Read, was born in Taos, on July 5th, 1879. His parents were Mr. Larkin G. Read and Mrs. Teodora Martinez de Read. Mr. Read was educated at St. Micheal's College in Santa Fe. He is to-day the cashier of the First National Bank. On June 22nd, 1905, Don Jacobo married Miss Myrtle Hampel, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Hampel.

Hon. Charles A. Spiess.

Hon. Charles A. Spiess.

Mr. Spiess, for many years one of the leading attorneys of New Mexico, was president of Constitutional Convention, 1910. Member of the Senate for several terms. District Attorney several years. Leader of the Republican party.

Bernard Seligman.

Bernard Seligman came to Santa Fé, New Mexico, in 1856, from Germany, engaged in business under the firm name of Seligman and Cleaver, which partnership was maintained until the election of Mr. Cleaver as delegate to Congress. Bernard Seligman was several times a member of the Legislature, serving in the Senate and House

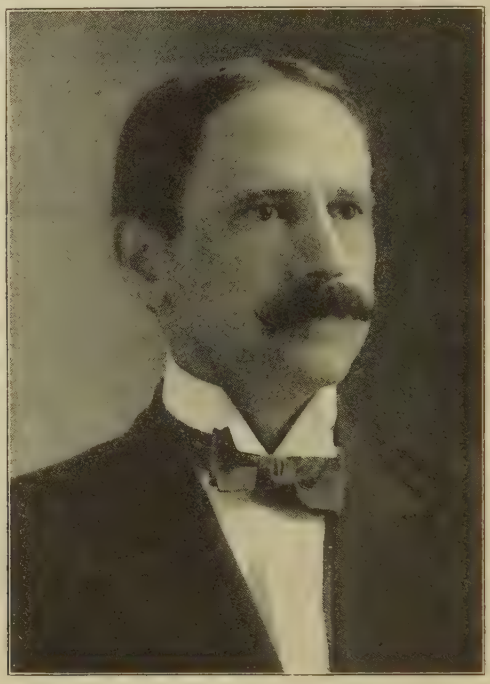
Bernard Seligman.

and was chairman of the Board of County Commissioners for three terms. He was also Territorial Treasurer, was Commissioner to the Exposition in Vienna for New Mexico in 1872, and to the Exposition in Paris in 1881. He built the first Court House in Santa Fe county. He served in the Army with a commission from Governor Connelly as Captain and Quartermaster, was a member of the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Died in Philadelphia, February 3, 1906.

Hon. Arthur Seligman.

Mr. Seligman, was born June 14th, 1871, in Santa Fe. He is a son of Bernard Seligman, and Frances (Nusbaum) Seligman. He was educated in the public schools of Santa Fé, and Philadelphia, is a graduate of Swarthmore College, Pa., and Pierce's College of Business of Philadelphia, 1887. Entered mercantile business in Santa Fé, 1888.

Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, Santa Fé County, 1899-1907. Made the first survey of the county; built a modern county



Hon. Arthur Seligman

jail; built three stone bridges in the city and placed the credit of the county on sound basis; Chairman of Democratic Central Committee and member of Territorial Committee from 1895 to 1911; member of Board of Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, 1900; Treasurer of the New Mexico Board St. Louis Exposition, 1904; Member of the Territory Irrigation Commission, 1902-4; Member Territorial Board of Equalization, 1906-8; Mayor of Santa Fé from 1910 to 1912—as such, he built the first brick and asphalt-paved streets in the city and Territory; was the last City Mayor under Territorial and first under State government. In 1896 Mayor Seligman married Frankie Lacker Harris, of Cleveland, Ohio.

Abraham Staab.

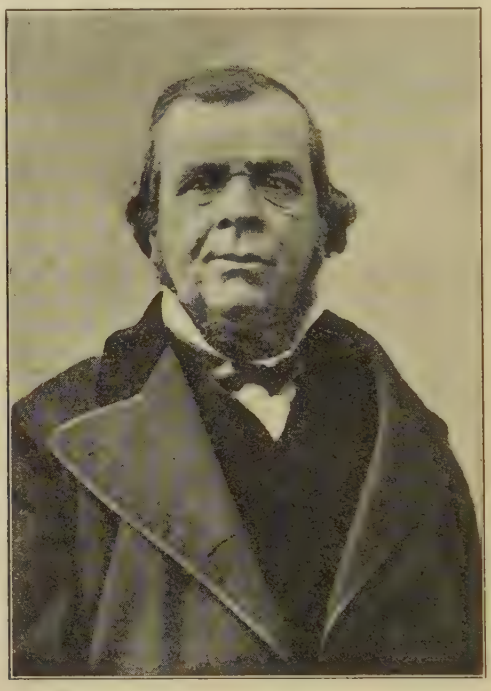
Mr. Staab was born in Westphalia, Germany, 73 years ago, was educated in Germany and came to the United States in 1858. When he came to America he had acquired a good commercial education, which fact enabled him to find employment, immediately upon his arrival in Norfolk, Virginia, as clerk in one of the largest dry goods establishments in the United States. In 1860 he, in company with one brother of his, came to Santa Fé, where they started a partnership in a general

Abraham Staab.

merchandise retail store in Santa Fé, their business growing so rapidly that it did not take them long to extend their trade throughout the southwest, and even into Mexico. Mr. Staab's brother died in 1883, after which date Mr. Staab continued the business of the firm in his own name, and as absolute proprietor, until 1902, when he retired from active business, and is leisurely living his last years in Santa Fé, where he expects to die and be buried alongside of his deceased wife, Mrs. Julia Staab, who died in Santa Fé on the 14th day of May, 1866, and is buried there. Mr. and Mrs. Staab became the parents of eight children, four boys and four girls, all living except one girl.

Ceran St. Vrain.

Col. St. Vrain was one of the first American merchants that came to New Mexico from Missouri. In the anti-American revolt of 1847, he raised in Santa Fé a volunteer company of 65 men and accompanied Col. Price, who was in command of the regular army that marched up to Taos in January of that year to put



Ceran St. Vrain.

down the rebellion. Col. St. Vrain distinguished himself in that memorable military campaign. In 1850 he was nominated by the party headed by Don Tomás C. de Baca as Lieutenant Governor against Manuel Alvaréz, who was running for the same office in the ticket headed by Henry Connelly. The Baca ticket, printed in another part of this book appeared afterwards with the name of Alvaréz instead of St. Vrain's from which fact one is led to believe that St. Vrain declined the nomination.

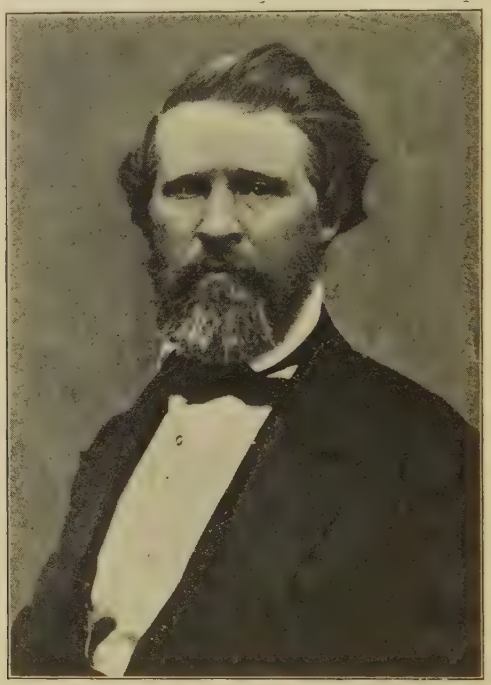
Benedict St. Vrain.

Benedict St. Vrain.

Nephew of Ceran St. Vrain, pioneer merchant in the town of Mora, N. M., where he established the big St. Vrain Mercantile Store.

Richard H. Tompkins.

Judge Tompkins was born in Louisville, Kentucky, September 14, 1816, received his education in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Came to New Mexico in the fall of 1851, as Clerk of the United States District Court for New Mexico to which position he was appointed by Grafton Baker who had been, the same year, appointed Judge of the said District Court with headquarters at Santa Fé.



Richard H. Tompkins.

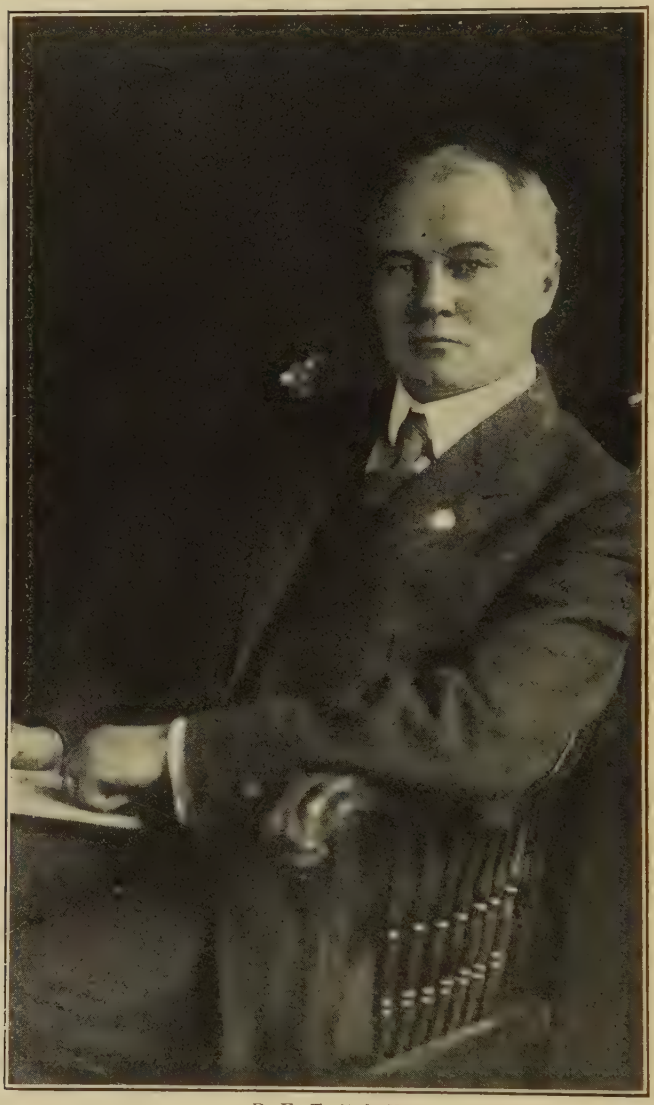
Prior to his coming to New Mexico, Mr. Tompkins had occupied high, responsible and honorable positions under the Federal Government, the last being that of assistant to the United States Marshal of the Southern District of Mississippi in the taking of the 7th census. The following oath (which the author of this work has in his possession) as such assistant was subscribed to by him: "I, Richard H. Tompkins, of the County of Warren, an assistant to the Marshal of the Southern District of Mississippi, do solemnly swear that I will make a true and exact enumeration of all the inhabitants within the district assigned to me, and will also faithfully collect the other statistics therein in the

manner provided in the Act for taking the 7th census and in conformity with all lawful instructions I may receive, and will make due and correct returns thereof as required in said Act."

"RIC'D. H. TOMPKINS."

In 1864, Mr. Tompkins married Miss Francisquita Sandoval, a highly educated young lady, member of a prominent family in Santa Fe. Seven children, six daughters and one son, were born from this marriage; of the daughters four have become nuns; three in the Order of Loretto and one as a Benedictine, one daughter and the son died young and unmarried and the other the oldest, married in Santa Fé, to José L. Delgado now dead. Judge Tompkins occupied other important positions such as Attorney General of New Mexico, 1858 and U. S. District Attorney the same year, and again in 1860 re-appointed Attorney General of New Mexico, Territorail Librarian in 1880. Elected Probate Judge and Justice of the Peace in and for Santa Fé county for several terms. Judge Tompkins died in Santa Fé on the 14th day of January, 1888.

R. E. Twitchell.



R. E. Twitchell.

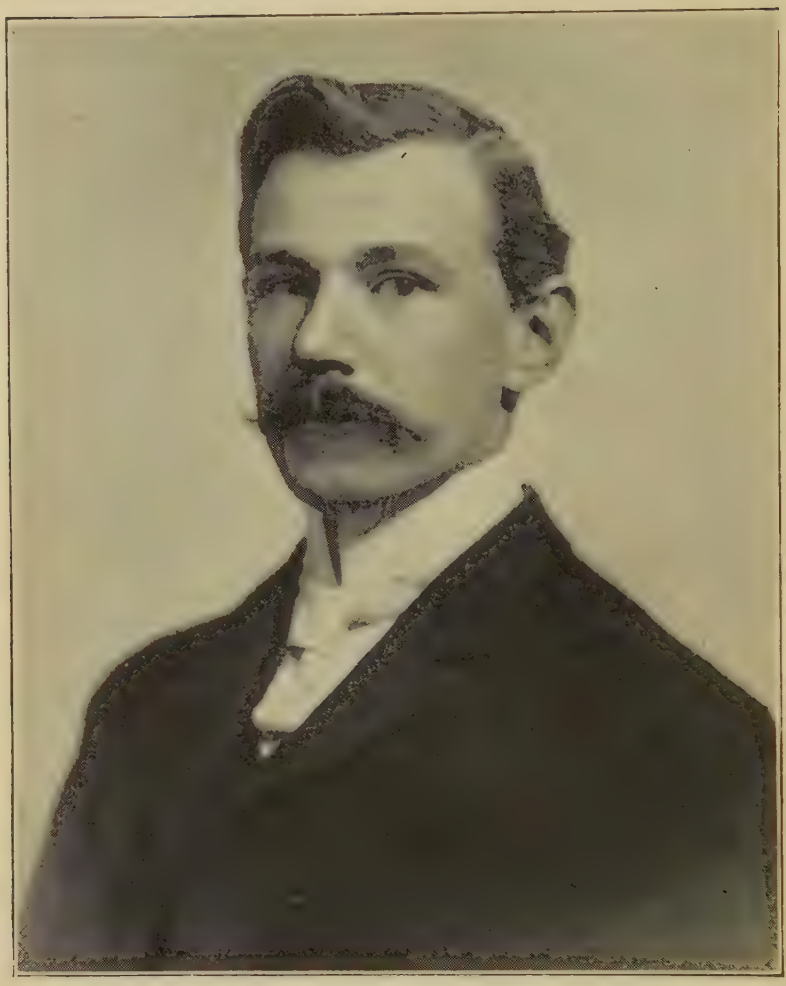
Mr. Twitchell was born at Ann Arbor, Michigan, Nov. 29, 1859. He resides at Las Vegas. For several years he has held the office of District Attorney. Has for several years filled the position of Attorney for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company. Is the author of several important works on New Mexican History.

Hon. Santiago Valdez.

Hon. Santiago Valdez.

Hon. Santiago Valdez, born at Taos, New Mexico, died in May, 1888, at Taos. Don Santiago was, without doubt, one of the greatest men in New Mexico. As a lawyer he was the peer of the best lawyers of his time. As an orator he had no superior. As a scholar in the English, Latin and Spanish languages, he was inferior to none of those who could master these languages. His services as a public man commenced with his election as Probate Clerk of Taos county in 1863. Probate Judge of Mora county. Member of the Legislature as Senator and Representative for more than twenty years. Member of the Commission that Revised the Laws of New Mexico in 1884.

Paul A. F. Walter.



Paul A. F. Walter.

Paul A. F. Walter, President New Mexican Printing Company; editor Daily New Mexican; Supreme Court Reporter; Secretary New Mexico Archaeological Society. Born 1873 in Berlin, Germany; came to United States in 1883; Founder and Editor South Bethlehem, Pa., Daily Globe 1894; Editor and Manager Bangor Daily News; Came to Santa Fé 1899; Postmaster Santa Fé 1902 to 1909; Admitted to Bar 1906; Vice President New Mexico Bar Association 1908; Supervisor of Census for New Mexico 1910.

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Unsolicited Opinions and Press Comments.

(Translated from the Spanish.)

Mr. Benjamin M. Read.

My Esteemed Sir:—I have derived much pleasure from the perusal of your book entitled, "Illustrated History of New Mexico," and on coming to the end of it, I must not fail to congratulate you for having undertaken such a laborious task and for having brought it to such a happy conclusion.

This work extending from prehistoric times to our current year, is amply enriched by documents; and you narrate occurrences from original resources many of which were not even known by those who, up to this time, have made a study of the history of our region. In this respect no one can question your superiority.

Some historians, while narrating past events, give some facts and distort others, suiting them to their likes or their dislikes; their work might be called romances rather than histories, their writings, to quote the expression of Leo XIII, are a conspiracy against the truth. But you have only been guided by the dictates of your sober judgment and of your good conscience.

Furthermore, I am pleased to see that, in your history, what the Catholic church has done for civilization in New Mexico, has not been banished to the shade but is prominently brought to light; in this you have but performed an act of justice.

In detailing in your masterly way the noteworthy events of which our land has been the scene, you have reared up a splendid monument, fairer and more durable than granite shafts—a monument that will be an honor to New Mexico as well as to its author.

I sincerely wish for your work, so elegantly edited and so amply illustrated the broad circulation which it so richly deserves.

JUAN B. PITAVAL,
Archbishop of Santa Fé.

A History Worth While.

(From the New Mexican, June 7, 1911.)

There has been an insistent and persistent demand for a history of New Mexico that is written from the standpoint of today in the light of all the historical facts available. Such a

work finally, has come from the press and is the production of Hon. B. M. Read. It is more extended in scope, more scholarly in execution, more thorough in research than the average state history and for New Mexico establishes a new authority that will be considered final up to this time. The New Mexican has reviewed this work at length before this and takes especial pride in its beautiful typograhy and the strength of its illustrations having been printed in its office. With pleasure it reprints the following criticism of Ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince, President of the New Mexico Historical Society, and himself the author of a History of New Mexico, that at the time of its publication was the standard history of this commonwealth and is even at this day much sought by libraries, scholars and the literati:

Santa Fe, N. M., June 3, 1911.

Hon. Benjamin M. Read.

My Dear Sir:—I have been reading with much interest your "Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo México," and wish to congratulate you very heartily on that monumental work, I use the word "monumental" advisedly because through coming generations this important volumn will stand as a monument to your ability, industry, fairness and good judgment.

Taken altogether it forms the first complete history of the territory that has been published containing many matters of interest which were not available when previous authors wrote on the subject. It is only recently, that many of the documents from which you have drawn valuable information, were accessible, and the energy with which you have pursued every authentic source of historical material, in Europe as well as America is worthy of all praise.

I consider the acquisition of the speech made by Don Pedro Bautista Pino, while representing New Mexico in the Congreso de las Españas, November 20, 1812, as a specially brillant achievement; and the original manuscript possessed by Manuel Alvarez, sheds new light on the era of American occupation.

The insertion of the entire report of Fray Benavides, the "Relacion" of Padre Frejes and other documents of rare historical importance, in the Appendix, add greatly to the value of the work.

If I may particularize the characteristic which especially distinguishes this important history, it is the absolute regard for truth and the courage in expressing it, which are very noticeable features. All the value of a history comes from its perfect honesty; and no one can read your

"Historia" without being struck by the extreme care you have given to accuracy, and your fearlessness in stating facts even when they overthrow the cherished ideas and traditions.

I have no doubt that you will receive the heartly thanks of all good New Mexicans for this Labor of Love to which you have devoted so much time and ability, thanks which are certainly most justly due.

Very truly yours,
L. BRADFORD PRINCE,
President New Mexico Historical Society.

Hon. Antonio Lucero, Editor of La Voz del Pueblo, Las Vegas, N. M.

"I notice with pleasure that the sale of your valuable history has been more wide-spread than you have anticipated. I have read with much delight and satisfaction all that is contained in your volume and have remarked at its conclusion that I wish it were placed in the hands of every Spanish-American family both in New Mexico and southern Colorado, that our people might learn more about the history of their ancestors and feel justly proud of their achievements."

I am yours very truly,
ANTONIO LUCERO.

Ex-Chief Justice E. V. Long.

"I congratulate you on this historical labor of love. I do not believe it will be one of profit. However you have done something for your day and generation of which you and your descendants may always feel proud."

Letter from Historian R. E. Twitchell.

"I think it a most creditable work and one that reflects great credit upon you. I assure you it is a pleasure to know that some man born in the country has patriotism enough to undertake what you have undertaken and produced."

From John E. Griffith, Attorney at Law.

"I have recently received a circular in regard to your history of New Mexico to be published in English. I have heard many compliments upon the Spanish edition and part of the same has been translated to me. I am thoroughly convinced that it is a great and useful work, and I want to congratulate you on your enterprise, industry and intelligence in preparing same. I surely want a copy of the English edition."

Hon. Isidoro Armijo, Editor of El Eco del Valle, Las Cruces, N. M., and member of the constitutional convention.

"I frankly believe that no private or public library can be complete without having on its table the "Illustrated History of New Mexico" by Bemjamin M. Read, a rare literary gem that beams with all that is rich and splendid in the history of our romantic New Mexico."

Hon. Aurelio Espinosa, Professor of Languages, Stanford University, California, and author and writer of renown:

Stanford University, Calif., July 15, 1911.

Hon. Benjamin M. Read,

Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Dear Sir:—Your "Illustrated History of New Mexico" is a work of great importance and would do honor to many a famous historian. Your work deserves a thousand eulogies, not only on account of the sound criticism and erudite exposition of the capital points of the history of New Mexico but also on account of the great and merited value and weight (unnoticed by others) which you give our race in the conquest, colonization and social organization of the Territory. The excellent historical discernment seen in each page is worthy of all praise. The chapters treating of the historical events of New Nexico from 1846 to the present time or, the whole of book fourth, is the place where you disclose truths and facts (well authenticated an proved) that ought to put the enemies of our race and our people to shame. I have been astonished with the great amount of matter your history contains, and doubtless it has cost you a good deal of money and labor. The people of New Mexico owe you a marked favor which you have undoubtedly deserved. In conclusion, I must again congratulate you, and my ardent wish is that you keep on in your studies for the honor and benefit of the New Mexican people."

Yours truly,
AURELIO ESPINOSA.

Father Tommasini, S. J.

(Translation.)

Mr. B. M. Read,

Santa Fe, N. M.

Very Esteemed Friend:—For many years back I have appreciated the efforts that you were making to raise from the obscurities of the times the brightness of the natives of New Mexico. Now, when after elaborate studies you have given us a complete work of "Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo

México," (Illustrated History of New Mexico) I take this opportunity of offering you my congratulations, and to remit the sum of $10.00 for the copy I received from the hands of Father Mandalari.

Please receive my good wishes, and I pray to God to grant you long years and health for the prosecution of your works and to have good success with them.

Your affectionate friend,

P. TOMMASINI, S. J.

Tribute from Spain for Read's History.

Significant letter that shows fame of New Mexico author to extend beyond ocean.

What is thought in Spain about the works of Historian Benjamin M. Read, whose English version of his Illustrated History of New Mexico is now in the press of the New Mexican, is gathered from the following fine acknowledgment of Professor Antonio Aragon Montejo of Madrid, who was the first literary agent of Mr. Read in Europe, being succeeded by Francisco Sicilia, LL. D., of Madrid, corroborating the statements as to the untiring efforts and expense of Mr. Read, in order to furnish the new State in particular, and the world in general, with an authentic, correct and true history of the glorious deeds of the ancestors of the Spanish-American people, the intrepid Conquistadores. Don Antonio Aragon writes:

(Translation.)

Madrid, December 19, 1911.

Mr. Benjamin M. Read,
Santa Fe, N. M.

Dear Sir:—I am just in receipt of your attentive letter dated the 2nd instant, as well as of the printed index of your work—"Historia de Nuevo Mejico."

It is to me a most gratifying duty to send you, before anything else together with my heartfelt congratulations for having brought to a successful close so important a work, my most sincere acknowledgments for the kind phrases which you dedicate to me at the end of your Preface; and, even though I feel that the eulogies you bestow on my modest cooperation are undeserved, I cannot but feel proud, at this moment, on account of having placed my work at the service of the history of that country. Although I am unacquainted with that history in its details, having not received the volumes of it you advise me of, and for which I am impatiently waiting, I nevertheless suppose (on account of the correspondence between us and your constant searching after trustworthy data)

that it must be a work of genuine real merit and remarkable erudition.

When through our mutual friend, Dr. Luis Hernandez, you requested from me an extract of the speeches of those illustrious personages, who came as an honor to the first Cortes of my country in 1810, and in a most special manner, those delivered by Don Pedro Bta. Pino, who was the representative from New Mexico, I felt somewhat of a dread, because with all my attachment to historical subjects, I had never so far contributed so directly to the formation of history.

When that first work of mine had happily ended, you again required my help in looking for data, which, on account of their stretching out far back to very remote epochs, would cost quite considerable money and work to obtain; and so it was that, prompted by the same spirit of inquiry which guided you, I, with the deepest interest, in books already exhausted, in unedited documents, in autographs collected from who had been glorious conquerors of those territories, and first bearers of that civilization which is today so flourishing there, did look for the notices and narratives which you were in need of.

I did not find everything you asked, but I have the consolation that I did contribute something with my notices and the books I have forwarded you, to the elucidation of many points which have escaped the notice of other previous historians. My inability to give you some data was not due to lack of good will, nor any failure of mine in employing my best efforts to find them. In the National Library, in that of the Ministry of War, in the Historical Archive, in the Academy of History, and even in the collections of reputed book-lovers, I have revised books and documents; because aside from furnishing you with the support that you desired of me, the thought also has guided me of being useful to my country, so unjustly forgotten by those countries which are so much indebted to her.

And here my letter would end, should I not consider it a sacred duty to express to you, in closing our so pleasant relations, that I shall ever cherish a tender remembrance of the gentlemanliness and loyalty which have characterized all your letters, while it is also grateful to me to reiterate to you once again the testimony of my sincere friendship.

Respectfully,

ANTONIO ARAGON.

New Mexico owes a large debt to Hon. Benjamin Read of Santa Fe, teacher, legislator and lawyer, who has for years devoted his energy to the collection and arranging

of historical material touching New Mexico. His "Illustrated History of New Mexico" is considered by men most competent to judge of its merits, as the most complete authentic account of the past of our state.—New Mexico Journal of Education, February 1912, number.

(Hon. Manuel R. Otero, Register U. S. Land Office.)

Santa Fe, N. M., Jan. 11, 1912.

Hon. Benj. M. Read,

Santa Fe, N. M.

My Dearest Friend:—With the greatest pleasure I herein enclose my agreement to pay you for your "Illustrated History of New Mexico." Permit me to add that I have no adequate words with which to express my appreciation of the praise you so fittingly deserve, for the undaunted pains you have taken and for the labor and expenses you must have undergone, to at last set aright the "History" of our true and beloved New Mexico, and to give our ancestors the place they most undoubtedly, really deserve in the annals of history.

May your name be in the hearts and memory of every true and loyal descendant of the Castillian race, because you are the first man who has succeeded in accomplishing what other historians have only attempted.

May the Lord preserve your useful life for the benefit of our race for many years to come, is the wish of your,

True and faithful friend,

MANUEL R. OTERO.

An Arizona Historian.

(Santa Fe New Mexican April 15, 1912.)

Sharlot M. Hall, the official historian of Arizona, and widely known as a gifted poetess and novelist, has in preparation a voluminous history of the neighboring state. She has been engaged on this task since October, 1909, has visited every corner of the state, has collected books and manuscripts, taken hundreds of photographs, interviewed old settlers and delved into musty records wherever she could find them. The state is paying for this and it is a wise expenditure. In New Mexico, this work, however, has been done at the private expense of one of her citizens, Attorney Benjamin M. Read, who has spent a fortune for original manuscripts, books, rare portraits and pictures, that serve to throw light on the history of New Mexico, which is far more interesting and much more far reaching in its scope than any history of Arizona could possibly be.

The result of these painstaking labors, this expenditure, is embodied in an intensely interesting volume shortly to be issued from the press of the New Mexican Printing Company. The book should find a place in every New Mexico home, in every school and in every library, as the authentic history of the state that goes to the original sources for its statements and that is not a mere compilation gathered from preceding histories.

Masterly Work Worthy of all Praise.

(New Mexican April 22nd, 1912.)

Remarkable tribute paid the history of Hon. B. M. Read by famous scholar of Spain.

Madrid, March 30, 1912.

Mr. Benjamin M. Read,
Santa Fe, N. M.

My Dear Sir and Distinguished Friend:—I have the pleasure of acknowledging receipt of your notable work, the History of New Mexico, which you have so kindly sent to me.

I am sincerely grateful for your attentive courtesy and purpose to read with all care your publication, being sure that I will find therein historical facts and narratives of great interest. As yet I have had time only to make a cursory examination, and from that I am convinced that I have before me a masterly work worthy of all praise and on that account I send you my most enthusiastic congratulations.

Repeating my thanks for your kind attention, I remain as ever you affectionate friend and servant.

ANTONIO ARAGON MONTEJO.

WITHDRAWN

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TITLE Illustrated history of New Mexico.

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Oct. 2-79	Mariano Perez
12-1-86	ACS# 423 UC

978.9 [redacted] R282I

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